

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: STAGE 3**

COMMUNITY SITUATION 2013

ADADO, SNNP REGION

STAGE 3 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 1



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This report is one of six Community Situation 2013 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage Three of the ‘*Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia*’ research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Community in Place in 2013 using a number of different perspectives. The database from which the report was written was produced in two rounds of fieldwork. The first five-week fieldwork was undertaken in March/April 2013 and the second gap-filling fieldwork in November 2013. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Methodology Annex of the Stage Three Final Report. Our methodology ensures that all statements in the Report are connected to interviews in the database so that in case of queries we can go back to the sources of the statements. These sources are a multitude of interviews with wereda officials, kebele officials, other community leaders and notables, rich-to-poor farmers and their wives, young-to-old dependent adults, and young people between the ages of 11 and 29. Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs. The Community Situation reports are also informed by earlier research in the sites in 1995 when village studies were produced (WIDE I), and during the Wellbeing in Developing Studies research in 2003 (WIDE 2). Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on www.ethiopiawide.net.

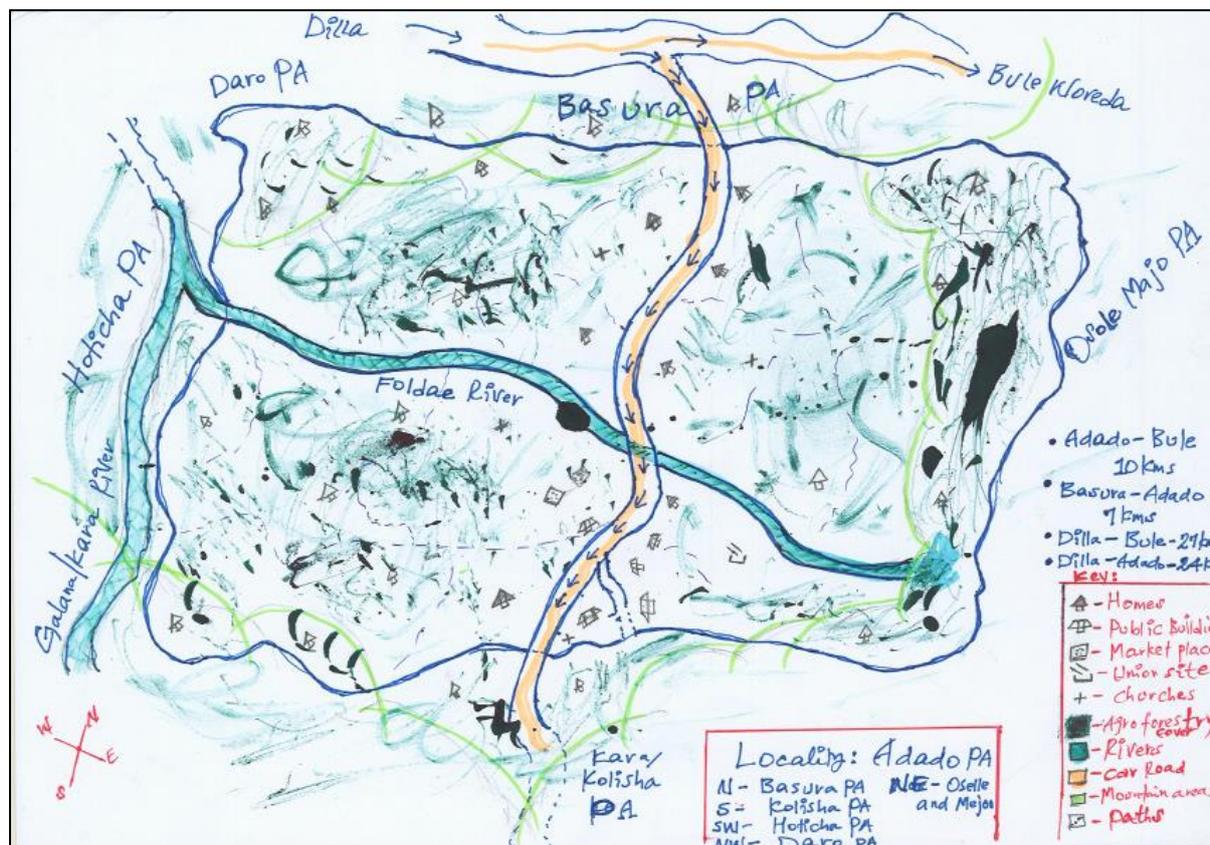
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Community features

Map 1: The Adado community



Place

Altitude and terrain

The landscape of Adado is mountainous, with hilly parts that can be affected by erosion. Almost all the land is planted with coffee and enset trees which maintain the soil thus reducing erosion – although the dense vegetal cover also prevents from undertaking conservation activities.

Both internal paths and the main road crossing the kebele are difficult to travel on especially in the rainy season and also get eroded. This has improved a bit due to watershed management public works. But people still remark that while the altitude brings the advantage of good rainfall and offers a suitable environment for highland crops, Adado’s landscape makes it difficult to move from one place to another for trading or for any other business requiring transportation. It takes much time to move even simply from the kebele to the neighbouring ones. Farmers also report that due to the topography and the need to protect the roots of the coffee trees, no-one in the community is using ox-plough as the land would be tilled too deep and more prone to erosion.

Erosion is usually affecting people’s mobility in Adado, as internal roads and paths are easily damaged by water running over and along them. It is made worse when there is heavy rain, which some say has become more common. Prolonged heavy rain led to a massive landslide in September 2013, which destroyed houses and people’s enset and coffee trees on 6 to 8 ha, affecting at least 20 households. The landslide created damages estimated at 200,000 birr. It also cut off the main water supply line of Adado and in November 2013 there still was no tap water at all in the community and people had reverted to using spring and river water. Wereda officials and media people had come to see the landslide and assess the damage but there no action had been taken yet.

Soil

The soil is naturally fertile in the Gedeo zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Region (SNNPR) in general – and this is the case in Adado. The type of soil is called loam clay. It is suitable to grow coffee in the lower parts and enset in the higher parts, as well as maize, vegetables, fruits (including apple, avocado, banana, mango, Geishta, Zaitun), *kerkeha* (bamboo), eucalyptus and other highland crops. However, the community members reported that there is no extra land to plant crops other than coffee and enset –except a small portion of farmland planted with maize.

Many respondents highlighted that the soil fertility has been declining over time. They measure this in terms of the reduced output they get from their coffee or enset trees and the fact that enset trees take more years to mature than earlier on. Some women explain that this led to higher price for *kocho* (the main enset-based staple in the community); or as they produce less they can no longer sell *kocho* as they used to do to raise an income.

A few farmers related this declining fertility to the fact that the land is increasingly scarce hence overused due to population pressure, and farmers do not rotate crops. Some people believe that this is exacerbated by the low use of inorganic fertiliser in the area (it cannot be used on coffee-planted land to protect the taste of the highly-valued organic coffee that is locally grown); others disagree and add that farmers skilled in preparing compost and applying it as required should be able to maintain the soil fertility.

As shown by the September 2013 landslide, erosion can be a serious issue when it washes farmland soil off. It seems, however, that it was the first occurrence of a phenomenon of that magnitude since a long time.

Ecosystem

The land in Adado is almost entirely covered with agro-forestry of coffee and enset trees. Other trees found are eucalyptus, *wanza*, *warka* and other local trees, which are planted mostly for shedding the coffee crop from heavy rain, wind and the sun. No forest tree is used for economic activities though a few respondents have started planting eucalyptus for an income. Tree leaves are left to decompose and are used to improve the soil fertility. The trees are used for hanging up bee hives.

Most people said there was no change in tree cover as trees cut are being replaced – although there might be fewer big trees and more small trees including coffee and enset trees than in the past; a few others said the tree cover had reduced, but explained that this is due to more land planted with coffee and enset trees; yet others concluded that the tree cover had actually increased.

The male Research Officer who visited Adado is of the view that the place has a climate change mitigation potential as he thinks that the local agro-forestry has enough carbon sequestration capacity to absorb the carbon released by the agricultural and domestic activities of the community.

There is some small-scale bee-keeping. Households put the beehives on high trees in their home surroundings. Farmers explain that bees suck the sweet of the coffee flowers to make the honey. Most of this is traditional. There has been only limited exposure of farmers to the new beekeeping technologies.

There is no other animal that is used by the community. Some people mentioned foxes, hyena, antelope and monkeys, found mostly in the mountain and forested areas but most agreed that wildlife had reduced as there are people everywhere. This is rather seen as a good thing as wildlife was damaging households' crops or eating them like monkeys and some say, foxes. A few people said that farmers living in mountainous areas have still to protect crops and fruits.

The coffee and enset has been prone to diseases, which reduce the output and this, in turn, affects the annual income of households and the availability of enset products on local markets. Specifically,

both coffee and enset trees are reported to dry out and stop producing. Farmers have been told by the DAs that there is nothing to do but uproot the sick tree(s) and replace them with new local seedlings – which they have taught farmers how to produce. Farmers reported that coffee and enset diseases were introduced when hybrid seedlings from other places were used in the community. In contrast, people reported no common cattle, shoat, poultry or bee diseases in the community, and there was no memory of human disease epidemic. In November 2013 some cases of acute watery diarrhoea were reported.

Most people reported no pollution, except that some community members continue to discharge waste in the rivers instead of following the hygiene and sanitation teaching of the government.

Weather and climate

Problems caused by weather

In general the area is cool. Traditionally, the farmers reported, the community know about the outset of the rainy season by looking at the flower of a *bsana* tree. When the tree starts flowering they expect it will rain. *Belg* is the short rainy season usually lasting from February to April. *Meher* is the main rainy season and normally lasts from June to mid-September.

The respondents reported that the area generally has sufficient seasonal rainfall and there has been no unforeseen rainfall. Wind is not common. There has been no event of floods in the community. No exceptional cold weather and frost was observed in the area but there can be hail at times. Heavy rainfall is also common to the area and some people believe that it has become more common. It damages coffee flowers and this in turn decreases coffee output. On the other hand, extreme sun or heat also negatively affects the main crops' output as to grow well they need moist soil. So, both the extremes affect farming activities in both cultivation and harvesting seasons.

In summary, in April 2013 most people were of the opinion that Adado has favourable weather conditions and there has been no or little perceived impact on crop or livestock production, water access, human or animal health due to climate change. There are no severe weather variation-related causes to animal diseases in the community. Most of the problems seen in coffee and enset crops are related to diseases rather than the effects of weather effects. The weather variations have benign effects on human health, the most common being common cold.

Weather since 2008

Table 1: Weather since 2008 GC

		How good/bad was the rain?	Heat	
2008	<i>Belg</i>	The rain was sufficient and nearly timely	None	
	<i>Meher</i>	The rain was sufficient and on time		
2009	<i>Belg</i>	Not so bad, but it was heavier which affected a few coffee flowers	None	
	<i>Meher</i>	The rain lasted for all the months of the season, not bad.		
2010	<i>Belg</i>	Better	Hotter	
	<i>Meher</i>	Sufficient in the season, but not as extended as 2009		
2011	<i>Belg</i>	Not sufficient for farming activities	Hotter	
	<i>Meher</i>	June and July-heavy rain and August and September- fragmented		
2012	<i>Belg</i>	Not seasonal and not heavy as usual	Hotter	
	<i>Meher</i>	Not seasonal; insufficient		

Most respondents reported that while they hear about climate change on ETV, there is no severe weather change that affected the community's production and consumption pattern. In general farmers reported that weather condition variations have not been observed to be so harmful in the area. However, a few respondents reported a shorter rainfall period, hotter weather and heavier rainfall during the *Belg* in recent years – with the above mentioned problems for the coffee output.

In November 2013 everyone in Adado noted the unusually long heavy rainfall. In addition to the resulting landslide mentioned earlier, people said that this caused delays in coffee ripening, which in turn made the coffee more vulnerable to the cholera disease. Also, crops like wheat and barley, planted on a small scale, did not grow well and required more weeding.

Seasonality and work

Most young and adult men in the community have seasonal work patterns. From November to February all the community members, youth and adults, are busy with coffee harvesting. Those lacking coffee trees involve in coffee trading or in harvesting coffee as daily labourer. In the Belg season (February to April) farmers are busy with farming activities. They plant new enset and coffee seedlings and cultivate maize as well as tending the coffee and enset crops.

At this time of the year the young and landless men move to Shakiso for gold mining activities. Businesspeople are less active during this season because the farmers have a lower income and buy less. The community can be seen to be very active during the coffee season and much less active in other times of the year. From June to the coffee harvest many people seek credit from relatives and neighbours; the coffee of the previous year is often already fully sold, many have exhausted their savings and it is the maize planting season for which farmers need some cash.

Women and girls also take part in coffee trading, and they engage in household work in the non-coffee season. Those women with small landholdings are involved in enset processing as daily labour. A few are engaged in petty trade on both local and other markets (in Bule which is the wereda centre and Dilla the zonal capital).

Children mainly support the family in farming activities or household works except in their schooling time. They are especially busy during the coffee harvesting period and the farming period. Quite a few children around the kebele town are observed to take part in small-scale businesses like selling sugar cane, shoe-shining, tea selling, or in casual labour activities.

Seasonal variation is more noticeable for young and adult men than for girls and women. It is quite common for boys and young men at school to drop-out and go to Shakiso in the non-coffee season because they have no income source at this time of the year.

The major periods of the year in Adado are outlined below. More detailed seasonality calendars are found in Annex 1.

Table 2: Weather and work seasonality

	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	End of meher					Belg rains				Meher rains		
Seasons			Coffee harvest season									
			Peak business activity generally									
						Farming season						
Male work			Coffee harvesting and trading				Farming					
							Landless & youth migrate to Shakiso (gold mining)					
Female work			Coffee harvesting and trading									
			Domestic works, petty trade, kocho processing (own, daily labour)									

Community land use

Land use

There is very little grazing land in the community (no communal grazing land and only a few households with small private grazing plots), which is a serious constraint on livestock production activities other than short-term fattening on a small-scale even though conditions are otherwise

conductive (no animal diseases). This is said to limit diversification even though people are well aware of the risk of overdependence on the two main crops in the area, coffee and enset. A few people have started planting a new type of grass distributed by the DAs. Several respondents said that the community needed to be taught how to produce man-made livestock feed.

There is no land for investors. The wereda administrator explained that land belongs to the smallholders and cannot be leased to investors other than through a mutual agreement and short-term contract between a farmer and an investor. This has to be sanctioned by the wereda administration.

Apart from land for the coffee union's washing plant (which also serves for surrounding kebeles), public buildings, houses, and a growing number of small businesses (kiosks etc.) in the urban centre, all land is planted and allocated to smallholders.

Adado is the second most populated kebele in Bule wereda and landholdings have become very small for most households as families divide their land when sons get married. There are different statistics on landless households. Some respondents say that they are 170, out of 1,150 households in the community. However in November 2013 Research Officers were told that there are 1,050 tax paying households in the community, and that nobody was landless and all households paid land tax although some had very small plots. Reportedly, small landholdings are a major reason for households' poverty and a major constraint on diversification even in other crops as farmers prefer to plant coffee for its market value, and enset is a very important drought-resistant food source. Most landholdings vary from less than 0.25 ha for many households to 3 ha, with an average of about 0.75 ha. The largest landholding is 17 ha.

No land is irrigated.

Settlement pattern

Houses are concentrated in Adado town and scattered, but fairly densely, in all other parts of the kebele. There are no villages as such, apart from the kebele urban centre (see map below).

Urban areas

Adado town spreads along the main road crossing the kebele. It has not changed much in the past ten years according to the Research Officer who had been there in 2003 GC.

There are 90 residents in Adado town (November 2013). A few of the houses that already existed in 2003 were painted. Most houses have tin roofs (85%) due to shortage of grass but this was already the case ten years ago. Poor households who cannot afford tin roofs use enset leaves and sometimes plastic sheets as roof.

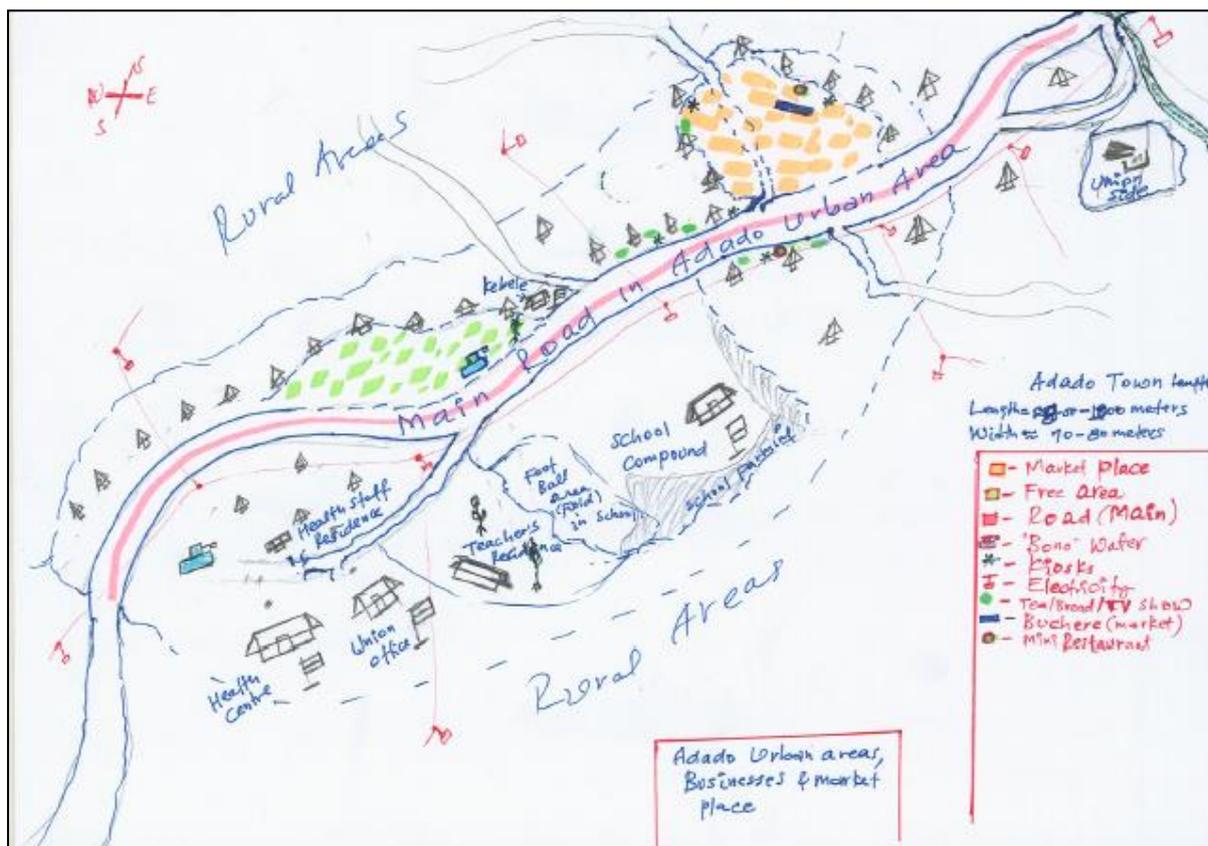
There are more tea houses and shops generally in the kebele, and in the town area. There is easy access to soft drinks and beer and it is now also easier to find injera. In the town there are five kiosk-shops, four cafés selling tea, bread and biscuits, and two mini-restaurants i.e. places where food is sold. There are new places to bake and sell bread and bread is also sold on the local market. Most of these activities are highly seasonal, with much higher demand in the coffee harvest season when people have money at hand. The main market is held on Sundays. One of the new things in Adado is a place where people roast dough with oil and sell this, which they call *koker*. There are also new service providers like battery charging, torch maintenance and barber.

People in Adado town and along the main road are said to have better information on health and other issues as they can directly see what is coming to Adado.

The law does not allow selling and buying land, but people are keen to buy urban land and do so illegally if they can find someone who wants to sell such land. But, it is no longer possible to get land in Adado town or along the road. Only rent is possible, through contracts of 1 to 3 years. Some people rent for much longer (30 years), through agreements that involve three witnesses. Often

people then talk about 'sale'.

Map 2: Urban area of Adado



The town is also where all public buildings are concentrated, as well as the coffee union’s office. The coffee union’s washing site is at one extremity of the town.

Community water use

Rivers and springs

There are three rivers, the *Foldawi* river cutting across the kebele, the *Gellana* river bordering it and separating Adado from the neighbouring kebele Hoticha, and the *Abole* river. They run throughout the year although the volume decreases in the dry season. The rivers’ catchments start from the mountain areas on the kebele border. There are springs that are the main sources of water in Adado. The community uses the rivers for washing clothes and animal drinking. People in ‘rural Adado’ use the springs for household consumption and drinking – whereas people near the kebele centre used the water from a pipe recently connected to a spring in the mountain areas (destroyed by a landslide between the two fieldwork periods).

Underground and harvested water

The community uses mainly spring points and the rivers. In the kebele town area, a pipe (Bono water= #2) had recently been connected to a spring in the mountain catchments. One borehole installed in the community is not functioning. A few households have wells, but they don’t use them regularly. Since springs and rivers are available in near distances the households prefer to use them.

There is no water harvesting activities.

Irrigation infrastructure

The farmers and even people knowing about irrigation reported that they use rain for their

smallholder production because the area has sufficient annual rainfall as it is highland and in addition enset is drought-resistant. Local smallholders have no or little experience of using rivers for irrigation, except for a few people living near the rivers who fetch water from rivers by *jerry can* to water their green vegetables' field in the dry season. Respondents report that the river catchments are not suitable for diversion of water for irrigation and upward water pumping would be required. That is the reason why people do not use irrigation.

Infrastructure

Public buildings

The kebele office is not a modern building (Research Officers describe it as a 'non-building office'). It has electricity, a latrine but no water connection although access to water from the pipe nearby. There is no FTC, no vet office and no health post. There is a health centre with one old block and one new modern block recently added as well as a latrine. The health centre is not fenced; it has electricity but no water connection although it has access to the water pipe nearby. The school was built with community labour in traditional mud walls and this has not changed except that some classrooms were added. The school buildings, including the classrooms, the staff office and the staff residence are in a poor condition. The Union office has one old block and one new block. It has no latrine and no water connection but it is connected to electricity.

Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport

There is one main road crossing the kebele, branching from the Bule-Dilla road (see maps). It is partly paved but it still is unusable generally for at least one full day at a time in rainy times as it becomes muddy and slippery. This makes movements difficult in the rainy season and it is a major constraint to trade and to the coffee business. Internal paths connecting landholdings to this road are all narrow and cannot be used by vehicles except for motorcycles. In the rainy season all are very difficult even for the motorcycles.

Roads and paths were improved a bit in recent years, through public works which some of the years were financed by the Sustainable Land Management Programme (SLMP), employing mostly poor people. People were paid 30 birr/day which they complained about, saying that as this was an NGO it could pay better. There is some annual maintenance through community labour, which in 2013 appears to have been done without payment even though people allegedly were initially told they would be paid. The main road was widened so that larger carriages can enter the community, some ditches were built to prevent the road to be eroded too much, and portions of the road were paved with stones. People mentioned that the wereda gave some gabions but they were not used as there was no training on how to use them.

As a result of these efforts the main road now enables cars and ambulances to reach the kebele in dry weather. But it is very hilly and remains difficult, at times impossible to pass in rainy season. Bridges are difficult to cross. They are made with wood so cars have to drive across the river. Bridges are falling down and they are maintained by the community only. Also, according to some respondents the works are not made carefully enough and do not last – e.g. ditches are destroyed, allowing runoff water to again damage the road. Internal paths were also widened. But this is not significant and internal roads and paths remain difficult to use during the rainy season and impossible at times.

There is no help from Government to improve the local roads. People complain about this poor access as the road is economically very important for a coffee growing area.

Transport by mule, horse and donkey is therefore still very important in the community (there are more than 40 mules and horses). They are used to transport sick people to the health centre as it is not possible to do so through traditional means like stretchers (too slippery). Poor people may have to rent one. People also use them to transport goods to markets. Traders rent them from farmers to transport coffee, skins and hides and other goods. Carts are not common as the road is not

appropriate to use them.

There are a few motorcycles. This started in 2004 EC, first with agriculture and health office workers using them. There is one at the health centre. Now there are members of the community owning motorcycles and offering transport services as a source of income – they are supposed to hold a license to do so. Some said there are four of them; others five, a teenage girl said ten. But they usually are not found in Adado as there are few customers. Rather, they bring people back to the community from Bule for instance. It is very expensive. They charge 30 birr to move to the neighbouring Basura kebele, 50 birr to go to the wereda centre Bule and 150 birr to go to Dilla (the zonal capital). They do not provide services when it rains.

Car transport is not common except for occasional transportation of coffee to Dilla during the harvest season. Sometimes traders transport trees from the kebele to other places and shopping items are brought from Dilla to Adado with cars. One person in the community has a car. There is no bajaj. There is no other transportation means in the community. There is no regular transport from the community to the outside world and nobody is willing to give car transport services in the rainy season. When there is a car the transport to Bule (27 km) costs 13 birr.

The community explains that people would be happy to contribute to improving the roads if the government supported this on its side and that it should do so as the area is well-known for its supply of highly-valued coffee on the national and international cash crop market. Even wereda officials recognise that poor access is a big issue and this holds for the wereda as a whole. They explain that it is beyond their means to address it and yet the zone and Region do not pay attention, unlike in other areas and in spite of the wereda's importance in relation to foreign currency earnings for the country.

Other infrastructure

Mobile phones

There is mobile signal since 2000 EC but only in a few spots in the kebele (e.g. in the school compound, the coffee union's office and the market) and the connection is erratic and mostly poor. However, many community members own a mobile. Mobile phones were first used by government health workers and teacher; then the community also began. Currently there are more than 200 people who are using mobile phones (elsewhere this is reported to be 300). In one family the mother, the father and children can own mobile phones. The young generation uses them also to listen to FM radio and music in addition to communication. People do not use the mobile phone for internet. There are places in town offering phone charging services.

Electricity

Electricity was first connected in 1997 EC. There is electricity in Adado town and almost all the houses there are connected as well as houses nearby. Various statistics were given in relation to coverage. After checking, it seems that about 70% of the households in Adado are connected one way or another and public buildings are connected as well. Some 30% of Adado's dwellers are too remote or could not afford. Of those connected, only 120 households have their own meters. There is a high demand for electricity in the areas that are not connected.

Town people use it for light, cooking and powering electronics, including showing TV and tape recorder playing. Rural people use it for light and a few to charge their radio and mobile phone. A few people use it for coffee hulling and for barber services. It is also important for the market which is at night, and allows shops and other petty services to remain open longer.

Supply is more reliable during the rainy season. The power was cut for some time when Research Officers reached the kebele in April 2013, as a tree had fallen and cut the cable and it took a while to have it repaired. When this happened they could see the change due to the coming of electricity in the community. The town is filled with songs from big loudspeakers of CD/VCD players. Children

from 5 onwards and young people watch music clips and songs in tea houses. One of the best known entertainment places is the house owned by a person who has a bakery. At night it is full of children and young people watching songs on TV until the bread get baked. There are about 20 TVs in the community and five to six satellite dishes as well as other electrical equipment including machines used by the local carpenters. Electricity is also very important for the Union's coffee washing plant.

Many of the 13- and 16-year old male and female teenagers interviewed mentioned the availability of electricity and mobile connection and the opportunities that this offered as one of the things they liked about the community. Several of the adults interviewed as household heads or wives thought that as young people could watch TV there is no real need for a recreation centre for the youth – although most believed that it is needed.

Community economy

Local macro-economy

It was estimated by one knowledgeable person that smallholder farming including coffee growing provides 90% of the local macro-economy in Adado. Agricultural labour represents about 1% of the local economy (including cultivating and harvesting); non-farm business about 5% in trade (coffee, vegetables, fruits, livestock, shops, local drink selling) and skilled work (blacksmith and carpentry); migration 3%; and non-farm employment (in tea selling, house construction etc.) and daily commuting for work out of the kebele about 0.5% each. This does not include public employees working in the kebele, like the school and health centre staff.

Most of the community respondents thought that the local macro-economy was quite conducive and conditions had improved in the recent past (see wealth below). This is due to increased coffee earnings as the international market had been buoyant, the Union has strengthened marketing and farmers have improved their technique thanks to government extension advice. There also is a nascent trend towards a relatively vibrant diversification with some good income options (trade of various kinds, skilled works, service transport and migration for the youth).

However, there were people less optimistic noting that the community is not engaging seriously in trade for instance, or that altogether the local economy remains overly dependent on just two crops and in particular, coffee for income. Some of the less optimistic ones highlighted land scarcity as the overarching constraint and that whatever the options, with the rapidly expanding population the local labour supply is structurally exceeding the demand.

Main livelihood activities and notable changes

Established adult males

Coffee and enset cultivation is still the main livelihood activity of many established adult males, on various scales. Many combine this with daily labour when their landholding is small, or other economic activities including skilled labour for a few (carpentry etc.). There is also a growing class of rich or very rich men who combine big farming with other large-scale activities (trade or business). But among established men even those who present themselves as mainly businessmen are also large coffee growers. Coffee trade represents a significant part of the activities of established adult males – it is seasonal with a peak when the fresh, Yirgacheffe-quality coffee is harvested.

Established adult females

There still is a probably quite large group of established adult females who contribute to their male-headed household's livelihood activities but have none of their own, or small scale like selling a few eggs or small quantities of dry coffee. A number of established adult women engage in coffee trade, other small scale (petty or retail) trade (e.g. flour, butter from outside and brought on Adado's market), daily labour (kocho processing) and running businesses of various sizes (e.g. teashop, areke production and selling).

Young men

A few young men are government employees in Adado (e.g. the kebele manager and the DAs) and more of them outside (there are more than 200 educated people from Adado working for the government elsewhere). The main constraint for young men locally is lack of access to land. The coffee trade and daily labour on farms offers seasonal job opportunities but not reserved to the young men as some established landless men or men with little landholdings strive for the same. An increasing number of mainly young men including of school age migrate temporarily, sometimes more than once, to a gold mining place in Oromia (Shakiso) to get an income and if possible some capital to invest locally on return, in trade or business. Young men from richer families who fail to reach higher education level may be supported by their families to start a local business like a shop. It is quite hard for many to establish an independent livelihood.

Young women

A few young women are government employees in Adado (e.g. the HEW) and perhaps more of them outside (there is no information about how many of the 200 government employees elsewhere are women). It is not customary for women to own land in Adado and while this is supposed to change, the pace of change is slow and may stall considering the general scarcity of land. The most common route for most young women who have stopped their education is still to marry and contribute to their household's livelihood, although they may more often than in the past try to have their own income-generating activity. There are no specific options to assist young women to engage in retail and petty trade, local or non-local drink selling, shop running etc.

Notable recent changes

The international coffee market has been good with the coffee price rising year-on-year, until last year when the price suddenly dropped. The effects of this recent drop and whether it is a trend or a short-term fluctuation are not yet entirely clear but most adult respondents in Adado are concerned by this. It makes life harder for small growers and it also means that large coffee growers have suddenly much less income to invest in other activities.

Indeed in the years before, there seems to have been an increasing trend towards more diversified livelihoods (more on the non-farming side than in terms of agricultural diversification), presumably facilitated by large growers' higher income (credit has an insignificant role in Adado). However, trade is de facto limited by the limited range of local products. Livestock and livestock products have become even more marginal than in the past as the land is 100% occupied with crops – mainly coffee and enset. Enset has remained the most important food crop locally produced. The provision of urban-like services and goods imported from urban areas or other rural areas (e.g. butter as this is no longer produced locally) presents some opportunities and some of the very rich people in the community have engaged in this (e.g. a man with a teashop/restaurant and bakery producing 500 breads/day in Adado town).

Another driver of change is population growth and the increasing shortage of land for the young generation, many of whom have no option but to look for non-farm based options. Unlike many other areas, in Adado the young people who reach college or university graduation still find a job easily and this has been a rising trend in the past decade or so. One emerging big issue is the large number of those who 'fail on the way' and have much fewer options. One of them is migration for gold-mining as just explained.

Independence of farming economy and future potentials

The economy of Adado used to be largely enset-based subsistence farming, with some coffee growing. With the rising interest on international markets for niche coffees like the locally-grown Yirgacheffe, farmers in Adado responded to the market demand with support from the government extension services to help them reach the required quality standards. Adado now looks more like a

cash crop-based economy with some food production. The economy is largely dependent on one cash crop whose price fluctuates according to the vagaries of the international market. Whether this is sustainable or not depends on factors much beyond the local context. There seems to be an assumption on the side of local officials that diversification is necessary but as said above, the diversification actually ongoing appears to be quite largely driven by the coffee income. The promoted agricultural diversification seems to be less important so far. The other threat to the independence of the local economy is population growth.

Future potentials might indeed include options evoked by wereda officials and a few local respondents, such as irrigated production of horticulture crops and livestock fattening with appropriate feeding techniques taking into account the very limited size of land available for fodder production. For Adado's economy to continue to grow (which most people say has happened in the past decade), there needs to be a group of households who can get a reliable income from their farmland and who can then continue to invest in other activities potentially generating jobs, and/or demand for services and goods that they can afford and others in the community can provide.

Inflation

Most of the adult respondents interviewed in various capacities mentioned inflation or its effects one way or another. Asked specifically about it, men estimated that farming input prices more than doubled over the past five years. Livestock prices also tremendously increased and this is defeating the recently promoted idea of the AGP. This new project promotes an approach whereby 13 people should form a group to take 13,000 birr for ox fattening. But many of the community members 'hate the proposal' because the money is not sufficient to buy one big ox. Or, the area is good for sheep production but their price has more than tripled when compared to even only three years ago.

There is not a single item whose price remained the same, men explained. Feeding a large family with cabbage plus kocho costs more than 8 birr for just one meal; it was three times less five years ago. Transport has also shot up (30 birr to go to the nearby kebele; 100-130 birr to go to Dilla), which is so expensive for the community. Or, if a farmer wants to hire one labourer for a day in the coffee harvesting season, they ask a daily wage not less than 30-50 birr per day. The same type of labour took 5-10 birr per day five years ago.

There is not much change with health or education fees (some women disagreed with this as they said that five years ago there was no school fee and now there is 20 birr to be paid). But for one student attending primary school the cost of exercise books for a year now reaches about 80-100 birr while ten years ago this same amount was sufficient to buy all stationary items for at least two pupils attending primary school (women confirmed this). Even the manual farming tools made by local blacksmiths have increased in price due to expensiveness of steel bought from Dilla town.

Women concurred and highlighted that all items on the market became more expensive. The price increase did not come at once but steadily over time. There is a marked increase in the price of improved seeds; fertiliser has increased from 200 birr in 2008 GC to 1,500 birr in 2013 GC, which discourages people from using it. One ox bought for 2,000 birr five years ago now costs 15,000 birr (for a best quality ox). A sheep bought for 500 birr now costs 2,000 birr. In general the price of potatoes and vegetables has doubled since 2008 GC. There is huge increase in the price of clothes and shoes. One room in the community is now rented 100 birr/month (it didn't exist five years ago).

Women gave other examples as in the table below.

Table 3: Effects of inflation on prices

	Item	Price in 2008 (birr)	Price in 2013 (birr)	Remark
1	Fertiliser	200	1500	The same amount
2	Ox	2000	15,000	Best ox
3	Sheep	500	2000	1 count

	Item	Price in 2008 (birr)	Price in 2013 (birr)	Remark
4	Goat	200	1200	1 count
5	Chicken	50	150	1 count
6	Maize	10	25	The same amount
7	Beans	1	10	The same amount
8	Barley	0.50 cents	5	The same amount
9	Coffee	15	40	1 kg
10	Oil (5 litre)	10	29	5 litre)
11	Salt	2	6	The same amount
12	Sugar	12	38	1 kg
13	Kocho (one <i>chinet</i>)	50	200	1 <i>chinet</i> (load)
14	Glass	3	10	1 piece
15	Transport Dilla Bule	4	20	1 trip
16	Wage rate	2.50	15	Per day
17	Exercise book	1.50	5	1 piece
18	Pen	1.25	4	1 piece

There is a general sense that while the overall trend of increasing prices of coffee and other farm products is of course beneficial, it does not balance the higher costs of all the items that households have to purchase – and in addition coffee price is subject to uncontrolled price variations and has been less good the last year.

All households report adjustments in their expenses linked to the higher costs of food and other items. The better-off ones like the successful farmer and the successful businessman highlight that the cost of ceremonies like weddings of their children, funerals of relatives or the religious celebrations is much higher and this is not because the ceremonies are bigger but just because buying the same things or even less costs a lot more. The successful farmer spent 5,000 birr for his son's wedding in 2008 GC, 1,000 birr for his mother's funerals and 4,000 birr for the three big religious ceremonies of last year. The businessman spent 21,000 birr on his son's wedding in 2010 GC and received 7600 birr contribution from others; and last year he spent 6,000 birr for the three religious festivals. The successful female head of household spent 10,000 birr for her husband's funerals in 2003 EC, to buy meat, coffee, clothes, coffin and a sculpture stand for the grave. She spent 5,000 birr and got 2,000 birr in contribution for her daughter's wedding in 2000 EC.

Poorer households have to adjust their diet. For instance the middle wealth farmer's wife explains that her family consumes less barley, maize, pulses, milk, butter, eggs and meat than five years ago because they have to buy it and it has become much more expensive. The poor female-headed household explain that the household is consuming less grain because they are producing less maize and because grain got expensive; less enset because their land is producing less; less pulses and vegetables because of the price. They already could not afford milk and butter five years ago and this has not changed. But in addition they have stopped eating eggs and while five years ago they sometimes could afford meat this is not the case anymore because of increase in the price of meat and decreasing income. Also now family members are eating together because there is not enough.

Even the wife of the successful businessman explains that they are consuming less egg, meat and spice because of the increase in living costs. For the same reasons, family members now eat together while previously they used to eat separately. The successful woman head of household explain that they eat less pulse, spices, fruit, milk and butter because of price increases, and they also eat less meat of different kinds except for chicken and less meat on the whole.

People reported continued inflation between April and November 2013, giving further examples. For instance, a quintal of wheat flour which was 880 *birr* in April reached 1,120 birr in November; the meat had gone up from 60 birr/year to 120 birr/year; local cabbage which was about 2 *birr*/kg in April was 4 birr in November. For other items, the price had not changed but the items were

smaller. For example the price of bread is the same but the size is decreasing. The same is true for kocho, soap, kerosene etc. It is not clear whether this was a continued inflation trend, or linked to the lean season as people in Adado had not yet started harvesting the year's coffee.

Social structure

Demographics

There are 1,150 households and 5,582 people living in Adado. As said earlier, 170 households are recorded as landless. There are 100 female-headed households, and 2,100 young people under 20. There are 123 orphans who lost both parents, of whom around 60% go to school with financial support from relatives.

Wealth and poverty

The community is stratified as follows: 5% of the households are very rich; 10% are rich; 44% are middle; 35% are poor; 5% are very poor and 1% are destitute. Their characteristics are summarised in the table below.

Wealth is closely linked to coffee. E.g. there is a big difference between someone with 2 ha and 2,000 coffee tree and someone who has less than 0.5 ha. Rich are getting richer because of coffee and poor become poorer because of inflation. Poor and very poor people are those affected by land shortage, large family size, and no means of other non-farm income activities due to lack of initial capital. Destitute households do not have land at all. In very rich and rich families there are TVs. There are six satellite dishes in the community, bought by people who saw them in cities and had money from their coffee harvest.

Table 4: Characteristics of the different wealth groups of households in Adado

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Household goods found in these houses	Larger land size, better housing condition, large number of coffee tree, enset, livestock, TV/radio in their home, better bed, consume better food, wear better clothes and shoes.	Items are almost the same as for very rich ones, with a difference in size, number or quality.	Mostly they own enset and coffee in smaller amounts when compared to rich ones, have poorer housing and fewer household resources.	Enset and coffee owning is smaller than for the middle wealth households; much poorer housing and fewer household resources.	They have very few coffee and enset trees, and almost bad housing condition with no household resources.	They have no land to plant coffee, enset or maize, live in poorest home-like places formed from leaves of enset and trees.
Sources of wealth	Coffee followed by maize, livestock and enset	Coffee followed by maize, livestock and enset (smaller size)	Coffee followed by maize, enset	Coffee and enset	Coffee and enset	None
How do poor people get by?				They earn an income from agricultural labour works or migrating to other areas.	Agricultural labour income, begging from richer households.	No-one trusts them to give money for non-farm or off-farm activities. They mostly beg in the community or in churches.
Changes in last 10 years	Increasing due to involvement in other non-farm and off-farm activities, better coffee market	Increasing	Increasing	Very small reduction due to improving attention to work	No change	Leaving the areas for better employment in other towns

Social identities

The community is 100% Gedeo, from the seven Gedeo clans. The Logoda and Hembra are the most important demographically with 15% and 10% of the community's population respectively, and they are senior to the others as they provide the Aba Gada of the Gedeo zone. The other clans (Bakaro, Darasha, Hanuma, Doba and Gorgosha) share the remaining of the population.

There are no immigrants in Adado, except seasonally for the coffee harvest.

Approximately 5% of the community is Muslim. The rest is Protestant, with many different churches of which Kalehiwot is the most important, with more than 300 followers (40 to 50% of the community). It has two church places and also has better resources (cash, buildings and entertainment equipment). Other important Churches are Mekane Yesus (20%, also 2 churches); Mulu-Wengel (15%/5%) which emerged from a dispute in the Kalehiwot church some years back, and Tsega (6%/10%). It is noteworthy that Islam reached the kebele before the Protestant Churches even though the latter are now dominant.

The 'new religions' as people still call them (especially the Protestant churches) are strongly shaping people's daily lives – through the church programmes, the behaviour rules (ban on smoking, drinking and chewing chat) and values (hard work, no domestic violence), the control exerted on the young generations and the sense of belonging that most young people express vis-à-vis the churches (see below). The churches are also important in conflict management, social bonding and supporting the poor and vulnerable people and groups. Several adult respondents mention various forms of support that they had from their church in times of crisis. There is also a sense of strong bonding across the Protestant churches (within and outside of the community).

There is a clear divide between the Protestants and the Muslims: according to community members one household cannot have people from the two groups, and they do not eat meat slaughtered by the other group. Religious celebrations that are important social events are not shared across the two religions. But community members noted that there is usually no conflict between Muslim and Protestant leaders or followers, and socio-economic institutions like equb and debo are shared across religious groups. Muslims have 2 mosques in Adado. There is no religiously-based spatial segregation, but most Muslims live in the Chiyote area, where one of the mosques is located. One of the male household heads noted that Muslims from within the community have links with Muslims outside the community and they meet for religious reasons but also for other common interests.

In November 2013 one respondent (the successful businessman's wife) reported a recent conflict between Muslim and Tsega followers. The Tsega followers were telling the evil spirit in the name of Jesus and the Muslims said it was insulting them. There was a verbal disagreement; the police intervened and the case was solved peacefully.

One perceived difference is that the few people who continue to openly adhere to the customary Gedeo religion are considered as conservative. But at the same time, Research Officers and several respondents noted that Gedeo customs continue to strongly influence people's beliefs and values and community management rules such as those related to women's rights to land etc.

Generally people in the community insist on the fact that the community is cohesive and social identities do not divide them. E.g. one of the Protestant leaders explained that the leaders in his church work together with other religions, the kebele leaders and the elders in the community. *"Peace and security is very good at present. This is due to the fact that there is good partnership among our community. We fight together for all threats to peace and security. In relation to peace and security issues, we become one and the same regardless of religious or clan differences."*

No other social identity is said to matter.

The community in its wider context

Political economy context

The kebele in the wereda

The Adado kebele is known for its good coffee production, followed by *enset*, since a long time. The wereda administrator explained that the kebele established its own coffee processing site owned by the farmers' union. This has created better market opportunity for the community to sell their coffee directly to the Union. He said there is no significant bad thing to mention for this kebele. The kebele administration is in good relation with the wereda administration. But he remarked that access to the kebele is poor, as is the case in the wereda as a whole.

The wereda in the wider world

The wereda connects the SNNP and Oromia Regions to each other and it is a well-known source of one of the major national commercial crop, coffee. The administrator also highlighted that the wereda has good access to rivers. But in both cases, access and irrigation, the mountainous topography is a challenge. The network of all-weather roads is poor in the wereda. Also, diverting rivers for irrigation is not easy so that other options such as ground water and harvesting rain water should be used to access water for irrigation with some use of the rivers to some extent.

He reported that there is awareness creation on the importance of small and medium enterprises in rural areas, but there is still none established. At present, the Agricultural Growth Programme (AGP) and Sustainable Land Management Programme (SLMP) are under way to realise household projects in groups (for ox fattening, sheep, got and hen production). But there is no new investment in the wereda. The administrator highlighted that land is owned by smallholder farmers and is not allowed for leasing. If investors wish land from farmers they have to reach mutual agreement formalised through a short-term contract. The kebele communicates the consensus between an investor and a farmer to the wereda for approval, in cognizance of the zonal administration. This is the procedure for smallholder farmer land rental process.

The wereda is financing Adado health centre as it serves five surrounding kebeles. The Farmers' Union also works for the 9 surrounding Kebeles.

The administrator mentioned that the wereda is known for its share of border areas with many weredas in Oromia region. There was a referendum asking people of a part of the Bule wereda neighbouring the Negele Borena area of Oromia region and they said that they wanted to join the Oromia Region. But they regretted their decision as they observed that they had no better access to a public service centre in the Negele Bonena area.

Except this, there has been no tension within the wereda or with the nearby weredas. Currently, the administrator explained, there is a joint annual conference between weredas in the Oromia region and the Bule wereda regarding peace and security. Previously, there were very serious theft and robbery problems across weredas sharing borders. The two zones supported their respective weredas to undertake peace and security works. The consensus of the conference is to protect peace and security in the area through joint supervision. The joint conference has been effective. He added that the markets for coffee, cattle and cereals between Bule wereda and the weredas in Oromia region are now peaceful.

External roads, bridges & access

As noted earlier the main road to access Adado is branching off from the road connecting the wereda centre Bule to the zonal capital Dilla. It has been improved in the recent past and among others was made wider. This allows cars and even trucks to reach Adado. But it still is only a dry-season road. There are also improvements in the wereda road network linking kebeles to each other. For instance the road connecting Adado to Wonago and Basura is better, but not that

connecting Adado to Kolisha.

There is no support from either the zonal or the regional government and as a result, these improvements are minor and poor when compared to connecting roads in neighbouring weredas. It is known that this is because of budget shortage but the community and the wereda officials all highlight that the road network in the Gedeo zone as a whole is poor and most other places have relatively better road access. As a result, although the coffee washing plant and the establishment of the Farmers' Union in Adado have had major benefits for the community and kebeles around (including in creating jobs during the washing season), the area remains unattractive to outside investors because of the poor road infrastructure and remoteness.

Whatever improvement there is has brought many benefits, noted by everyone alike. It makes it easier to go to market places and sell farm and other local products like skins and hides, and to get access locally to various types of goods that had to be transported on horseback and can now be brought by cars or trucks (consumption goods, factory-made food and drinks like sugar, salt, beer, soft drinks, candies and biscuits, medicine, tin sheets for roof, stationary for school children etc.). It is also easier to visit or be visited by relatives, go and attend education in nearby towns and access health care services (people from other communities coming to the Adado health centre, ambulances reaching Adado, people from Adado going to Bule or even Dilla).

The improved access is particularly important in relation to coffee. People from the surrounding kebeles can more easily bring their coffee to the Union's site and the Union can transport the coffee more easily to Dilla for the national and international market.

But there continues to be no public transport so transportation means are expensive. E.g. motorbikes charge 30 birr to move to Basura kebele, 50 birr to go to Bule at 10 km and 150 birr to go to Dilla (25 km). Poorer members of the community continue to have to walk as they cannot afford transport. Moreover, they do not provide service when it rains.

External linkages

The kebele is surrounded by Basura in the North, Kolisha and Kara in the South, Hoticha in the Southwest, Dorro in the Northwest and Oselle and Mejoo in the West. See map on next page.

Rural linkages

Other kebeles

Adado kebele has peaceful relations with neighbouring kebeles, mainly linked through trade of agricultural produce. There is a school in the *Agama* kebele where students re-sit if they fail the Gr8 exams at the local school (they cannot re-sit locally). In the nearby *Agamsu* kebele there are traditional healers and bone setters who people go and consult. People from other kebeles come to Adado to seek health care as there is a health centre.

More widely there is a joint committee at regional level between SNNP and Oromia to address boundary and interregional issues; they have annual conferences on peace and security.

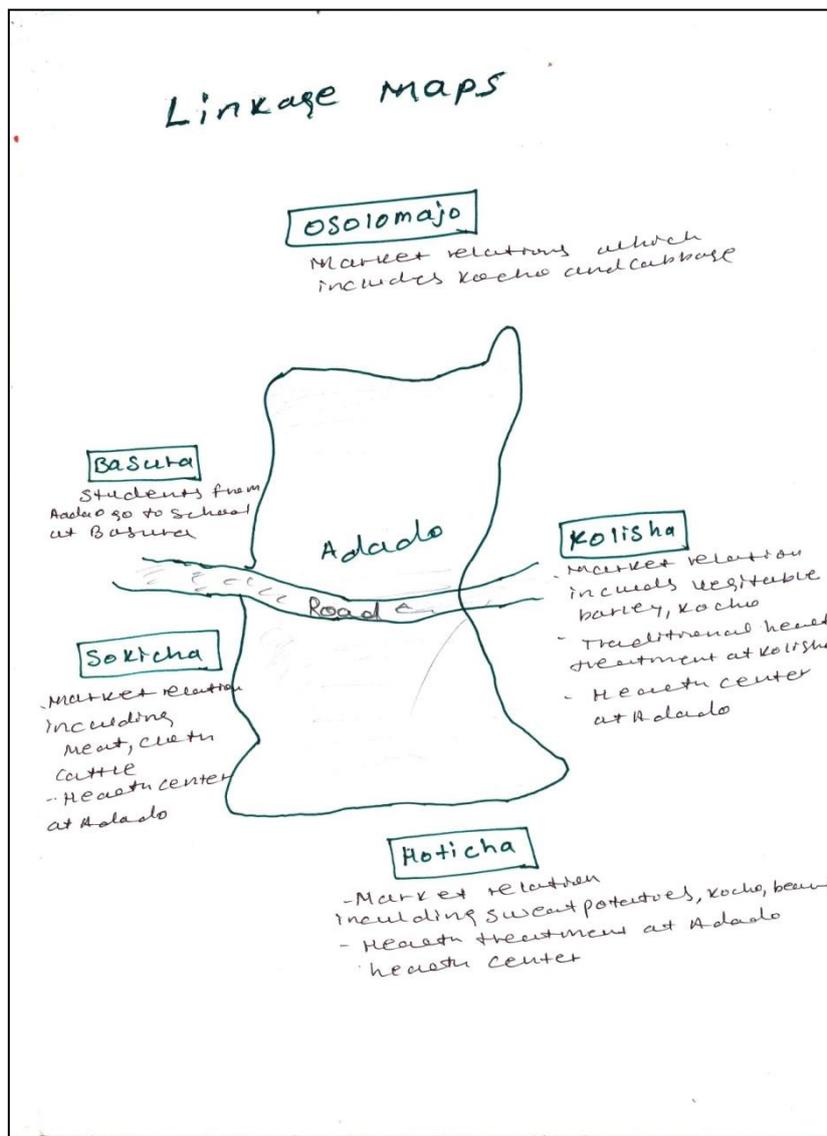
Rural/agricultural migration

There is some seasonal male migration for farming activities (daily labour or sharecropping) to different places in Oromia (Taro, Shakiso, Solamo, Hagere Mariam and Kercha). Migrants first settle with friends or relatives who went before. Some of them can buy some land (unofficially) after some time, and build a house and make their family come. Many may produce on sharecropped land over there, and return to Adado during the coffee season – either because they also have some land with coffee or to work for the coffee harvesting. Those who get enough money from this migration and return may open a shop. Estimates of those who indeed return to Adado vary, from very few according to some informants, to most according to others. Taro is at some 230 km distance from Adado, on the way to Shakiso (350 km).

Many more people (300 to 400) migrate to *Shakiso* (350 km, 6 hours travel and 60 birr cost) for gold mining during the Belg season. These are men only, women do not go. Most are between 25 and 45 years old but there is a trend of increasingly younger boys going, following their seniors. Again, most men return for the coffee harvest (3-400, during belg). People doing this used to stay there and buy land (some 20 settled there) but this is not possible anymore. Those who go now work there either as wage labourers for the gold mining companies (formal) or looking for gold in more remote areas where the gold mining companies are not established and directly selling it (informal). The latter may be more lucrative if you are lucky e.g. someone can make 100,000 birr in one trip. Daily labour in the mines can vary from 20 to 50 birr/day depending on labour availability. When everyone is back for coffee harvesting labour at the mines is scarce and better paid.

See urban migration below.

Map 3: The community's linkages



Urban linkages

Local towns

Local students go to Bule, the wereda capital, to attend Gr9 and Gr10. People also go there for trade, administrative or legal issues and better medical treatment. People go to Dilla, the regional capital,

to buy consumption goods, for high school and TVET and for better medical treatment. Most of the young girls interviewed wanted to live there. Bule is at a distance of 10 km, Dilla is 25 km away. As explained below there is some migration to these two towns.

Table 5: Main urban links of Adado

Town	Why do people go there? List the main things they do	Time to walk there	Transport available	Time of travel	Cost	Cut-off?	Who goes there?
Bule	-Market -schooling, preparatory school. -Get medical treatment	90 minutes	Transport available	30 minutes	10 birr	No cut off during rain	Traders, students, people to go to market
Dilla	TVET schools, preparatory school, to bring consumption goods for shops	3 hours	Transport available	1 hour	13 birr car; 150 birr motor bikes	No cut off during rain	Traders, students

One knowledgeable person explained that the increased density of urban linkages is changing the local community culture. People in Adado want to live an urban lifestyle; they perceive it as always better than the rural lifestyle, be it the way of clothing, people's cleanliness and generally their being alert. People in rural communities like Adado adopt urban types of household utensils. The rural community started using electricity for home energy consumption, which is a feature of urban dwellers. Houses are now smokeless. Since they have an opportunity to see how urban dwellers use electricity as a source of energy, a few rural dwellers with access to resources started using it.

He added that the shift to an urbanised culture is particularly pronounced with the young generation, who gives loose attention to the local community customary beliefs and values which used to be very strictly respected (such as the Aba Gada system). The community's religious practice is also changing under urban influence. These days, the youth and adults affirm that the 'worldly' religions, which have been there for a considerable number of years now, are better than the traditional one. Youth are also more interested by the independent lifestyle of the urban areas, unlike in rural areas where family relations are strong.

Farming practices are somewhat influenced by urban linkages as well. The local farmers produce the farm products that are more demanded by urban areas. For instance, they produce high quality coffee which can satisfy the urban demand. Farmers think that the products will be better sold if quality is maintained. Farmers perceive quality as a feature of the urban economy.

The non-farm activities such as shop trading, skill works, renting vehicles, renting films and running a show room (for football watching) in Adado town attract customers from the rural areas. The urban economy also relies on the rural economy as a source of goods daily consumed such as crops, livestock and other farm products. Farm and non-farm products are strongly linked. The skilled workers such as blacksmiths in urban areas are suppliers of the farm tools to the local economy.

Attitude to education is better in urban areas than in rural areas. People in urban areas know the returns of education better than the rural ones. There is no drop out of students in urban areas. The local people use the urban dwellers as a reference for all better achievements. Sanitation and use of latrine was not common in the rural areas but this is changing as rural people regularly visit urban areas during market days or in meeting occasions and take the opportunity to see urban ways of using sanitation and latrines. Diet is also influenced by urban cultures. People in the rural areas used to consume only farm products, but these days the rural community use commodities such as sugar, powder, tea, bread, injera and others.

Aspiration for the betterment of one's future life is linked to the culture of the richer people either in rural or urban areas. However, people in Adado clearly see that the richer are always living in

urban areas and have better infrastructure access. Many rural rich farmers are trying to buy urban land to shift to urban areas as cities are perceived as the place to be for those who overcame their life challenges and lifestyle is seen to be more modern in urban areas than in rural areas. Farmers also get used to spend time on leisure and move to urban areas for this, staying for some days and enjoying, eating and drinking urban-produced items.

Rural-urban linkage is now the two sides of a coin. The urban economy will not live without the rural linkages. The rural economy is the main supplier of farm products and also cash crops. The urban economy is also the main market source for rural households. Industrial products are consumed by the rural economy. There is an increasing dual linkage between urban and rural economies.

Urban migration linkages

Migration is perceived the best means of earning income if there is no option in the community. In the past, migrants were considered as the poorer ones who have no livelihood options. These days the youth move to urban areas because they perceive that jobs in urban areas are better than the rural farming activities. On the other hand, those with money earned through successful agricultural activities may want to migrate to urban areas to live a better life.

Good informants said that about 2% of Adado's men migrate to Bule, Solamo, Taro, Shakiso and Dilla to find work in towns, in teashops, bakeries and restaurants. Those who manage well usually rent a house and engage in a business themselves. They learn hygiene, get a better saving culture, and get skills like barber or bakery. Some of them may return in Adado and engage in a business that continues to link them to a town, like the man who started a business of second hand clothes he gets in Bule, with money from migration.

Women do usually not migrate in Adado but since a few years a few migrate to Dilla, Bule and Wonago – in towns. They usually do not return and their families are quite worried about them.

International linkages

Two people have been to South Africa – many did not know about why they went or where they were now.

Cultural imports

As explained above the most striking cultural imports arise from the increased links with urban areas. Also migrants returning from Shakiso are said to be bringing new ideas. The small Muslim population of Adado also has links with the wider Muslim community outside of Adado. An influential import has been the emergence which has turned into domination of the 'new religion' (Protestantism), which has significantly eroded the influence of the Gedeo traditional religious system in Adado. This is further explained in section 6.4 about Ideas.

Community changes since 2008

Crises

People mainly mentioned land shortage as a serious problem in the community, especially as the population has been continuously increasing. But they reported no special drought problem since 2008. There has been some fluctuation in rainfall in the past decade. Although most people consider this as not very serious, in 2012/3 it led to reduced coffee production, and in 2013/4 the harvest was expected to be rather poor as well. In one case (2012/3) this was because of too little rain and in the other, too much (the meher season in 2013 had seen unusually heavy rain for a prolonged period – it was still raining quite a bit when Research Officers returned in November 2013). In April 2013 most people perceived that there were good seasons and the climatic conditions for farming and business activities were conducive in the past five years – but this might have changed with the second consecutive bad year. There were years when improved maize seeds failed.

The recent landslide (September 2013) is likely to be considered as a crisis. It has affected directly at least 20 households, destroying their livelihoods. And it affects the community as a whole as at the time of the second fieldwork there was no potable water since several months, and there was no sign of activity to get the pipe (washed off by the landslide) repaired.

Sometimes, enset and coffee diseases are prevailing and when this is serious it directly affects everyone and causes poverty, because the two crops are the primary livelihood sources in the community. The main issue related to coffee is about price fluctuation.

There are no serious animal diseases but land scarcity is what prevents people from investing in livestock. The area is also not subject to serious human epidemics and no known disease season has been registered in the last five years. There was an attack of acute water diarrhoea some time back (no date), and about 20 people were affected but there was no death and health workers had prepared tents to admit the sick people. There have been some cases of malaria since 2004 – the HEWs say that these are migrants bringing it from other places.

Environmental changes

The most frequently reported and most negative environmental change is about the declining land fertility, which reduces agricultural outputs and curtails the livelihood of every household. Soil erosion is also a challenge but this is not new. It used to be considered as less serious than in some neighbouring kebeles, but perceptions may well change with the recent landslide. Also, extreme weather conditions such as very heavy rain or extreme sun are both bad for the coffee, but as just noted the dominant perception is that this is not more frequent than in the past – although a few people disagree with this and believe it is becoming more frequent.

Economic changes

Many people highlighted the economic benefits of the recent changes to the community's infrastructure (availability of electricity, phone communication and somewhat improved road access) especially for all trade-related activities (from petty trade to the Union's coffee trade to consumption trade in local shops). In contrast, inflation is generally perceived as a negative factor. The continuous price increments have harmed people's purchasing power of agricultural inputs and while agricultural output prices are increasing, consumption goods that people have to buy are very expensive. This negatively affected the community's consumption patterns.

There is no newly introduced crop and livestock in the community. However, there is an exchange of crops between higher land dwellers (sorghum, vegetables, and teff) and lower land dwellers (maize). There is also no new technology implemented in the kebele, except the idea to launch fishery from artificial ponds. Enset and coffee have undoubtedly remained the two most important crops. Enset continues to be people's basic staple – everywhere you see people *eating kocho for breakfast, lunch or dinner time*. On the whole people say that enset production is increasing as households have better knowledge about compost use and have been taught how to grow their own seedlings so they have enough inputs. But many also highlight that due to diseases and declining soil fertility the productivity of one enset tree is decreasing. Women explain that there is a disease called *wo-elo* which dries off the leaves first then the whole tree, which started in 1998 EC. The enset has to be uprooted and thrown away in a place where there is no enset because it would contaminate others. So far there is no solution other than planting new enset. The disease is spread all over Adado.

Coffee is the primary income source in the community. The local coffee is internationally recognised for its superior taste and organic quality as 'forest coffee' or Yirgacheffe coffee. Over the past decade farmers have become aware of how to produce quality coffee that meet the international demand. Every household knows how to produce coffee seedlings to replace hybrids from elsewhere which were found not suitable to the area; and how to use compost as inorganic fertiliser is not allowed with a view to maintaining the natural taste of the coffee. However, in the wereda there still is only the OMO microfinance institution, which provides limited credit to selected households

and there is no credit service specifically focused on coffee or any specific crop production improvement.

The agricultural extension workers have also taught to farmers how to intercrop suitable vegetables and root crops with their coffee and enset. These other crops are mostly used for household consumption. There is no crop produced with irrigation.

Reports on trends in agricultural labour participation are mixed. On one hand, the recently introduced 1-5s meet part of the needs and also as land plots are small people are less likely to hire daily labour. But agricultural labour is cheap and producing quality coffee and harvesting it in a good way and in a period of time as short as possible is labour intensive. There is abundant and increasing labour supply by landless and jobless men and poor women or widows with small landholdings.

As said earlier, there is no full agreement on the extent to which the local economy has changed and in particular, to what extent it is diversifying. A few people highlight the continued dependency on coffee and farming generally and that although this has worked well for many, it is vulnerable to shocks such as price change and natural factors. Most men and women highlight that there is diversification as this is driven by land scarcity and there is an increasing number of people who need alternative or complementary income sources.

There are no new types of daily labour opportunities beyond agricultural labour, coffee harvesting work and casual works such as fencing, etc. which have been common in the past. But many people engage in various non-farm business activities such as coffee trade, livestock fattening, carpentry, blacksmith work, hand crafts, beekeeping and shop keeping in Adado town, sale of vegetables and fruits, petty trade (e.g. spices and salt) because it is very difficult to meet households expenditure needs with the seasonal coffee income, which in addition depends on one's land size. People with a small land size and lacking land have no options except those non-farm activities and migrating, which women cannot do (except very few who recently have started to migrate to towns). As a result, there is a trend of increasing involvement of young women and widows in local income-generating non-farm activities and especially, enset processing, as they have to finance their expenditure or the family's expenditure.

Young men who want to marry and therefore have to make an income and do not or not yet have access to land also engage in income-earning non-farming activities such as the above and transport services. Young people also go to school and when they fail to attain higher education they prefer to engage in business.

Migration, especially to the gold mines for men, has also existed historically but is increasing as the young generation in particular observes an improvement in migrants' livelihoods when they return. It can be seasonal or long-term depending upon the individual's interest. Those with coffee trees or who are interested in coffee trade return during the coffee season. Those who lack land or are not interested in trading stay longer, until they have amassed an income that enables them to engage in an activity that they planned to undertake after their return (marriage, land contract, house building or modernisation etc.). One striking change is that nowadays increasingly young boys migrate –as young as 13-year old following their seniors.

The Farmer Union's coffee processing machine has created a few job opportunities during the coffee harvesting season. But, the area is not attractive to outside investors due to poor road infrastructure and remoteness.

People interviewed on the economic changes in the community reported that generally today's generation, not like elders, are highly motivated to finance their livelihood by earning income through alternative means.

Social changes

The respondents reported that there was no special celebration in the last five years. But, they

recalled the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi's death. This was a very sad event in the last few months. It created some social crisis all over the country which was shared by the Adado community. Following this event, there has been a new message from wereda office: *Continuing development initiatives undertaken by late PM Meles Zenawi*. They said that road improvements, watershed management and tree planting for environmental protection are part of these initiatives. Apart from this there were no events like notable visitors in the community, big meetings, conflict within or outside the community, peace negotiation or notable crime in the community for the last five to ten years.

Most interviewees mentioned improved access to social services like health care, health prevention, sanitation and education, and an improved attitude with regard to these services. They mentioned more health workers and that preschool had started to be available. However, the quality of services and especially education is not as desired.

Many mentioned that there is an increasing number of *iddir* and *equb* and other social linkages such as church membership in the community. These were not permitted under the Derg and were not very effective. Now they are very important in sharing household risks, they help to save money and to assist one another during crises. There is no attack from anyone on these organisations. They are very important although some people thought that they lacked a visible developmental approach.

Cultural changes

There is improvement in that people abandon customary ideas and practices related to HTPs and spending much on social occasions. Both respondents asked about cultural change and household heads and wives, unprompted, note a change in attitude towards hard work, not by elders but the young and adult generations. Young people show a preference for work over leisure and they devote a lot of their time to trade, education or farming activities. People involve in more activities and spend more time on both farming and trading. They usually work 10 hours a day, 6 days a week as there are few religious holidays other than Sundays. People with not enough land try to sharecrop; people move to areas where there are work opportunities. There is an understanding that hard workers can change and improve one's life. Attitudes towards saving, working and being educated, independent, rich and part of the elite are emerging. The youth are more business-, and education-oriented. Generally, people do no longer wait and farm as in the past. They are ready to do something else and get an income out of it.

At the same time, people spend money on leisure activities in the *Bega* (dry season) because there is good income from the coffee harvest. They are drinking soft drinks, tea and juice and eating bread. Some people, mostly men, also spend time drinking beer, which came to the kebele within the last five years. This includes some Christians who hide themselves to drink. Young men play football. People of different ages watch TV and movies as there are TVs, satellite receiver dishes and DVD players since 1998 EC. Since about five years young people use mobile phones to listen to FM radio and songs. People also entertain themselves by listening to church songs and music. Big tapes with VCD players came to Adado in 2000 EC.

Men said that there are no new religious ideas and practice except the churches' involvement in conflict resolution, teachings on the importance of peace and security, and teachings against theft and any violation of the religious rules. This has much contributed to prevent the youth from undertaking illegal activities. They highlighted that formal and informal community institutions are supporting each other and working in partnership. Women explained that fewer people adhere to the customary religion and practices (not more than 10%). People used to believe that if they did not follow the traditional religion they would suffer in some way. But those who become Protestants do not believe in these traditional ideas. The new churches continue to flourish and there are new ones, like Tsega church, in which people speak *listan* (spiritual tongue) and pray and heal sick people. The community members follow different protestant churches but they are not that different; followers of one church can easily move to another. But generally, people have become

stricter in following their religion.

There are changes in relation to women's position in society as well. Women believe that they have better participation in politics, through participating in meetings and discussions and being given priority in political activities. The middle-wealth farmer said that male and female equality is now being accepted. There is more respect for laws and rights generally and this benefits women. There is some change in domestic work as well. Men are now contributing to tasks like preparing coffee, splitting wood and buying grain on the market which used to be done only by women five years ago. In the past husband and wife were not going together anywhere. Nowadays they buy things together, drink tea together on market places or in tea houses, spend some leisure time together.

There is also much change in relation to child-rearing and youth. First, in relation to family size, people are having smaller families due to land shortage. This will lead to lower fertility. Children are better taken care of in terms of clothing, hygiene and health care. Children and youth, including young women, have more freedom; their parents respect their choice. Parents spend more on their children and children are given pocket money to buy tea so that they do not feel bad vis-à-vis their peers.

Attitude towards education has changed too. In past people did not send children to school. Now anyone who graduates from college can get a job – which is in contrast with many other areas but true because there are still only few people from the area who get to college/graduate. And so, people are more enthusiastic about it. However, the quality of education in the local school is a concern: in other areas students have difficulties with Gr 10 or Gr 12 exams while in Adado they start to get in trouble even with the Gr8 exam.

Generally people have better and more varied diet, clothing, household materials, and better hygiene. Kocho and cabbage is still the staple food in Adado but injera is becoming common on holidays and for weddings. Injera is eaten with meat stew on holidays. On other days injera is eaten with cabbage stew. Since 2003 EC the well-to-do people started to consume macaroni and pasta. Before 2008 GC bread was not common; now it is baked in the community. Tea houses are preparing a type of bread roasted with oil which is called koker. People are also consuming more vegetables because they are growing them in their garden.

The household goods that people are using are like those of urban people. They are using curtains, mattresses, beds, pillows and chairs. There are also a few people who have sofa. People are using glasses to drink water. They are using plastic *rekebot* (material to put coffee cups during coffee ceremony). People are using plastic materials for washing clothes. People started to use thermos and dishes to put stew in 2000 EC. Before 2008 GC coffee used to be boiled in a pot and served directly. Now since 2000 EC many people have a thermos and they are using it to keep coffee hot and serve whenever they like.

There is a change in the clothes that young and adult women wear. Before 2008 GC women used to wear only full-dresses with top and skirt together. Now they are wearing skirt and top separately. Since 2000 EC adult women have started wearing trousers under their dress, learning this from the female students. The young generation follows urban fashions in clothes, hairstyles and in their way of speaking. This creates some disagreement especially when girls wear tight clothes showing body parts, or when they use hairstyles with artificial hair. Using artificial hair and dressing one's hair with a hot iron is new.

The poor woman head of household highlighted that these changes in food, clothes and household goods are good but costly for the poor.

Parents control their daughters less strictly; they can now have boyfriends and can choose whom they want to marry. In the past, girls and boys as opposite sex friends were not allowed to be seen together. Before 2008 GC girls were not allowed to stay outside for long hours. Parents used to spit on the ground and tell their female children to come back it would be dried and if not they used to

beat their children. This started to change eight years ago but the change is now spreading.

There is change in young people's aspirations and practices. Before 2008 GC young people used to marry without having money or an income. Now young people decide to marry after they get some money to make a living. Five years ago after marriage young people used to live with parents; now the youth have to make their own independent household. Before 2008 GC fathers used to give money to buy clothes for his son's bride but now the son has to buy this. Before 2008 GC most marriages used to be arranged by the family; now marriage takes place with the love that the couples have to one another.

Young people aspire to work and improve their life. Young people used to want to be involved in agriculture, now no one wants to do this. They want to attain higher education and get a government job before they get married. They recognise that this may not happen in which case they want to get involved in trade. Adults' aspirations for their children have not changed: they want them to be educated so that they get employed in a government office.

In the past horses were used in wedding ceremonies for transportation. Since 2000 EC motor bikes and cars are used as a means of transportation in wedding ceremonies.

Political changes

The male household heads interviewed mentioned change in the local government structures, generally positively. The kebele and wereda are said to connect the community to the zone, region and federal levels. People have now better access to what is happening at federal level. The kebele is also better structured to render development and political services. There are positive structural changes in the administration. There is a social court, a kebele council and many other committees. There are many forms of sub-organisations like the 1-5s, Development Teams and cells, which are important as they are active in development activities, political decisions, peace and security affairs, and newsletter reading. However, the youth and women associations in the kebele are poorly functioning. Indeed the women interviewed as wives or female heads of households were much unsighted on the same changes. In fact in general, apart from a few kebele officials outlining the 'command chain' supposed to relay government messages from kebele to sub-kebele, DTs and 1-5s, very few community respondents could describe how the various sub-kebele structures are supposed to work.

But there were divergent views with regard to the quality of the leaders. Some thought that generally the kebele and other public organisation management and leadership are improving and there is qualified manpower as local people are coming back from training and education to serve the community. Others highlighted the lack of effective human resources committed to effective leadership, with negative developmental consequences for the community.

One optimistic account (not shared by everyone) had it that people in Adado are now better in electing representatives, fulfilling their responsibilities such as tax-paying, questioning about public service fair distribution, and more aware of human, women, child as well as youth rights and land rights. There is participatory good governance in the community. Elders and religious leaders take part in managing household conflicts and in negotiating resource allocations for vulnerable community members. People have better political awareness through the regular meetings, newsletter reading in 1-5s/ cells, and active participation of community members in public *gimgema*. All community members have equal opportunity to take part in political affairs through associations, federations, and leagues. The recent practice of building the development army has contributed to better awareness on public rights, responsibilities and justice. The community is better in participating in public affairs such school construction, road improvement, watershed management and environment protection.

However, even those optimistic people explained that officials selected by the public are not contributing what was expected from them, referring especially to the lack of better public

infrastructure such schools, road network, etc.

Regarding election, the respondents reported that in 2005 there was some confusion as to whom to elect. The Gedeo opposition party was quite active but EPRDF won although by a narrow margin. After this people were told that there would be change in roads, health etc, but these promises were not fulfilled and people complained. Then the government decided that people in the kebele leadership should be rich farmers so there would be no need for corruption.

In 2010 there was no participation of the opposition and the election was a formality. Since then there has been some change, like the construction of a health centre, road improvement, strengthened agricultural extension and institutionalisation of the coffee union system). Local farmers got advice on coffee (e.g. how to collect it carefully to protect quality), on seedlings preparation for coffee and enset and about diversification. Also, the DT and 1-5 system made it easier to organise demonstrations and pass messages. As for the Union, it was not there even five years ago. It is linked to the ECX start-up. It brought many advantages to the local coffee growers.

Even opposition supporters recognise these positive changes. And so, people say that politically there used to be one opposition party, but it did not bring much change so they are shifting to the Government party. However, people are still complaining about infrastructure and government failure to keep promises and they are right – even EPRDF supporters recognise that much more should be done.

The 2013 elections were peaceful. There were no opposition parties and no change in the kebele top leadership.

The community's households

Household structures

Most commonly households comprise the father, the mother and children. In a number of households there may be missing members due to divorce, death or not forming a family. Among others, there are 123 orphans who lost their two parents. In other cases, there are extra family members like grand-parents and relatives. In Adado the size of families ranges from 1 to 20. Estimates of the number of female-headed households vary. Most respondents said there were 100 of these; one person said 250. The total population is about 5,000 and there are about 1,200 young people living with their family.

Household case studies

Successful farmer's household

MD, 80-year-old, is one of the successful farmers in Adado and one of the largest coffee suppliers. He has three wives and fifteen children although only four remaining at home, all studying from grade 5 to grade 10. Nine other children have left the household: two sons are farmers in Adado; two children are traders, one son in Bule and one daughter in Adado; three are government employees as teacher (a son in Adado), agriculture officer (a son in Bule), and health worker (a daughter in Adado); two other sons are in Shakiso for gold mining; the youngest is a daughter who is studying in Bule. The household members at home focus exclusively on farming activities (and education for the four children). The head and his 3rd wife EM (40 year-old) did not mention any assistance by the grown-up children.

The head of household is influential as an elder and deacon in Kalehiwot church, but he is not part of the government/party elite. He served as *shengo* and finance head under the Derg regime but now does not have any position and he is not a model farmer although he is a high performer. He is supporting an opposition party in the area while all his adult children are party members and so is his third wife, EM. She said that she is a model farmer but her husband said that he is not and yet

she also said that she did not grow any crop independently.

MD and EM think that the household's wealth is undermined because the head has been unwell. They spent a lot of money (10,000 birr) for surgery for his kidney problem and he now still has an issue at one leg. They have to hire labour for the farm. Previously MD was also involved in livestock trade but he does no longer do this. Moreover, the recent and abrupt decline in coffee price hits them hard. They had done well with improving their coffee production thanks partly to good advice from the extension services on local seedling production, tree shading and use of compost, but the fluctuations in the price of coffee are really discouraging. MD is a member of the local coffee union. This too is an improvement as it makes it easier for farmers to sell their coffee but he believes that the management is weak and the price-fixing process is not transparent.

There are other challenges on farming activities in the community and for their household. First, the soil fertility is declining, which MD links to frequent use. EM sees that as a result enset does not grow as well as in the past. MD highlights that the soil needs a lot more work than in the past. Erosion is not too serious; it is addressed through public works and the fact that most areas are covered by coffee and other trees, as EM notes. MD explains that tree planting is a private activity although DAs give seedlings of trees that grow fast. They both think that the weather is less reliable than in the past (late start since 2003 EC, more heavy rain, and also hotter temperatures) and this also affects the coffee. Land scarcity is also a challenge as it prevents farmers from growing crops other than coffee and enset even though the soil is suitable for many grains and root crops.

MD grows enset and some maize for home consumption; and coffee and eucalyptus as cash crops. He earned 6,000 birr from coffee, 1,200 birr from eucalyptus and 800 birr from selling enset seedlings. EM explained that they also saved some of their products to sell later as they plan to build a new house and will need cash at once. But she explained, their income goes down because they produce less due to her husband's ill health. In the past she used to sell maize and barley but now they no longer have surpluses. MD is unhappy about DAs enforcing farmers to take improved maize seeds and fertiliser because this fails when there is not enough rain and the fertiliser burns the crops. This intervention '*misses the reality of compatibility of inputs for the area*'.

He also grows a bit of root crops, including Boye-Canada type of potatoes as he was given improved seeds by the DAs, which grow faster than other varieties; some vegetables and he also got salad seeds from the DAs; and fruits and spice for which there is no intervention. Except coffee and trees these other products are all for home consumption. The DAs do not support chat production, which is also discouraged by the churches.

The household used to have a lot more livestock five years ago, including cattle. Nowadays they are left with one goat, one sheep and two chickens which EM is keeping. MD is interested in beekeeping as he got information that the income is attractive, from a farmer who did very well. He did not explain what happened to the livestock. As a consequence of not having any cattle they have to buy milk and butter. MD knows about the DAs promoting hybrid breeds and a new type of grass for animal feeding but he has no use of this. More generally he believes that livestock production would be a very important diversification means for the community but land scarcity is a major constraint.

The household never used credit services for anything.

The household lives in a compound with four houses, including that of one son. The house in which EM lives has 6 rooms, a zinc roof and a separate kitchen. They have covered the inside ceiling (done with wood and soil like the walls) with a cloth. They have a bed, table and chairs in wood, metal and clay pots but EM prefers cooking in the clay pots, and a kitchen cupboard. There is a radio but no TV and no electrical equipment, although they are connected to electricity (MD was one of the first to get a meter) and they use it for light. They used to use water from a spring but now have access to a newly constructed piped water point which is opened twice a day for 4 hours in total. EM said there is no payment. There is less domestic work because there is less enset to process, according to EM.

But as her three daughters left the family to get married she is now doing most of the work (48 hours/week) with some assistance from her son to fetch water and wood.

They have a latrine and are using it all the time and generally the household sanitation and hygiene have improved thanks to the teachings of the HEWs. EM explained that they eat grain, no longer roasted but as *kita* and *besso* because this is easier to eat and do not cause difficulty to the teeth. They are consuming less enset (smaller production, does not grow as fast as before); and less pulses (smaller yields). In general they are using more vegetable and fruits to follow the lessons on balanced diet. They have started eating banana with kocho when cabbage is not available. They are eating fewer eggs because they have fewer chicken and eggs became expensive, but more meat because her husband needs that to treat his illness. They are eating less spice because of lesser income.

Nobody in the household suffered from malnutrition and generally, the household experienced no health issue apart from the ill-health of MD. EM believes that most people in Adado accept the idea of contraception and use it but there are cases of disagreement between husband and wife and often it is the wife who wants to use contraception and she hides to do this. The household was made aware of and is implementing the health extension teachings on sanitation and hygiene and disease prevention and control, except pest control. She was given a bed net and taught how to use it and to consult in case of malaria symptom. EM was also made aware of the family health services offered but she has reached menopause so it does not concern her.

EM highlighted that generally, there is better care for children of all ages and both sexes thanks to teachings by health workers (vaccination, health checks, better feeding, better hygiene and clothes). Children are smarter and start doing things earlier, but older children, adolescents and youth are less willing to listen to their parents' advice. They "*do things according to their own choice*"; male youth "*stay outside watching TV up to evening because they do not do what parents tell them to do*". "*Male and female youth choose their partner and parents accept because they have no choice.*"

EM's children go to school. Her daughter is in primary school and she walks there in 15 minutes. EM does not really know about the quality of education as she has not been to the school and she did not hear her husband talking about it. Her son is in secondary and walks to Bule (an hour and a half) but he sometimes stays in Bule when it rains. He is clever and happy with the school.

MD mentioned various kinds of social participation (for house-building, domestic work, sharing of tools and livestock, help in time of crisis and celebration of festivals) but no specific example of how his household is involved. Labour for farming, he said, has improved compared to the past practice of informal, friendly-based sharing, thanks to the 1-5s. Now the 1-5s are formally established and followed-up by the kebele, and there is punishment for those not attending. However elsewhere he said that this limits the time available for non-farm activities.

Generally MD thinks that in Adado, there is a culture of mutual support in crises and participation in events important for other households. Social cohesion has improved over time because social institutions are becoming stronger. Religious institutions in particular are very important in forging social cohesion as a forum to "*share many social affairs*", and in organising support for their followers. The household is serious in their religious practice and MD believes that the teaching is better which attracts followers. MD also contributes to the church-based iddir (5 birr/week) and appreciates the fact that the support is not only financial but also, active participation of iddir members – but the contribution is very small and insufficient to cover all costs.

MD explained that generally, his household is spending a lot more than in the past on social events like the recent wedding of his son (more than 5,000 birr), the funeral of his mother in 2008 GC (1,000 birr) and the annual religious festivals (4,000 birr), because the prices of all items increased a lot.

MD believes that safety in the community has improved a lot in all aspects (less violent fights

between men, robberies with violence or threats, theft and burglary, sexual attacks on female, threats of violence from other communities) thanks to more awareness and the legal framework being stronger. EM agreed. The household has no direct experience of the militia, community police or wereda police.

MD had a land inheritance case with a brother and he believes that he has been discriminated by the social court, then after by the wereda court because the wereda court does usually not do any investigation and follows what the local social court has decided. He didn't appeal higher up because it would have been the same. He is convinced that this bias was politically motivated as he is not a ruling party member but a supporter of the opposition. He is an elder and believes that solving cases through elders works usually well because elders know the root causes of local issues, and as there is negotiation between the parties the resolution found will be lasting.

MD & EM both appreciate the improvements in external and internal roads of the last few years (e.g. intensive public works on the road connecting the kebele to Dilla through Basura, used by the Union to transport the processed coffee; works to level internal paths). This has many benefits but there still is no public transport and roads and paths are very difficult to travel on in the rainy season. MD blames the government for lack of investment in infrastructure in the area, and also in the wereda and the Gedeo zone as a whole. This also holds for roads but also the school which has been entirely built by community labour and is of poor standard, as is the health centre when compared to other areas. The government is also failing to send NGOs to work in the kebele.

MD noted that in Adado there is change in people's attitudes towards education, sanitation and health care, and an emerging work culture (*"people are happy to work and earn income"*). EM also noted that *"people want to do something and get an income out of it."* New ideas do not come from government officials, but rather from urban areas (urban people are perceived as rich, educated and knowing everything about modern life) and migrants (raising the idea that through migration there is a possibility of changing one's life) and through ETV and FM radio that are important means of information on many social, political and economic affairs. Religious institutions are also *"very effective in shaping followers"* e.g. about not drinking and mutual support.

MD is not involved in government meetings of any kind as he is not a ruling party member. The children are party members because they expect that this facilitates things for them. For those who are civil servants it would be impossible to have support for transfers or for education opportunities otherwise. They pay the membership fee and got an ID but are not active members. EM is party member but not active. In the past 12 months she participated to four large kebele meetings but no other. She also participated 2 hours/day for 10 days in the construction of the piped water point (that she is now using), but MD did not. They did not have anything to say on gimgema, suggestion box etc. MD noted that nowadays *"there is follow up on the activities of the leaders. But this is not sufficient to meet our interest."*

MD believes that non-ruling party members are discriminated also at the community level and this is a major governance issue. They are not called for kebele meetings, miss information given on government interventions, and cannot take any position in government structures. He gave his court case as an additional example. He paid 230 birr for all types of taxes and contributions to the kebele and they gave him no detail, unlike other households, which he also put down to discrimination.

They both thought that women's situation is improving (regarding rape, abduction, domestic violence, early marriage) but efforts need to continue. MD stressed better rights for women in terms of access to land, property sharing in case of divorce, rights following widowhood, but EM said she has seen no change and that women do not ask for land because in the traditional rule they have no land rights. MD believes that women's access to economic opportunities is limited but improving while EM sees no change. In contrast, for MD the organisations that should help women to take a more active role politically are very weak while EM believes that women's involvement in local politics is increasing and their voice is being heard. They both agree that there is a change in the

perception that women are weak.

Both MD and EM are most concerned about the lack of economic prospects for the youth of Adado once they fail in education (many of them at the Gr 8 exams and the others at Gr 10 exams) and as many lack access to land. They both think that the government should create livelihood opportunities so that the youth could earn a living, marry, and set up their independent household. This is a big issue, including because, as youth do not marry easily, risks such as HIV/AIDS become higher for them. EM believes that the government should give *“credit so that young people engage in income-generating activities”* and for the educated ones *“job opportunity, credit, businesses so that parents will not get worried about their young children”*.

Successful businessman’s household

BB, 53 year old, identifies himself as one of the successful businessmen in the community thanks to his profitable skins and hides business, although he also has a thriving farm (4,000 coffee trees and 7,000 enset trees). He has two wives, and three or four children. One son at home is married and lives with his wife in his parents’ household; one daughter at home is involved in petty trade after having dropped out from grade 9. At home they also have a 7-year old son-in-law and the head’s elderly mother (75). BB mentions one son who is a DA in another kebele. His first wife AD also mentions a daughter who got married in 2004 EC and is trading in Dilla. AD is 48-year old and she has a home-based business selling alcoholic drinks. She also processes enset to sell it on the market.

BB is not an elder or religious leader as this requires being mostly present in the community, which is not his case. He used to be part of government/party elite in the 1984-1988 EC period (as kebele and wereda administrator, kebele Council spokesperson, and Regional MP) but nowadays has no position and does not want any. He and six other household members are party members. He said he is not a model farmer though his wife AD said that she is, even though she did not have an independent farming income (see below).

BB is quite upbeat in relation to the household’s wealth, explaining that it has improved compared to five years ago thanks to both farming and his skins and hides business which is profitable. His wife business is helping too but because she is selling at home it is limited. AD is less positive and believes that the household economy has been declining as they faced problems with their trading. Their farming income last year was 10,000 birr from coffee and 3,000 from maize according to BB, who highlighted that coffee was affected both by low production due to disease, and last year’s low price. AD gave a higher figure, mentioning that last year the household got 20,000 birr from selling various farm products (coffee, kocho and fruits).

BB explained that the skins and hides business is not easy. It is very competitive and labour-demanding so sometimes he has to hire daily labourers on a contract basis; other times he makes his children to assist. He also faced a crisis as one business partner took 743 skins worth 11,000 birr from his house and to this day, has not paid the money due.

He started his business through a loan from OMO in 2008 GC. AD also took a loan of 2,000 birr to start her business. They have no outstanding debt and AD is saving at OMO (300 birr so far). They both are members of an equb. BB contributes 1,000 birr/year to this equb and explains that it is important but less valuable when one’s turn comes late. He thinks that lack of access to credit (as OMO has stopped working in Adado) is a big constraint for him and the community. The AGP is promoting group-based loans for ox fattening but the loans are too small and cannot be used for his interest.

As a farmer BB grows coffee as the only cash crop. AD planted some more coffee on previously empty land but the trees do not yet produce. BB grows enset, and maize on small scale, but like others in the community he does not grow other crops that would be suitable to the area because of lack of land. He is using improved seeds and fertiliser and although these inputs are costly he said they are working well. He got improved seeds of sweet potato from the wereda agriculture office

and grows cabbage. He knows about DA advice to intercrop suitable crops with coffee, grow vegetable and plant trees (which is a big agenda of the government with the motto "*Education for my children and trees for my compound*").

But, he stressed, the main effort of the extension services is about helping farmers to improve their coffee production and preserve the coffee quality (local seedling production, compost preparation, suitable trees for shade etc.). The local Coffee Union is also very important although there is a "*little management gap*". Indeed almost the only meetings that BB attended in the last 12 months were two meetings of the Union. He also attended a gimgema session on the Union's previous management as 5 million birr had gone missing.

The household has livestock (one ox, one cow, a few goats and sheep and a few chickens) but far fewer than five years ago and BB did not explain why. Livestock is not that important in the household's economy although it helps children (keeping and selling chickens and selling eggs) to pay for their school materials, clothes and shoes. BB knows about DA advice about improved breeds, AI and a new grass. He is trying to grow the new grass.

Challenges to farming include land scarcity. BB stressed that this and lack of knowledge about improved livestock production seriously constrains his household and the community as a whole – otherwise short-term fattening, in particular, would be a very important diversification means. But as they do not have crops to use residues other feeding techniques should be shown. Declining soil fertility is also a serious issue; a clear signal is lower productivity; BB believes that it is aggravated by low use of inorganic fertiliser because it is bad for coffee. Climate change is not too serious. Erosion is sometimes a challenge in case of heavy rains but community watershed management activities have improved the situation.

The household lives in a compound with two houses, which is in Adado urban area. They have six rooms, a separate kitchen and place for livestock. They have a metal bed and wooden furniture, a tape but no TV and no electrical equipment. AD uses metal pots and pans and wood to cook. They use electricity as light. The household owns a weighing balance worth 4,000 birr which they bought in the past five years. They are using water from a spring which is always open and with no payment; the new tap is close by but not open all the time. AD thinks that there is more domestic work in total (she does not say why) and more of a burden on her because her daughter who got married and left the household used to assist a lot. She spends 35 hours/week on domestic tasks. Her daughter-in-law and son assist in many things and her husband sometimes in splitting wood.

They have a latrine and all use it. On their diet, AD explains that the family has always used small amounts of grain, usually as porridge. They did not change the amount of pulses and enset consumed in the household. They eat more vegetables than in the past (beetroots, caulis and cabbage) because they are growing them in their garden, but less banana because of a disease on their trees and also they are selling fruits on the market to compensate for increased living costs. They consume as much milk and butter as five years ago but fewer eggs, less meat and less spices because of increased prices.

Nobody ever suffered from malnutrition in the household. Last year one of the household members suffered from malaria. She went to the health centre but had to be admitted at the Dilla hospital for 18 days. It took her a month to recover. They spent 1,000 birr for treatment and transport to Dilla. According to AD the household implements all of the teachings of the HEW and are aware of disease prevention and control, family health services etc. "*There is no problem in the household to implement the packages relevant to them*". She does not use contraceptives because she would like to conceive as she has only two children but it does not work. She also does not mention bed net.

AD explained, like EM in the successful farmer's household, that there is better care generally for babies and children. As changes she stressed that nowadays parents send children to school at 7; there is less beating and for 12-16ish adolescents, "*less pressure from their parents on whatever they*

do". Young adults (17-20) are welcome to have opposite sex friends, even girls, who can choose their partners and age of marriage. Young women also need more clothes than in the past. She did not have much to say on school and education.

BB explained that various means of cooperation among households are usual in Adado. His household assists others in house-building and actively participates in time of crisis in other neighbours. AD explained that they assist a poor disabled woman, giving her kocho and also they gave her money each time she gave birth to her three children. BB added that one change is about labour sharing for farming which was traditional and is now compulsory through the 1-5s (3 hours/day for 3 days/week for a few weeks during the farming season, revolving around members until work is completed), with gimgema, reporting to the development team leader and punishment for bad performance of any member. BB is connected with various people in Adado and elsewhere through his business and while these are economic ties, they lead to cooperation and sometimes strong friendship. They are both members of equb. They also both belong to iddirs, although BB noted that the iddir is very weak in terms of capital and not all members participate actively.

Like in the successful farmer's household, BB is spending a lot more than used to be the case on social events, because of increase in the price of all the items needed. He spent 21,000 birr for his son's marriage in 2010 GC (and got 7,600 birr contributions), and 6,000 birr for the three annual religious festivals last year.

BB believes that safety has improved a lot in Adado, thanks to the militia, community police, and serious legal punishments e.g. against sexual attacks. AD agreed. BB had a case of coffee theft in 2004 EC and he could see that the militia was effective and not biased. He also spoke highly of elders, who resolved swiftly a conflict between him and his wife after the social court did not act for seven months then sent the case to the elders. Elders have a better capacity to solve local problems in a sustainable manner, because it is all about negotiation and forgiveness and they know the local problems in-depth. However, he was also positive about the social court and the wereda court. AD had nothing to say about them.

BB and AD appreciate the changes in infrastructure (electricity, mobile network, ETV and FM radio access, coffee marketing centre) and the relative improvements in roads (external and internal) of the past few years. But BB in particular highlighted that this is insufficient and roads are still very poor in the wereda compared to neighbouring weredas. He blames the government for poor quality of the school and health centre, and the lack of employment for youth in the community. AD believes that the government should be serious about ensuring women's access to land.

BB and other household members are party members but not active apart from paying fees. He does not know of any benefit to party membership. In the past 12 months he attended the two important meetings of the Coffee Union, and one kebele Council meeting and two development team or cell meetings. His wife AD seems to be politically active and she attended many more meetings: 4 kebele meetings, 12 development team meetings, 2 kebele council meetings, and 5 gimgema sessions on the performance of the militia and of the kebele chairperson – who has improved after this. She mentioned that the previous chairperson was made to quit his job after a negative assessment by gimgema. More broadly, BB is quite positive about improvements in the kebele structures, highlighting that there is *"qualified management and leadership manpower"* and *"local people from the community are coming back from training and education to serve the community."*

The household pays land tax (105 birr), market taxes when they sell something, and a 210 birr license for the skin and hide business but to the Oromia Region. They pay Red Cross (5 birr), sport (5 birr), development (5 birr) and school (20 birr) contributions. In addition last year they paid 110 birr for the piped water point construction, like all business people of Adado. BB participated 6 days to public works on the road, and AD was involved for 10 days as well as 15 days for the works needed to construct the water point. BB noted that the works are not sufficient to really make a difference to the road conditions, and the timing of the public works was an issue for his trade.

BB and AD are quite positive about changes for women in relation to rape, abduction, domestic violence and early marriage, thanks to awareness creation in kebele meetings, stronger legal framework and actual punishment (even jail) in cases of early marriage. AD believes that there are still some cases of domestic violence while BB stresses that nowadays women directly apply to the social court if a conflict arises with their husband. BB also stressed women's access to land and their awareness of their rights also in case of divorce; there is *"emerging active participation of women to access economic opportunities... (and) women becoming active to participate in political affairs"*, although women's organisations are weak and government should address this. AD did not see change in relation to land and economic opportunities. But she talked about women getting compensation for land in case of divorce, since 2000 EC, and she agreed that women's political participation at local level is increasing and *"now they can explain their ideas in meetings"*. For BB, the thought of women as inactive is a thing of the past. Nowadays everyone sees *"very active women better than men"* on ETV, which changes people's perceptions of women.

They are more concerned about youth, mainly for the same reasons as the successful farmer and his wife that is, the lack of local employment/livelihood prospects and the inactivity of the government which should train youth about creating jobs in the area and give them access to credit, create SMEs etc. Without this, it is difficult for youth to marry, and there is increased tension around access to land. BB explained that youth *"are constrained by religious institutions"* and so bad habits are infrequent, but they may arise as they are idle and lack a job. For young women BB believes that they still lag behind in terms of education; and that while male youth have some voice and *"their way of thinking is modern and important"*, young women lack participation.

BB is quite happy with some emerging trends in people's attitude, vis-à-vis women and other vulnerable people in the community and in terms of improved respect for the laws. On the one hand he likes the fact that *"(people's) working behaviour is improving"*; on the other hand he is concerned that youth, faced with a trade-off between education and work, *"develop an attitude of improving their life through earning their own income, giving less attention to education when they come across an income-earning opportunity"* including through migration. Returned migrants influence local youth who see them better-off, with a message that *"job is available if you migrate and work hard in gold mining"*. BB also thinks that new ideas do not come from the wereda, which *"sends us usual activities"*. They come from towns and cities (seeing people's lifestyle, communication skills, trade, working culture etc.) and radio and ETV (as sources of information about *"every issues related to market, politics and government activities"*, *"development activities in other zones, regions and localities"*, *"new ideas about the market"*, *"various government and political agendas"*). They hear about corruption through the media. As a trader he also listens about issues related to his trade like the demand for quality skins and hides at the central market in Addis Ababa. AD agreed that cities and ETV are the main sources of new ideas.

Household of farmer of middle wealth

KB is 50 and his wife AU is 40. They have seven children of whom five are still at home. Two daughters (both grade 10+3) live in Dilla. They are not married and one is working for the government, the other in a beauty salon and she has a good income according to KB. KB is proud to educate his children well. The older son at home is studying to become DA and is now in his practice year in Adado. The family spent 15,000 birr for his two years of college. The other four children are all in primary school (from Gr 2 to Gr 7). The 12 and 16-year old sons also do shoe-shining.

KB and AU are farming (on 0.5 ha land) but both also have a regular income from working for the Coffee Union (as a guard and nursery worker for KB, as nursery worker for AU). AU also prepares injera for weddings, as a seasonal job. She would like to start a business of selling injera and stew because she believes that she might have to quit the nursery work as she is not educated. They focus on their activities and their children's education, and have no role in the community.

KB and AU agree that the household's wealth has improved over these past five years. This is due to

hard work and additional income (five years ago only KB was working at the nursery). AU adds that as two daughters left the household this also reduced their costs. However, everything has become very expensive as AU explained: *“in the past a small amount of money could buy a lot of things while now the income is higher but it can buy less.”* The coffee production and price were also not good last year; they only earned 1,000 birr from selling coffee (AU said 1,200). However they also earn 400 and 390 birr monthly, respectively, from their work at the Union. KB is a member of the Union as well and thinks it is a very important structure for the community, negotiating and deciding the coffee price, ensuring transportation, following up quality etc.

KB identified the same challenges to farming as the successful farmer and businessman (declining soil fertility because of intensive use, erosion). But he believes that maintaining soil fertility depends on a farmer’s skills and good care. Households traditionally plant trees, useful to protect coffee and as a source of income, which is helping as leaf residues enrich the land. Erosion is being addressed through watershed management activities. KB also found that climate change is not that much of an issue: heavy rain, sometimes hail or extreme sun may affect crops but this is infrequent. The most important challenges are occasional diseases, the recent price shock for coffee, and land scarcity.

KB grows coffee, and for consumption enset and on a small scale boloke (beans), maize, pumpkin, some root crops (boye, godere) and vegetables (cabbage, green pepper and salad). He did not mention improved maize seeds and fertiliser but talked about advice on compost, crop seasonality and intercropping, as well as DAs providing trees suitable for other crops. The big push by extension services is about coffee (local seedling production in household nursery sites, use of compost, better harvesting techniques), and this is much appreciated as there is improved market for coffee (except the last year) and easier marketing (thanks to the Union). AU does not farm separately.

They have one ox, bought from Guji, one improved bee hive and four improved chickens. Eight years ago AU bought an ox on credit (500 birr from OMO) but this was a loss as it lost weight due to shortage of fodder and she sold it cheaper than she bought it. Since then the household did not take any credit; KB said he does not like it, though he wants the AGP to be *“sufficient and inclusive to all the community members”*. Related to livestock, KB thought that extension services have not been strong enough and focused on crops only (advice but no inputs and credit), even though conditions are conducive for livestock production (no disease, no drought, increasing market price and unmet demand). However, the major constraint for him and the whole community is the lack of place to rear livestock, or even to fatten them in a short period of time.

Both KB and AU appreciate the regular income of their government jobs although they also said that it keeps them busy and away from other activities. AU spends about 32 hours a week on the job.

The household lives in a government 2-room house with a separate kitchen but no latrine; they share the health centre latrine. They have another house in rural Adado which they gave to a poor woman (see below). They have no bed, wooden table and chairs, and a radio but no TV or any other electrical equipment. AU is using metal pots and wood to cook. They use electricity for light and water from the new tap which is big improvement in terms of proximity and safety. AU believes that the domestic work has not changed in the family but the burden on her has increased because her two eldest daughters who used to do a lot left the house. She is assisted by her sons (the little girl is still small). Her husband assists in washing his and his wife’s clothes and sometimes the children’s and otherwise they wash their own clothes. AU estimated that she is spending 37 hours/week on domestic chores.

The household’s diet has changed a bit over the past five years, driven by price increases. They consume less grain because of the increase in their price and they cannot afford buying grains for that many family members. For the same reason (high price) they consume less pulse, milk, butter, egg and meat. They eat beetroot and cabbage and buy avocado, mango and banana and this has not changed in the last five years. She continues to use spice for special occasions like holidays.

Nobody in the household ever suffered from malnutrition. AU explained that there is good acceptance of contraception in Adado but she does not use any as she has reached menopause. She was informed about all the hygiene and sanitation packages and some of the disease prevention and control ones, but she never heard about malaria eradication. She heard about the family health services but the household does not have use of them. There was nobody ill in the household.

AU also thought that there were good changes for babies and children (vaccination, better feeding, hygiene and clothes) but she noted that these are *“seen with those educated and well-to-do families”* and *“the majority of the community does not give special change for children”*. She also noted the disappearance of beating children and the importance that parents give to education as well as their strong follow-up (*“parents ask their children about their education when they come back from school”*). Moreover while in the past children had to be told to go to school nowadays they understand the benefits of education themselves. Generally children are more active than in the past, she thought.

KB and AU are proud of their children’s education. Their three older children, 2 girls and 1 boy, are grade 10+3 and as said earlier the household is spending a lot on this. The other four are in primary school and attend regularly, even the boys doing shoe-shining which they do in their spare time. They believe that the quality of education is good, but AU would like the school to have a library for students to be able to spend time reading. KB mentioned that one of his children migrated to Shakiso and came back with money which he used for clothes and exercise books for his education. He did not like it as the work may be dangerous.

KB explained that social participation in different ways is usual in Adado but did not specify how his household is involved. However, they help a poor widow who has no children and whose house was burned (she is not a relative). AU explained that they gave her their house in the rural area as they live in the government house. They support her with money, food and materials, and so does the church. KB noted that social events cost more than in the past and gave the example of his sister’s funerals in 2009 for which he spent 100 birr even though it was a fairly small ceremony. He also spent 300 birr for each of the three annual festivals. In the past this was big money but these days it is not, when one ox is worth 10,000 birr and all items are expensive.

KB believes that the 1-5s are an improved form of farm labour sharing compared to the past voluntary sharing (he describes the way 1-5s function in the same way as the successful businessman). There is supervision, mutual enforcement by members, and cooperation beyond farm labour. The 1-5 members also meet to read newspapers and share new ideas from the government.

Both KB and AU belong to iddirs. KB’s iddir seems to function like an equb too. He explained that it is working based on trust among members, and is a very important social network among friends or relatives. AU’s equb seems to be active mainly during the coffee season. She likes it because getting 4,400 birr at once is useful. In addition she is member of a church-based iddir of 120 members contributing 100 birr/year. The iddir helps with kocho and money (1,000 birr for the household head or wife’s death, 700 for a child). They belong to the Kalehiwot church and KB in particular stressed how important the church is. For him (like for successful farmer) *“churches are better in supporting their members when there is social crisis or celebration in one of the member’s family”*.

KB believes that Adado is generally a peaceful place to live. He stressed the important role of the Shengo/Aba Gada system to address conflicts, robberies and theft, because *“people highly believe in the super power of Aba Gada”*. The formal system is also useful (e.g. militia controlling night movements protecting from robberies, strong legal penalty against sexual attacks). The family did not have any dealings with the local policing and justice system. But he also knew that elders are very effective in addressing household level conflicts or quarrels between neighbours because their approach is more of negotiation and people accept what they decide.

KB and AU appreciate changes like the relative improvements in infrastructure generally and roads

in particular, improved health and education services and for KB, the peace and security and religious freedom that prevail. But he feels that *“government is doing better but not sufficient”*. For instance, as a member of development team he believes that there needs to be government support to ‘upgrade’ the public works done by the community on the roads. *“People are happy to improve roads if the government supports”*, but it is not sufficient if there is no investment by government like for bridges for instance.

In the same way, he is an active party member; he believes that *“it is the party that leads politics and development starting from the locality up to the federal level”* and that it is important for women and youth to be party members to exercise decision-making, and know their rights and obligations, respectively. But while the party work is good, it should be improved and all members should have better knowledge about the party and political issues. In the family there are five other party members but they are not that active. AU is not very active but she believes that the party is beneficial as they teach the community about women equality. However, she believes that the government should be doing more for women, including having a separate office to organise women to make them generate an income.

KB attended most of the kebele meetings in the last 12 months (with agendas like savings, children education, working behaviour, security), and a seedling preparation training by the wereda agriculture office. He is not a member of the kebele Council so did not attend meetings and did not participate to gimgema as the Council does this. He mentioned twice-a-year meetings of all party members and of the development teams/cells. He found all meetings useful. AU attended no meetings. More generally, KB believes that kebele and wereda are important links between the community and higher level, and the kebele is *“better structured to render development and political services”* although some activities are missed when the kebele leadership is weak and lacks commitment. He appreciated the fact that formal and informal institutions work in partnership and that youth can become civil servants after their education.

The household pays 20 birr land tax, 20 birr party membership, 5 birr for Red Cross, 10 birr for the kebele administration costs, 20 birr for school and last year they paid 50 birr for the water project. KB did not participate to any public works last year and he said no one from the household did, but AU explained that she worked four hours a day for two days on digging for the road improvement works.

KB believes that on the whole things are improving for women in relation to rape, abduction, early marriage and domestic violence – thanks to laws, regulations, penalties and awareness-raising. He explained that *“I used to be violent but I am now aware of the effect. These days... the community members despise a household head if there is frequent family violence in his household.”* Such a person is seen as *“a person incapable of managing his household and unable to hold any public responsibility in the community.”* KB also explained that women’s access to land, rights in divorce and widowhood and access to economic opportunities are also improved. He gave the example of his sisters who accused other family members as they had received no land from their parents’ inheritance, and won the case. But in Adado women’s political participation is weak because women’s organisations are *“not practical”*. AU believes just the opposite. She did not see any change in the last five years with regard to economic empowerment but there is better participation of women in meetings so that *“their interests can be accepted”*.

KB thought that there were positive changes in people’s lifestyle (urban influence) and he welcomed people’s *“better attitude toward savings, working, being educated and elite, independent or becoming rich”*. He appreciated that everyone becomes hard worker: youth are more business- and education-oriented, farmers work harder, women have better attitudes towards education and income-earning opportunities, even very small children work hard in farming or casual activities, and people migrate to areas where there is work because *“there is understanding that hard workers can change and improve their livelihood.”* KB thought that *“education, women/vulnerable people’s*

protection, environment, savings, farming technology, family planning, working culture, tolerance, democracy and human rights are all emerging in the form of ideas, proposals and plans coming from higher government levels". Religious institutions also become important development agents. Radio and TV strengthen many of the government messages because *"if you attend some events you are exposed to grasping the idea, good or bad."* AU had not much to say in relation to these topics.

They both have similar concerns about youth as the other households and stressed that government should create job opportunities (AU) and small and medium scale businesses which have a lot of potential but require resources (KB). KB also stressed that young women still face higher domestic burden hampering their education; they are *"exposed to marriage... and are dependent even after marriage"* because there is *"no sufficient and diversified job options"* and in addition, *"once married household responsibilities hold them back from many activities"*.

Household of poor farmer

AB, 39, is married to ABf, 36. They have 4 daughters living with them (3 to 14 years old). Two of them are at school, although ABf said that the older one dropped out temporarily as she suffered from typhoid but she will continue next year. ABf added that one of the smaller ones attends pre-school. They also have an 8-year old daughter living with a relative in Shakiso after having dropped out from school (Grade 2). AB is an ex-soldier, demobilised in 1992 GC. He has no role in government or as elder, but is a leading party member. His wife is party member too but not very active.

They own 0.125 ha land on which they grow a little coffee and enset, cabbage and maize. AB explains that the land is too small to produce enough for the family's subsistence and while he knows the benefit of trees he cannot plant any. They earned 300-400 birr from their coffee last year, which did not do well (and AB explains that it sometimes dries up because of diseases) and also, the market price is now low. They sold a little cabbage (40 birr), barley (40 birr) and beans (40 birr). AB used improved maize seeds and fertiliser as recommended by the DAs and he thinks that he got a better yield. However, he believes that extension services are not *'fairly distributed'* and poor people with little land like him get *'less consideration'* by the agricultural office and the DAs.

The household does not have any livestock at present. They had five sheep five and four hen years ago but none at present – no explanation is given for why.

ABf is involved in processing enset into kocho on contract for others, and trading flour that she buys in Bule and sells in Adado. She started this three years ago and it not profitable enough to make any change in their life. AB is doing daily labour (layering walls with clay, working on other farmers' land) and sometimes he trades skins but ABf says that this is not profitable. They both say that the household's economic condition is very poor and has worsened over the past five years, because they have more children now and yet, among the smallest land in the kebele – so they face *'a continuous income and consumption shock'*. Two of the children help in selling cabbages on the market and AB's two brothers also help in severe occasions. AB went once to Shakiso, in 2012, to work on a rich person's farm. He spent 43 days and earned 700 birr.

The household lives in a 4-room house covered with plastic sheets as a roof; they added two rooms recently and have a separate kitchen. Also compared to five years ago they now have a radio. ABf used to use spring water throughout the year, which could become dirty during the rainy season, but she now uses water from the newly opened piped tap (30 min walk), which is free for the moment and a big improvement. They have a latrine and all use it. They have electricity for lighting. The domestic burden on ABf is somewhat lower as her two older daughters are helping. Her husband does not contribute and there is no change in this.

The household is eating less grain, enset and pulses because the prices increased. Because of high prices these days they do not eat vegetable other than cabbage, unlike five years ago when they sometimes bought other vegetables. The household was also using more fruit five years ago and less now. When they get money they prefer avocado. In the same way the household is using less milk,

butter, eggs, meat and spices. The general explanation for reducing consumption of food items is the increase of price for each item and increase in living costs in general. But nobody in the family suffered from malnutrition.

ABf says that contraceptives are well accepted in the community, and generally husband and wife agree to use contraception. But she does not use it as she would like to have a boy. She highlighted a number of positive changes in the way children are reared, in general. The household was made aware of a number of the health extension packages, and the family's hygiene is improving but they face difficulties in buying soap to wash clothes as is recommended. She heard about TB from people attending meetings but not about malaria and HIV/AIDS. Their older daughter was sick with Typhoid; she was taken first to the health centre of Adado then to Bule. They spent a total of 150 birr on her treatment and it took her two months to recover but she is well now.

As said above, the 4-year old daughter is attending pre-school, taught by 5th grade students in the neighbourhood. She likes it and attends regularly and ABf likes it too as the child is learning new things. The other daughter at school sometimes refuses to go to school and she is weak in her performance. They think that the quality of education is good but could not explain why. AB has Grade 3 education but ABf never went to school.

AB mentioned various social participation mechanisms which the family participates in, although he also said that he is too busy raising an income to cooperate a lot. He also mentioned the 1-5s as a new mechanism while others are inherited from the past. 1-5s are stronger and compulsory, with gimgema and penalties for absentees. However, he added, they are especially profitable for farmers with large landholdings. As he has a very small landholding he spends much more time on others' land than they spend on his land. Although the household is very poor they supported AB's brother when his wife faced a problem during delivery, selling a sheep and giving him the money to take her to a medical facility. Last year he also spent 1,000 birr on the three important religious festivals.

AB is member of the Coffee Union. ABf is a member of an equb to which she contributes 10 birr twice a week which helps her to save money to buy clothes and run her business. She is also member of an iddir (5 birr/week) but AB is not. They both are Kalehiwot followers and AB believes that church membership is good as a means of social cohesion among the members.

AB is party member and actively involves in development work. However, he thinks that things would be improved if there was regular follow-up on absentees, and if all party members participated actively. His wife is a member too. They pay 6 birr/year and share ideas, draw lessons from one another, elect their representatives and get a good understanding of politics in general, but there is no financial benefit from being member. However, he believes that being able to elect good representatives is very important because ETV shows that good leaders can make a change. For ABf she is not aware of the duties of female party members but she believes that the benefit of the party is to have peace.

AB generally thinks that people are not opposed to the government, but they would like it to do more especially in relation to roads and education. Moreover, agricultural inputs should be suitable for the community as otherwise farmers resist taking them for the next season. He has attended all four important kebele meetings and usually attends the cell meetings. ABf did not attend any meeting and she is also not a member of any women's organisation. Neither of them used any of the accountability mechanisms mentioned. AB said that he did not participate to public works and nobody from the family, but ABf explained that she worked 6 days on the road improvement works which was useful but disrupted her family and business activities.

AB highlights that generally there is good change in the community (infrastructure, livelihoods, health and education services, strong social organisations, better local governance structures apart from the weak women and youth organisations) but livelihoods change depends upon one's access to land. Those with large land get surpluses and can diversify. He cannot and their livelihood is

stagnant. So, while rich people enjoy better living standards (TV, mobile, better diet), there is no change for the poor.

The family did not have any dealings with militia, police or elders or with courts. Both AB and ABf believe that the community is a safer place to live than five years ago.

AB thinks that violence against women has reduced a lot. ABf explains that this is thanks to government teachings and actions against culprits, but she highlights that there is no punishment against domestic violence. They also do not agree about women's access to land; AB says that women do have access now, while they had not in the past, but ABf says that there has been no change. For ABf the big change is in relation to divorce as now divorcees get their share of the household's properties, including land. Also, ABf does not see any change in relation to women's access to economic opportunities while her husband says that there is increased awareness about it through watching cases elsewhere on ETV or hearing about it on the radio. He also believes that the perception that women are weak is decreasing as the community can see strong and active women in farming and public organisations. But they both agree that women's political participation is weak: even though they are invited to meetings they usually do not go and let men decide.

AB thinks that elders are getting better at listening to the youth, and usually older boys highly influence their parents, but young people are disadvantaged by the lack of youth organisations. Also, young women's participation is very low as they focus on family issues. This could be improved if they exercised and got exposure to public roles at school or at church. He is concerned about the lack of opportunities for young people in the community and in the urban areas of the wereda, and thinks that young women are even more disadvantaged than young men. And he also believes that there remains a gap with regard to girls' education. ABf agrees and she adds that the government should do something to make higher education attainable to young people. They both believe that contracting HIV/AIDS is not an issue for young people in Adado.

Household of successful woman head

AA (35) lives in her own house, with her 50-year old mother-in-law and seven of her children (age 7 to 18, all studying except the youngest boy, and only one daughter who is the older one at home). She has another daughter who married in 2004 EC after completing Grade 10 and lives in Taro. The household is farming (enset, maize and beans, and coffee) and rearing sheep and chicken and she is also selling tea, bread and soft drinks in her house which is near Adado's market. She would like to open a shop in addition to her teashop. She is model farmer and leader of 1-5.

The family's income has deteriorated since the death of her husband three years ago, after he was sick and they spent a lot on his treatment. Now she is the only breadwinner and she has to hire labourers for the farm. She gets some support from a brother (who gave her a 3,000 birr loan) and her mother (who gave food) but this was mainly after the death of her husband and now is occasional. Last year she only got 400 birr from her coffee because it got dried. She got better maize yield as she used fertiliser. She got advice from the DAs on how to prepare coffee seedlings to replace her trees and she is now doing this. She had one ox but sold it (through her father) this year to afford treatment for a sick child; she got 2,300 birr from it. She has 7 sheep and 4 chicken, all local breeds. She once got improved chicken but they died. She uses the vet service to vaccinate and spray her sheep. She generally found these extension services useful.

She tried a shop but abandoned it because it was not profitable. Her teashop is profitable during the dry season but runs low in the rainy season. Her children help running it. She uses the income to pay for the labour that she has to hire. She once took 3,000 birr credit from OMO to try and run her shop but this was a loss. With interest her loan became 4,000 birr and she has repaid 2,000 birr already so she has an outstanding debt of 2,000 birr.

The household lives in a 7-room house with the livestock kept separately and a separate kitchen, which was added in the past five years. She also has a house in Bule, which is rented. She has some

furniture and bought a TV and DVD set in the past five years. She has started using water from the newly opened piped water tap. One disadvantage is that it is only open 2 hours a day because it is not yet officially inaugurated, but it is a big improvement for the community. They have a latrine (their 3rd) and all use it as well as her customers. They use electricity for lighting. The domestic burden on AA has increased because her husband used to help (fetching wood, water and kocho) although she has more help from her children as they grow up – boys help too for cleaning the house, washing their clothes and dishes and baking bread for the tea house.

There is no change in eating grains and consuming oil and vegetables but they are eating less pulse because of decreasing income and pulses became expensive especially in the dry season and less fruit, milk and butter because this got expensive. They are eating less meat, and less varied except for chicken which they keep, while other meat types are expensive for them to buy. They also eat less spice because life got expensive. Nobody in the family suffered from malnutrition. The household also had no problem in implementing all the sanitation and hygiene packages. They were also informed about HIV/AIDS but not about TB and malaria but there is no malaria in Adado (although see below, her daughter had a crisis).

AA believes that the community widely accepts contraception as both women and men get information about it. She also appreciates the better follow-up on pregnant women and babies, and generally the better way of rearing children in the community. There were several cases of illnesses and one case of injury in the family in the past 12 months. They were treated in Adado health centre or Bule health centre. Her daughter who had malaria was referred to Bule by the Adado health centre. One of the boys had typhoid and it took him 20 days to recover but he is now well. Another boy was sick for a month with a cold and he dropped out from school but will continue next year.

AA said that she paid 15 birr registration fees for each child attending the primary school, and she also spent 200 birr on exercise books and pen, paid by her coffee income. The children combine education and help with the domestic chores and the tea house, and one child also sells sugar cane. One of the boys is clever and got a prize; the others are medium performing students. AA thinks that there are enough teachers and textbooks but the school should add more classrooms and also make strong follow-up and advice to students. Her older daughter attends Gr 10 in Bule and she usually comes back once a week. She sometimes misses school when she gets tired walking.

The household does not cooperate a lot with other households, given their situation. Generally she believes that cooperation between individuals is decreasing because of the increasing living costs and people develop an individualistic attitude; but at the same time the institutionalised cooperation forms like iddirs are getting stronger.

The household spent large amounts of money for the wedding of her daughter a year ago, and her husband's funeral three years ago. For her daughter they spent 5,000 birr though she also got 2,000 birr in contributions from the community. The household got some gifts, and her daughter has some land because her husband gave land to his two daughters when he was alive. For her husband's funerals she spent 10,000 birr for the ceremony according to the community's tradition. The church gave her 200 birr and people brought kocho and coffee. These large expenses are due to the increased prices of everything.

She is member of two iddirs (20 birr/month), of an equb (20 birr/week, 35 members), and of a saving group who is planning to establish a grain mill in Adado. In the latter there are 13 members weekly contributing 5 birr. They started 3 years ago. The money is deposited at the bank. While they are saving members can also borrow and some members got a loan of up to 2,000 birr. She will be able to borrow when her turn comes. There is a double benefit: she can borrow, and in future her savings will generate an income. She is a Kalehiwot follower as are all her children except one son who became a member of the Tsega church because he thinks that he was healed through the church.

AA believes that the community is safer than five years ago. She had no dealings with militia, police

or court, but had dealings with elders in this year, when one of her sheep entered an enset farm and the owner planned to go the kebele but she went to elders who discussed with both sides. They succeeded in making the owner agree that she would not pay anything (he was asking 1,000 birr) and she promised that this would not happen again. She believes elders should be given a bigger role in the community as they have '*good experience in creating peace among people*'.

She does not have a role in government. She attended five large kebele meetings but no others (although she said that she is 1-5 leader). She attended a gimgema session which evaluated the militia, where it was found to be biased and not coming on time. She appreciates a number of things that the government is doing (infrastructure, especially electricity and the water tap, better health services and preschool) but she believes that the government should be providing credit to women as this would help the community to develop. She also appreciates changes like the increasing number of people involved in non-farm activities, because land scarcity makes this indispensable; and the fact that people now are ready to generate income to improve their life.

She pays her land tax including on land she has in another kebele, and the regular contributions, but no party fees. She worked for 3 days digging and transporting soil on the road construction, which was useful and did not pose a problem as she could do her own tasks after the work.

AA sees that things have changed for women, although not uniformly smoothly. Apart from early marriage for which there is no punishment, and some people who still beat women, violence against women has decreased. But there has been no change in women's access to economic opportunities. However, she believes that women are now more involved in local politics and giving their ideas in meetings, and the perception that they are weak is decreasing. She is concerned by the fate of young people in Adado and believes that government should improve teaching so they can reach higher education, give them capital so they can start a business and establish an independent livelihood and therefore get married. This is the same for young men and women. But she is not concerned by HIV/AIDS for the youth.

Household of poor woman head

BAd's family is one of the poorest in the kebele. She lives with four daughters aged 8 to 17. Only one of them is at school. One son, aged 20 and who used to attend Gr4, has left home since two months to trade hides in another place in the Gedeo zone. She is landless, apart for the small plot of land for their house on which she plants some enset and coffee and a small amount of maize. Her family survives from her daily labour. In the past she used to have land but her husband's father sold it when he and her husband quarrelled before her husband died, eight years ago. She has no special role and is not a party member.

The household's situation has not improved since her husband's death. Throughout these years they have faced financial problems and when she does not get daily labour they use to spend nights without food. She got no support from anyone. Last year she sold 6 kg coffee to the Union and earned 80 birr, which is even less than usual because her coffee did not do well as it dried up. They have no livestock at all. She does not seem to have any interaction with the extension workers, although she believes that for those using them their services are useful. Her main income is from daily labour processing enset into kocho or collecting coffee, for which she is paid 10 birr/day.

They live in a one-room hut covered with enset leaves and stems, with no separate kitchen and no furniture at all. The hut has become deteriorated as it is old. She gets water from the same spring throughout the year, which she believes is safe and anyway the spring is much closer to her house. The family has a latrine and uses it. One child had acute watery diarrhoea.

Compared to five years ago they are consuming less grain because they are producing less maize and grain got expensive; less enset because the land is less productive; less vegetables because of the increasing price; less avocado because they are producing less. The household sometimes eat pulses but less than five years ago. They do not consume oil seed, milk and butter and this has not changed.

They no longer consume eggs because of the family's decreasing income and they no longer have egg-laying hens. They sometimes used to eat meat but not anymore because of increase in the price of meat and their decreasing income. BAd explains that as they consume less food she also has less work than in the past and also her daughters do more as they grow up.

She explained that there were good changes in the way children are reared in the community. Her household implements the sanitation and hygiene teachings but they have not been made aware of HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria or anything to do with family health services in the last 12 months. Nobody in the family was ill in the last year. She has only one daughter who attends primary school, due to the financial constraints she faces. The girl is clever and does well. The family has no other experience of education.

The household has little interaction with other households. Following her husband's death, the worst crisis that affected them was her illness for two months, during which the church helped her with 70 birr. She is not a member of any iddir or equb or group, but she goes to Kalehiwot church every Sunday – while two of her daughters are followers of Muluwongel.

Her household also had no dealings with militia, police, court or elders, but BAd thinks that the community is safer than five years ago. She does not have any information on the party and does not have anything to say about development activities or about things that the government should or should not be doing. She attended one large meeting (about the importance of working hard and getting an income and how to rear children in a good way) and found it useful to increase knowledge, but did not participate in any other meeting and had nothing to say about holding government to account. She does not pay any tax or any other contribution. She also did not participate to the public works as she has to get money from her daily work otherwise she cannot feed her family. She likes a number of changes she sees in the community but changes in lifestyle are costly for the poor.

She believes that the government teachings against violence against women are good and effective. She supports the government's message against early marriage and girls' education but she is not able to send them all to school because of her financial situation. She did not see any change in women's rights and access to economic opportunity. There is a bit of change with regard to women's political participation and giving their ideas in meetings, but most things are still decided following men's ideas.

BAd believes that the government should do more for young men and women, including building a Gr9-10 school in Adado to reduce the cost, giving jobs to those who complete their education and training and financial support to start a business for the others. This would help them to become independent and get married. She does not believe that contracting HIV/AIDS is a risk for the youth in Adado.

Structures of inequality

Class, wealth and poverty

Overall community wealth

The general sentiment is that the community has got wealthier. According to knowledgeable people there are more very rich, rich and middle-wealth households than ten years ago. All of the nine 13-, 16- and 19-year old girls and young women said that the community is better-off than two-three years ago. Male youth said that households with large number of coffee trees earn in thousands in a year and can use this income for other resources. There are also households producing crops such as maize, fruits like avocado and sugar cane. The most important reason is that farmers are producing coffee and enset better than in the past. There are also a few good options besides farming like carpentry, blacksmith, transport services, and off-farm options like migrating to Shakiso for gold-

mining, which is increasing. The hardworking culture has increased and the poor are also working hard and changing their life. However, the economy as a whole is highly depending on coffee.

Research Officers too believe that the community is richer than in 2003 GC – according to consumption patterns. But with the recent reduction in coffee price things get harder at present. They explained that people do not have a culture of savings and so, they spend the money they get from the coffee sale on consumption (e.g. meat, more drinks etc.) instead of investing it in other activities. Except the very rich they do not plan for the future. There is little dynamics of change. It may also have an effect that women are not very active at all. This is not influenced by Protestantism (usually promoting economic success) but because deep in their heart people still stick to customary ways and this has remained more influential than the protestant ethics generally.

Many young people are involved in petty trade and this is a possible area for expansion. DAs are advising diversification. This is just starting e.g. people are beginning to grow some vegetables (but say they are limited by the small amount of land); some are keeping bees for honey. There is also an emerging change in attitudes, especially among young people, who want to and do save money instead of just it spending all. This is not due to a government's intervention, it is their private initiative. Migration also has some positive impact on the economy although seasonal.

Among the community, approximately 6% (very rich and some rich) employ agricultural labour. Others rely on family labour for the farming activities. Adult respondents highlight other differences between poorer and richer households. They explain that the youth and children from richer families involve in business activity besides schooling – but they are less likely to have to support their family in farming and most likely to help running the family business. This is similar for women and girls from the richer families, who will rather involve in trading activities and supporting the family business. While in poor families women and girls involve in petty trade. In general, diversification of activities such as trade, farming or education is more significant for women, girls, youth and children of both sexes from the richer and middle-wealth families when compared to the poorer ones. In the richer and middle-wealth families, business is equally important to farming.

Young people of both sexes explain that being from a poor family or a rich family makes a lot of difference in the prospects that the youth face in the community. There is a general agreement that establishing an independent household is harder for children from poor families as their families cannot support them through giving the necessary to do so. Several of the 13-, 16- and 19-year old boys explained that poor families cannot give land to their marrying son and the poor lack any means to start another activity as they and their families have no capital. The majority also think that a girl from a poor family is likely to marry a poor man as rich men have the choice.

The 13-, 16- and 19-year old girls explain that girls from poorer families have a higher workload as they have to support their family (in both domestic and economic activities) or have to engage in income earning e.g. through petty trade, and this is detrimental to their education as they do not have sufficient time. They also face shortage of school materials and clothes. On the other hand, a few believe that girls from poorer families study better because they are more serious as they expect more from education in terms of improving their life. Boys seem more inclined to think that young males from poor families are less likely to be able to perform in education and are more likely to drop out. This does not mean that children and youth from richer families have no activity other than schooling but they can plan their time better and

“The richer youth is working but not with the intention of financing his livelihood... he mostly engages in business-related activities”

while

“the poor has to try many livelihood options... they may go to Shakiso, work as agricultural labourer or become daily labourer to support their family or their own life... The poor youth has no other option than working as well as running his education... He involve in any activity that can

benefit him at any level of income..." (poor 19-year old male youth).

Spatial poverty

Adado is not a very large kebele and there does not seem to be a strong pattern linking poverty to any specific place in the kebele. People living in Adado town and along the main road cutting across the kebele have access to electricity, to a concentration of shops and other services, and to easier information on 'things that come to Adado'. Maybe also they have easier access to local jobs, like the middle-wealth farmer's household in which both the husband and the wife work on the government nursery site.

But presumably those living in rural parts of the kebele have better access to land which is a crucial factor in people's wealth – as it defines a household's ability to plant large numbers of coffee and/or enset and for those who have really larger plots, using part of these to diversify. The rivers are not used for irrigation so they make little difference in economic activities.

Household wealth inequalities

The young people do not all agree with each other although the dominant feeling is that inequality has become larger than in the past. Information given by various respondents indeed suggests a very wide range of income, from 80 birr earned by the poor woman head of household by selling 6 kg of coffee to the Union during the last harvest and otherwise has to rely on daily labour, to 20,000 birr earned in selling various farm products including coffee for 10,000 birr for the businessman's household, excluding income from the other economic activities of the household. A number of differences between households' activities, income, living style etc. are captured in the households' vignettes in the box below.

Box 1: Differences in wealth status – The six interviewed households

The poor female-headed household is one of the poorest in that category. The household's livelihood depends on daily labour carried out by the head: she is processing kocho and harvesting coffee during the harvest season. She used to have land but her husband's father sold it when the two men quarrelled and so now she is landless apart from a small plot in her backyard. Her husband died eight years ago and since then the household's situation started to get worse. The household has regularly faced financial problems. There are times when the family members spend nights without food, if she does not get daily labour work. She doesn't get support from anyone.

The successful female-headed household's economy depends on farming (coffee and enset, and also small livestock) and business. The head sells tea, bread and soft drinks in her house near the market place. She would like to open a shop in addition. She did get some support from her family when her husband died but now only when she's asking support does she get any. She has some assistance from her children. However, she believes that her household's economy has been declining since her husband's death three years ago, as she is now working alone to raise an income. When her husband was alive he was hiring labour and working with them. Now she is hiring more people which means more expense. And farm activities are not done on time which reduces the production. She is facing economic problems including sometimes shortage of money.

Middle wealth farmer - He is engaged in both farming and government employment as guard for the farmers' union office. He also produces coffee seedlings on the Union's demonstration site. He earns a monthly salary of 400 birr for these jobs. His wife is involved in farming as well as in coffee seedling preparation and she too is earning a monthly salary of 390 birr. On their farmland they grow coffee and enset, and also maize in *meher*. Sometimes she also bakes injera for others during weddings. Five years ago the economic condition of the household was poorer as only the husband was permanently employed. Hard work and the increase in the price of their products have also helped. Two daughters also became independent and left the household so the number of consumers in the household has decreased.

Poor farmer – He has 1/8 ha of land, which is among the smallest plots in the community. He is ex-soldier and demobilised in the year 1992. He has no government role in the kebele, but he is leading party member. He is earning a living as daily labourer. He gets an income by layering walls with clay. He gets 100 birr for layering one room. He is also occasionally involved in trading hides, buying them in Adado and Sokicha then selling in Bule but this is not profitable. His wife is involved in processing enset into kocho and trading flour. They have their own house. The situation of the household has worsened because the family size has increased. There is no sufficient land to produce farm products and things are serious when he faces a shortage of daily labour work. Moreover, their income has been affected by reduced coffee output and the decreasing price of coffee. There has been a continuous income and consumption shock.

Successful businessman – He owns 4000 coffee trees, 7000 enset trees, five goats, one ox and 4 hens. He is also skin and hide trader and in spite of thriving farming activities he identifies himself as business person. He has a license for skin and hide trade from Oromia. He is doing better than five years ago thanks to both better farming and the hide and skin business which is profitable. They also have a business house where they sell alcoholic drinks. His wife is processing enset and sells on the market. She is less enthusiastic and believes that the household economy has been declining. They face problem with their trading as they buy and there is no demand. Those who took items on credit also do not pay their debt. She also gets sick sometimes and this makes her not to actively work.

Successful farmer - In the past he was also involved in ox trading activities but at present he is fully engaged in farming activities only. The household has enough farmland with coffee, enset and eucalyptus trees. Their coffee production has been improving, which is a major cause for improvement of the household's income in the last five years. But of late the coffee price has decreased. The wife is involved in coffee harvesting and she is also processing enset. These days the head of the household is facing a stomach sickness and he had to undertake surgery. Therefore, the farming activities are not effective as usual. He spent about 10,000 birr in treatment, which is a lot of money.

Inequality within households

Inequality within households was not raised and did not arise as an issue in the interviews. It seems that in some mature households adult women have little access to government livelihood interventions, participate little to community management and have little information about it and the local politics. But in other households adult women seem more actively engaged outside of their household.

Apart from diverging views between generations about what is and is not acceptable in terms of clothing, hairstyle, male-female relationships etc. the main tension point within households is around access to land and the inequality between the adult landed generation and the young generation asking for land to establish an independent livelihood.

Customarily, daughters do not have the same rights to inherit from their parents than sons. This inequality seems to still largely prevail although some fathers have started giving land to their daughters too and some women have started to challenge the custom.

Problems poor people face

As shown above, poor people have a much smaller disposable income (also see section 6.5.2 on taxes and contributions). They may be forced to send only some of the children to school like in the poor farmer's and the poor female-headed households. Poor children/young people may have to dropout one year when the family cannot afford to pay the school expenses, like several of the young people interviewed. Those lucky enough to manage to attend school more often than not have to combine education and either substantial help to the family or an income-generating activity or both. The many improvements in children's care that women identified (see section 6.2.13) are by and large unaffordable for poor people.

In cases of illness there is no way a poor family could afford costs like surgery that the successful farmer paid for (10,000 birr). For someone poor the only option is to either sell an asset or have a relative doing so like the poor farmer who sold a sheep to help his brother facing a health crisis in his family. Poor people also tend to eat a much less diversified food and inflation made this a lot worse judging by the cases of the poor households interviewed (see section 6.2.7). Poor people also have much poorer housing conditions (a hut covered with enset stems and leaves must hardly be a shelter when it rains hard) and poorer and very few household goods (see sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2).

Poor, landless and single women with small children are very vulnerable and their family genuinely lives a 'hand-to-mouth' existence. They probably have no choice but accepting whatever rate is proposed for their labour (the woman heading the poor household is paid about 10 birr/day for processing kocho). Because they have to maximise the time they work for an income they find it hard to participate to any of the social occasions in the community. In addition, they cannot afford iddir or equb contributions or contributions for celebrating the religious festivals among neighbours. It is also harder to afford the time to attend meetings and be informed about what is going on.

Young people (5.3.2) have an acute sense of large differences between rich and poor youth. It is more difficult for young people from poor families to succeed in their education because they have a lot of other work to do (although some say that because they are more motivated they tend to do better than their richer counterparts); more difficult to establish an independent livelihood and therefore get married because they have an even smaller chance to have access to land than those from richer families which tend to have more land, they do not have start-up capital and their family cannot help them. The poor also tend to marry among themselves because rich families pay attention to who their child marry and a rich young man is unlikely to select a poor young girl.

Social identity, status differences and vulnerability

Ethnicity

The community is of one ethnic group, the Gedeo.

There are members from other ethnic groups in Bule, the wereda centre, and community members of Adado participated in a conflict that took place there in 1998 EC. It started in a school in Bule and the cause was ethnic difference between Amhara and Gedeo students. The respondent who mentioned the case was not willing to openly and deeply talk about it but it seems to have been provoked by one ethnic group undermining the other. The conflict in the school spread in the town and the community attacked Bule town by throwing stones. There were students from Adado. It was on Thursday which is market day so there were people from Adado who were there for market, and who went to support the students. There was no death but there were minor injuries. The Federal police intervened to settle the conflict and about 10 people from Adado were injured in the conflict. The conflict was solved rapidly and things became peaceful.

As noted earlier, conflict management between Bule wereda and the Oromia/Guji zone has been strengthened. There used to be recurrent conflict between the Gedeo from Bule and the Guji. These days there is a joint committee for conflict management. There is an annual conference of the joint committee that discusses the yearly performance of conflict management in both zones. The conflicts of the past have disappeared.

Clan / lineage / family

Generally

The community is divided into the seven Gedeo clans. The clans have traditionally demarcated roles and the senior clans provide the Gedeo Aba Gada or the supreme traditional authority in the Gedeo system. Accounts are mixed as to whether the Gedeo system still matters. Several adults highlighted the continuing importance of the Aba Gada in conflict resolution and internal justice. Other people argued that the community is moving toward adopting modern, urban ideas and embracing the

“new religion” (Protestantism) and as a result fewer and fewer people are attached to the traditional beliefs and values. In any instance, clan membership does not appear to be a marker of status.

Craft workers

In the community there are seven carpenters involved in log production (inputs for the production of chairs, beds, tables etc.) on a part-time basis; they also produce some furniture, doors etc. and sell locally or in nearby towns. There is no potter. There are six blacksmiths. They also take part in farming but they mostly involve in blacksmith activities. They produce farming tools and household materials useful for harvesting and processing enset. There are 10 tanners working on a part-time basis. They prepare skins for household’s use like for beds and chairs.

The craft workers like carpenters have no problem in the community. But blacksmith work is not appreciated even though it is very important for the whole community as they produce many indispensable tools. The people who are involved in this business perceive themselves as marginalised. Blacksmiths and tanners mix with other people in social and religious activities; they eat, work, go to church and share social activities with others. But they are considered ‘sub-human’ and very poor, because they have no or little farm land. Someone marrying one of them will be ostracised by her or his family.

Slaves

There is no mention of slaves in Adado.

Religions

As noted earlier the large majority of the community is Protestant, belonging to different churches. There are also a few Muslims and no Orthodox Christians.

Religion is important in relation to people’s social identity in Adado. But it does not appear that members of different Protestant churches perceive themselves to have different statuses. And while there is a clear divide between the Protestants and the Muslims there is usually no conflict (apart from the recent conflict between Muslims and Tsega followers), and there does not seem to be strong differences in terms of status.

It is not known from the current data whether the Muslim community perceives itself or is marginalised socially (e.g. in relation to community self-help mechanisms or community celebrations), economically or politically (e.g. in terms of access to leadership positions in the kebele structures). In November 2013 all kebele cabinet members were Protestant. But Muslims have two mosques and share equb and dabo with non-Muslims. Many Muslims live around one of the mosque in an area (Chiyote) which is quite remote and less covered with electricity.

Native/immigrant

There is no immigrant in Adado. Those who come for the coffee harvest mostly come on a daily basis i.e. they do not stay in the community.

There are immigrant groups in Bule and people from Adado mentioned an instance of conflict between native Gedeo and immigrant Amhara in Bule, in which people from Adado were involved. But this was in 1998 EC and has not reoccurred since then.

One man mentioned that there may at times be some tension in Shakiso where so many people from Adado migrate. Local people in Shakiso became envious of the Adado people doing well. As a result, these days it is no longer possible for people from Adado to settle in Shakiso and get some land. In the past, around twenty people from Adado were able to do this.

Status associated with wealth/poverty

Wealthy people are seen as elite and something to emulate. But there does not seem to be any

despise for poor people and there is even some compassion: “*people understand my conditions*”, said a poor widow with small children, trading coffee on a very small scale. Churches organise some charitable support, which does not seem to be seen as degrading. There is respect for those becoming rich through hard work or undertakings like migration, but also an understanding that this may be much more difficult for some people. Poor and rich people are said to be helping each other because everyone understands that one cannot live independently without any support, and so there is reciprocal respect.

Non-conformity and status

Women without husbands

There are about 100 female-headed households in Adado (other data says 250). There does not seem to be any other status given to women without husbands. Young women begin to worry about not being able to find someone good to marry when they are 24-26 (see section on ‘female youth trajectories’ below) but there is no information on how frequent this is in Adado that a young woman would not marry at all. Divorces are not common and it is also not common for young women to establish their own household if it is not to marry someone, so most of the female heads are widows. They are primarily seen as a vulnerable or potentially vulnerable group.

Men without work

Men with a family have to have some work. Young men without work, like the many Gr10 completers who failed to have the score required to join preparatory or TVET programmes, are a source of concern.

Children without parents

There are 123 orphans who lost both parents (68 males and 55 females), of whom around 60% go to school with financial support from relatives.

One of the 19-year young women interviewed is an orphan living with her two brothers. They manage their life apparently without any support from anyone. No one among the respondents commented on the case of such children.

Vulnerable people

Disabled people

There are about 100 disabled people in the community. This is said not to have changed in the past ten years. The main problem they face is that they are unable to work. Their relatives are caring for them. There is no programme and no NGO helping these people.

Mentally ill people

There are about 10 mentally ill people. This too has not changed. They face the same problem and are taken care of in the same way as the disabled people.

Old people needing support

There are about 200 old people needing support. Their number has increased in the past decade. They are not working and their relatives take care of them. There is no programme or NGO taking care of elderly needy people in the community.

Orphans

There are about 150 orphans in the community. Their number has increased in the past decade. They have little chance of accessing opportunities that other children enjoy. They are taken care of by relatives. There is no programme or NGO focusing on orphans.

PLWHAs

There is no information on the number of PLWHAs. Most people say that HIV/AIDS is not an issue in the community, including in relation to the young generation.

Female-headed households

There are about 250 female-headed households. It seems that official statistics give a lower number (100). Their number has increased in the past decade. They face the fact that the burden of raising their family relies only on themselves. There is no programme and no NGO focusing on female-headed households in the community.

Genderage experiences, differences and relationships

Growing up in the community – boys and girls

The sections below are largely based on the interviews of the households' women (heads and wives) who seem to have outlined the ideal situation that is, what should happen for babies and infants, children, adolescents and youth. There is little information on the actual situation for babies and infants. A few respondents noted that with regard to hygiene and nutrition poorer members of the community struggled to apply the advice given; others said that some people just did not do it. Even the HEW recognised that about 55% of the mothers take good care of infants and babies – leaving 45% who may be quite far from the ideal outlined below.

More information on adolescence and youth is in section 5.3.2, based on the interviews of nine male and nine female youth of different wealth statuses (rich, middle-wealth and poor) and age groups (13, 16 and 19).

In general there is no difference in growing up as male or female child, at early childhood ages. Male and female children now start to work earlier because they start going to school earlier and they have sharp minds and are active.

Birth and infancy

Newborn infants - There is follow-up on pregnant women before they deliver and they get vaccinated; this continues for the newborn infant after delivery. Male and female newborn infants are taken to health centre to follow-up on their health. There is better awareness of the community of the importance of taking infants to health services and of vaccinating them. The health workers teach the community to do so. So, there is better infant care and vaccination than ten years ago, when vaccination was available but there was no follow-up. There are other health care services given to infants at the health centre. This is the same for both male and female children.

Babies - Babies are taken to the health centre for vaccination. More attention is given to babies' food and hygiene than ten years ago. In the past babies used to be given solid food before six months; this is no longer the case. Babies are also better fed once they are six months old; they are given a thin porridge called *muk* and eggs. The change came because people got information from the radio and from the health workers on how to feed their babies. Now there is better care and hygiene. Babies' clothes and body are washed properly and frequently and they have extra clothes. This is the same for male and female babies.

Knee children - Like for the babies, better care is given to knee children, starting with better hygiene. Mothers wash the body and clothes of their children frequently, and good clothes are bought for them. In relation to food, presently breastfeeding is continued for up to two to three years while in the past it used to be up to four years. Another change compared to ten years ago is that now children are given food in addition to breast milk. One woman explained that this change arose because women had not enough food due to the high living costs and so they had to stop breastfeeding earlier so as not to get harmed. In the past they were given the same food as adults when they were one year old. Now this is no longer the case and they are given special food. They

eat like adults from two onwards. Children are given what they ask such as tea, bread, biscuits, candies and eggs. Both male and female children show better growth than 10 years ago. Female children grow faster than male children; this is natural and has not changed. But there is no difference in how male and female children are treated.

Children – work, play and education

Pre-school children

For pre-school children too, the main change is about better clothes and shoes, and better hygiene. However these changes are not applied by all community members. They are mainly seen in well-to-do families and educated community members. The majority of the people do not give much special care for their children.

Children now get food like bread and biscuits in addition to kocho. They start eating kocho like adults from around 5.

As they grow older the care given to them decreases but up to four they are protected from fire and other hazards. This was already the case in the past.

Now male and female children are going to pre-school, starting around 6, before they start the formal school. Ten years ago children of that age were not going to school. They learn in their own Gedeo language. This is good to increase their knowledge because they easily learn in their own language.

Parents do not beat their male and female children like what used to be ten years ago.

Children 7-12is

Nowadays most of male and female children go to school at the age of 7. There is good awareness by their parents about the importance of sending their children to school at the right age. The government teaches the community about this. Ten years ago children used to start schooling when they were older, 10 and above. Now there is strong follow-up by parents about the education of their children; parents ask their children about their education when children come back from school. All school materials are provided for children in a better way than ten years ago.

At this age children take responsibility of taking care of themselves. Male and female children start to take care of themselves at the age of 12.

Also, male and female children are no longer beaten – others say there is much less beating. Ten years ago children used to be beaten even when they dropped a pen or exercise book at school. Now even if they drop materials there should be no beating. Children are advised that when they make mistakes they should not be beaten.

Children of that age are advised not to spend time with bad friends. Some parents say that the children accept advice from their parents and old people. Others say that there is change and male and female children of this age do no longer accept advice from parents, unlike in the past. Now when they get an advice they interact to disagree with their parents while ten years ago they used to fear and obey their parents. Male and female children nowadays do things in their own way. They spend time by watching TV.

At this age female children start domestic work. At 10 they start preparing coffee, cleaning the house even though they cannot clean it well. They improve their performance in domestic work as they become older. Ten years ago girls used to start working at the age of 12 and 13 or even 14. Children now start to do domestic work earlier. At the age of 12 female children starts to wash their body and their clothes. Male children start fetching water and splitting wood at the age of fourteen. Ten years ago these activities used to be carried by young men when they reached 18. The change is because male and female children are smarter at an early age now.

Work and education - There generally is a lot of child labour in Adado (more than in Harresaw and Gara Godo studied by the Research Officers in 2011). Children are involved early in 'heavy activities'. This is said to have changed i.e. they get involved earlier because they are smarter thanks to their education and they have become more income-oriented too. It may also be linked to the growing population. The income that they generate is used in part to help their families. E.g. there were at least ten kids less than 10 years old collecting stones for the construction of the latrine of one of the public buildings. The male RO interviewed a young shoe shiner who was also involved in stone collection. He got 30 birr and spent 20 birr to buy maize on the market for his family. Many children are also involved in selling sugarcane e.g. around the school compound. Most of these younger kids combine this with school.

Male children start work when they reach 10. They sell sugar cane, assist in butchering and do shoe shine.

Adolescence and youth

Unlike ten years ago, **adolescents (12-16 year-old)** both male and female are getting freedom from their parents. They are free to do whatever they like because there is less control and pressure from parents in whatever the adolescents do. They are free to do things according to their own choice. Parents are also ready to buy what their children need if they have the money. This is the same for male and female adolescents.

At the age of 12 boys and girls start to take care of themselves and to take responsibility to go to school on their own. Ten years ago children did not know the benefit of education so they used to have to be told by parents to go to school in the mornings. Now the family as well as the children understand the benefit of schooling. Parents are more willing to make their male and female children continue to go to school at any age. Adolescents have better clothing than ten years ago. Those boys and girls going to school change clothes and wash their body frequently.

There is no difference between male and female in respect to the above.

At the age of 12 male and female children start washing their body and clothes on their own.

At this age male and female children are also expected to contribute labour for their households.

Boys start farming at the age of 12 by hoeing and planting. Ten years ago they used to start farming activities at the age of 16. Another respondent highlighted a shift but says that male adolescents used to start farming around 20 and do so now around 15. He explained that 15-year old male adolescents now also go to markets. At the age of 13 years female children start to process kocho. They start carrying out heavier work and shopping around 15 while they used to start doing this when they were 18 and above in the past. At present male and female children are more active than what children of the same age used to be ten years ago.

Aged 16-19 the male children are expected to support the family, especially those from poor and middle-wealth families. Those from richer families are involved in the family business. Migration from the age of 16 is very common and school dropout is also common at this age. Adolescents from poor and middle families combine education and income generating activities.

Female teenagers are involved in domestic activities and petty trade. When small they do lighter activities; then their workload increases with age. Girls aged 13 do petty trade locally; when they are 16 and above they sell in nearby kebeles. They combine domestic work with education which is possible as it is a shift system at school – but it does take time that they could use for school work. Trade is late afternoon so this does not affect school attendance. When aged 18-19 those involved in trade are those who have dropped out of school. Poorer household girls are more likely to be doing petty trade. The rich do not, unless they are interested. There were only 2 cases of young girls who dropped out due to abduction. Early marriage is also rare.

Like for their younger siblings, the main change for **youth 17-20 year-old** is that they have more freedom in relation to their friendship (and they can have friends of the other sex and a boyfriend or a girlfriend openly), the clothes they wear, when and whom they marry. They can decide about their life and choose to start petty trade. Parents try to meet their needs and expectations, depending on their income. Some people say that young male and female adults choose their partners and “*parents accept this because they have no choice*”. In the past there were beatings and parents got angry when youth showed inappropriate behaviour. Youth of that age are told that their parents should not get angry at them and not beat them. Some respondents see a more negative side to this and explain that youth do no longer obey their parents when they get an advice; and most 17-20 male youth stay outside watching TV up to the evening because they do not do what their parents tell them to do.

The changes seem to be more drastic for young female. As explained by the wife of the middle-wealth farmer:

Ten years ago there was control from parents on what kind of clothes girls should wear. Now, whether the parents accept or not girls wear clothes based on their own choice. Ten years ago when a young female used to get her hair dressed frequently this was considered as inappropriate behaviour and they used to be beaten by their parents for that. Now this has changed. Today girls are encouraged to continue their education and get a job instead of getting married. Ten years ago girls used to get married at the age of 17 instead of continuing their education. Girls also used to be forced by their parents to marry a person they chose while now marriage takes place following the choice of the young girls. Now girls are free to have a boyfriend and there is no fear of being insulted by their parents.

When asked about problems faced by young men and women in the community, adult respondents (the household heads and wives) note the following.

First, in relation to **education** there is better access although going to Bule for attending Gr9 and Gr10 is expensive. One major issue affecting both male and female youth is that because of the poor school environment and quality locally, most fail to pass the Gr8 or Gr10 examinations and cannot get a job. Most females failing Gr8 drop out and marry. Some people highlight that although this is improving, girls’ education is still lagging behind because they are expected to engage into many family affairs and domestic work, more so than their male counterparts. There is a lot of dropout during the coffee harvesting period and this affects the youth’s performance. For male youth, there is a trend of increased dropout from school to migrate to Shakiso.

Finding work is hard for both male and female youth in Adado. Young men usually do not want to engage in farming once they have some education and yet they do not find other work. They face financial constraints and a lack of start-up capital (there is no credit service), lack of employment opportunities outside the coffee harvest season, lack of access to inputs to start small-and-medium enterprises, and lack of land for the few who resolve themselves to farm. As a result the trend to migrate to Shakiso is rising. Even adults reckon that this is a good option for youth who fail to attend education and do not engage in trading; they explain that some families encourage the youth to migrate as there is no other opportunity. For women options are limited too, except petty trade and marriage. In a way the situation is worse for them because unlike young men they cannot migrate.

These difficulties lead to difficulties in **getting married and establishing one’s own household**. This is worse for young men from poor families as land access is even more problematic for them. Generally land is scarce and families share only small plots with the marrying youth. There is potential for SME in the community but few of these are being established. In addition wedding costs have risen and the high living costs are also problematic for the newly-wed. Young women usually do not establish an independent household except when they marry, which now happens later than ten years ago for many of them. Girls from richer families or with their own income source may marry earlier than the others. Some respondents highlight that for girls the later age of

marriage is also linked to the fact that nowadays they are getting an education – which was not the case previously. Most adult respondents explain that there is no problem of unwanted pregnancies but a few acknowledge that this happens more frequently than in the past.

Almost all of the adults interviewed reckoned that **HIV/AIDS** is not an issue for the youth as there is high awareness about it thanks to counselling and training and the work of the health workers; only two men mentioned the risk entailed by youth migration to urban areas for work or education. Most of them also explained that there is no problem of youth **developing bad habits** – and several linked this to the influence of the strict Protestant churches' rules. Three men highlighted that some of the youth who move to urban areas come back with drinking or chat chewing habits. The majority reckoned that youth lack **recreation opportunities** but several highlighted that youth spend their leisure time watching TV and do not need anything else. Most of them acknowledged that youth do not have **voice in the community's affairs** but many believed that this is not a big issue. Those who thought that it is an issue mentioned that the youth organisations are very weak in the kebele. Women seemed to think that the issue of lack of participation is more acute for young women than for young men.

Talking about changes in the community, knowledgeable people highlighted that the young people are particularly active in **bringing new ideas** like transportation by motorbikes, new clothing and hair dressing styles, and a **greater desire to work hard** to change their life than their elders. They do not accept the 1-5 groups. But the youth want to get educated and get a job and an income before marrying and avoid being dependent on their parents. They know that this may not happen and so they look into involving in trade or other non-farm activities and getting an income.

The male Research Officer highlights that there are significant differences between youth of different wealth status. The rich and middle-wealth 19-year old youth interviewed came across far more confident about their life opportunities. The rich is looking into engaging in trading as a main activity. He and the middle-wealth youth are not so worried about their responsibility vis-à-vis their families while the poor is overloaded with family responsibilities and farming work. Neither of the three is politically active. The RO was also struck by the fact that while the 19-year old young men had tried to stick with education, the 16-year old boys often dropped out. Equally striking is the high proportion of the 13-year old boys who work for an income in parallel to attending school.

Youth

Male youth trajectories

Circumcision

There is no practice of male circumcision in Adado.

Boy's work

The women interviewed as household wives or heads report that their male children engage in domestic tasks: most commonly fetching wood and water, but also washing clothes, cleaning the house and baking bread for the family's tea house business (successful female-headed household).

The male youth interviewed mentioned domestic work and supporting the family in farming – including the 13-year old ones though the middle-wealth one said this is light work. Most of them also mentioned some other income-generating work, and that it is very common for boys and youth of their age to be involved in such work. While the domestic and farming tasks are assigned to them the income-generating work is something they decide to do.

The 13-year middle-wealth boy is involved in shoe-shining which he learned from an elder brother and now does with his little brother. He earned 200 birr in the past twelve months and participates in an equb with 20 other people. He sometimes works as daily labourer, collecting stones to build the kebele latrine – he was paid 30 birr/day. The poor one is selling sugar cane which he started

doing as he followed his elder sister. Unlike fetching water which he is ordered to do by his mother, he likes selling sugar cane because he is earning an income; he gives a part of it to the family. He earned 150 birr over six months. The 13-year old rich boy helps his parents to run their shop when they ask him to do so. They all say that many boys of their age are engaged in shoe-shining, selling sugar cane or bread on market places and in butchery work.

These are also the activities mentioned by the 16-year old ones. The middle-wealth one said that butchery work is not nice as the smell is bad. He does not have an income-generating activity. The poor one sells sugar cane and this is to finance his education and contribute to the family's expenses. He is happy with this. He and the rich one mentioned good activities like renting a motorbike and also coffee harvesting during the season. The rich 16-year old youth helps the family in the shop but does not have his own work. For him and the middle-wealth one this is because their parents do not want them to work.

The 19-year old middle-wealth youth works on shoe-shining and as assistant mason through daily labour, but this is casual while the shoe-shining helps him to finance his education. He earns 30 birr/day as daily labourer. In the past year he earned 500 birr from shoe-shining and 600 birr from daily labour. He bought a sheep with his income and also supports his brothers' school expenses. The poor young man focuses on farming because his father is busy with his butchery work. So he does not have his own income. The rich one as said above has his own shop.

The youth also explained that in fact there are not many good opportunities to work in the community outside of the coffee harvesting season. That is the reason why many youth migrate to Shakiso.

Combining work and education

Migration to Shakiso is an increasing trend reported by both the adults talking about youth and the youth themselves. This is problematic because unlike other work it is not possible to combine this with education and so, many youth drop out and migrate. This trend seems to affect particularly the 16-year old and above. Some youth start by going there for a while and then return to school but this often ends up in permanently dropping out. The 19-year old rich youth says that there are at least 100 youth who went to Shakiso over the past twelve months. The middle-wealth 19-year old youth explained that there are other reasons for dropping out as well, like lack of family's support, lack of motivation, workload at home and sickness. Some of the youth said that the school does not follow-up. Some of the adults explained that if the youth had local income-generating opportunities the problem would be reduced.

The youth of all ages explained that many youth of their age combine education and some work and this is easy because of the school shift system. However, it is more difficult to do this when the school is faraway like the Gr9-10 school which is in Bule. The youth do this '*to finance their life expenditures*'. They generally did not see any problem with this and explained that they do not do heavy or difficult or dangerous work, although some of them mentioned that there are youth involved in heavy jobs like carrying sugar cane loads to the market. Several of them added that they do not like to be idle anyway.

Several of them explained that for the poor boys and youth, working in addition to one's education is not optional: they have to do it to finance their education and support their family. The poor 19-year old youth explained that the difference between the rich and the poor is that the rich does not have to work to finance his livelihoods and so, he can be selective and engage only in business-related work; in contrast, the poor involve in any type of activity to generate an income, regardless of the income level. Sometimes they fail to combine both: the poor 13-year old boy explained that he knows one of the youth of his age who dropped out from school because he had to involve in trade to help his family. He personally knew seven boys of his age who are not at school.

Most of them explained that there are Gr10 completers in the community who do not have jobs and

have to engage in whatever there is to do in the community or supporting their family or migrating. Two of those interviewed mentioned that there are at least 50 youth in this case. But Gr12 completers or university graduates from the community are all employed.

Future plans and dreams

Among the 13-year old all wanted to continue to study. They said that this is the same for all their friends; no one is interested in being a farmer and the few who may want to stay in the community want to engage in trade and shops. Educated youth want to be a government employee or a trader. No one of their age wants to migrate. The 13-year old interviewed want all three to live in Dilla or Addis Ababa, visiting their families from time to time.

The three 16-year old youth want to join university, and to live outside of the community in places like Dilla, Hawassa or Addis. The rich one wants to go abroad if he gets a chance. One of them wants to be a doctor; the poor one does not specify but he also wants to engage in running a motorbike next year as he needs to save to be able to finance his education. They all plan to marry only once they have completed their education.

They explained that most of their friends - who may currently be involved in helping their family with farming – do not want to continue with this. The middle wealth youth said that 5 of his friends are inclined to farming activities, but that farming is less appreciated by the youth of their age, because it is hard and time-consuming. Those who want to stay in the community (as many as 100 according to the poor teenager) want to trade or run a shop. They have friends who – like them – want to continue their education to university level, and the rich 16-year old believes that in the community as many as 30 youth of their age want this. They also knew friends or people of their age who want to migrate to Shakiso (at least 30, says the middle-wealth youth). Generally youth of this age all have a plan for their life.

The rich 19-year old young man has a business and wants to expand it. He also plans to buy and rent a bajaj while he would give the shop to his wife so they can diversify. He is not yet married. The other two want to continue their education and go and live outside of the community. The middle-wealth one believed that most youth in the community prefers education and a government job and most of his friends want to join university. But he also has two friends living in Shakiso and three others wanting to go. The poor one said that all his friends want to leave the community and all want to study or trade. He has four friends who want to go to Shakiso during non-school periods. The rich one said that none of his friends want to be a farmer and many want to be educated and a few want to live in the community, trading, providing transport services or running a shop. He knew some youth who want to migrate to Shakiso.

Accordingly, many of the youth interviewed have role models who are educated people or students working hard and succeeding. The role models of the 19-year old rich youth who has a shop are two active businesspeople of Dilla who accumulate money because they work hard.

Inter-generational relations

There is consensus among the nine youth interviewed that the relationship between generations in the community is generally smooth. The youngsters respect adults and elders. This is cultural and also taught in the churches. Generations are brought together by participating in common activities and church programmes are very important in this. But also, youth and adult/elder generations can sit together, work together and have some leisure together like watching football matches or TV.

They explained that these good relationships are found in their own family. The middle-wealth 16-year old youth adds that he particularly appreciates how his father advises the family's children, pushing them to study hard. He also mentioned that adults punish teenagers when they commit wrongdoings and this is culturally accepted – as well as elder siblings punishing their younger ones. When talking about their parents most of the youth interviewed noted that they did not worry about

them but were following up their activities. For instance the middle-wealth 16-year old said that he always ask permission when he goes out. Parents and churches work together to penalise the youth who engage in deviant behaviour. The only one who said that his parents do not control his activities is the 19-year old rich youth who has his own business.

Living in the community

The youth all said that the community is peaceful; many added that there is no conflict between groups and there is friendship among the youth. Most of them highlighted recent developments like electricity hence the possibility of watching ETV and using electrical instruments, the mobile phone network, better roads hence cars coming and new transportation services, houses built with tin roofs and the presence of shops in Adado town. Several of them also said that the place is green and the community grows an important cash crop, coffee. In spite of all this the 13-year old middle-wealth boy explained that he does not like living in the community. The middle-wealth 19-year old disliked the lack of access to quality education and the lack of job opportunities.

Leisure activities and bad habits

The younger ones said that they do not have information about youth with bad habits, and two of them added that drinking, chewing chat and smoking is not allowed for Protestants anyway. The 16- and 19-year old also mentioned that it is not allowed but they knew cases of young people who drink or smoke or chew chat and even one (who has now migrated to Shakiso) who used to be involved in theft. The 16-year old poor youth said that the youth start all those bad habits when they migrate to Shakiso or go to urban areas. However, the youth engaged in these bad habits usually do not carry them out openly in the community.

The youth are generally interested in sports like playing football, running, gymnasium practice, jumping etc. They all mentioned playing football. They liked music though for most this seemed to be religious music and they said that they are not interested in other music or any other art – one of them added that this is because it is not allowed for Protestant followers.

Some of them also explained how they spend time together with their friends, going to market, going to places to watch ETV, sometimes studying together, or chattering during school breaks about their future life, education and business. None of those interviewed had female friends or a girlfriend.

Religion

All of the youth interviewed are very active religiously. They go to church at least once a week and some of them up to three times (like the 13-year old middle-wealth boy and the 16-year old middle-wealth youth). They are genuinely interested and there is no enforcement upon them. They all explained that generally people in the community are interested in religious affairs. The young man who is independent (19-year old rich) contributes money to the church (he is a follower from the Tsega church) from what he is earning with his shop.

The youth mentioned that these days there are several Protestant churches in the community – Kalehiwot, Mekane Yesus, Rehobot, Full Gospel, and Tsega. There is no conflict among leaders or followers from these different churches and also no conflict between the Protestant and the few Muslim followers. But there is no similarity between Protestants and Muslims. Members from one household may belong to different Protestant churches and there is no problem with this, but this does not apply to the Muslim religion. Members from one Protestant church can go to conferences and religious events of other churches because there is no basic difference between them. There usually is an annual joint conference of protestant churches in the community. The youth mentioned that there are preachers coming from other places to preach in the community. A few of them also one 20-year old man who had been to Dilla to learn about religion and he was now back and preaching in church, he is a pastor.

These days religious rules are strict. The youth follow the rules because there is strict follow-up on them and bad actions are punished. For example if a youth is singer in the church he will be told to quit for any irregularity against the rules. The 19-year old poor youth said that he liked this because it was preventing them from many bad habits. For Protestants, drinking, smoking and chewing chat is not allowed. Muslims can chew chat. Orthodox Christians can drink but there are no Orthodox Christians in the community.

The 19-year old middle-wealth and rich youth noted that these days the churches are better in serving the community as they involve in conflict management. The rich youth of the same age added that they work together with other churches on environmental protection issues.

All of the youth interviewed also noted that the churches support poor and sick people and people suffering from any kind of crisis such as hunger or death, through money, or food, or building a shelter. The church members contribute through the church. This is known as a religiously blessed duty. The 16-year old middle-wealth youth said that his church support people who have a support letter from the kebele or another church. The 16-year old rich and middle-wealth youth added that churches also support people from other areas when they are needy.

Politics

Most of the youth said that there is no problem between government and the youth - and one of them noted that the youth appreciated the developments brought by the government such as the electricity, poor but available mobile connection and better roads. But in the community the youth are not actively involved in politics. The youth organisations are not functional, which a number of them deplore as they say that it would help the youth to get organised.

They added that young people worry more about their livelihood and income-generating activities than they worry about politics. Most of them said that there is no youth related support from the kebele or the wereda in the community (no special message, no training). The 16-year old middle-wealth youth said that the government is passing the message of forming groups to start businesses – in general meetings and the like – but there has been nothing in terms of training, material or cash support or job. So, those who lack a job ‘hate the government’. The 16-year old rich one had the same information. He said that sometimes wereda officials come to the kebele and tell the youth to form groups to get credit but then nothing happens. The 19-year old middle-wealth and rich youth added that there was some training given to selected youth in Bule and they saw this trend being reported on ETV. But the 19-year old poor youth said that the youth of the community had no opportunity to practice this message from the government.

A few of the youth interviewed mentioned that the wereda gave recreational materials like a football but one of them said they are not using it.

There is no pressure on the youth to join the party. There does not appear to be any interest in the opposition. Even the 16-year old middle-wealth who is most critical in relation to the lack of support said that he and the youth generally do not like ‘*the opposing politics*’ because they are old people with no capacity. Others also highlighted that in the community the opposition is seen as weak and the leading party is appreciated generally by the community as a whole.

Community participation

The youth themselves do not talk about ‘community participation’ as such. They are generally actively involved in the churches. Most of them mentioned that in contrast, they are not very active in politics (see above). They explained that the youth can contribute to the community’s development through working on activities such as terracing land to protect the soil from erosion. Others said that the youth can contribute through being educated and getting good jobs, or their income from trade and businesses. One of them said that the youth can contribute through using their knowledge to use improved farming technology and raise the productivity of farming on the

community.

Sexual initiation

As noted above, none of the youth interviewed said they had a girlfriend.

They all, including the 13-year old ones, said that they had good information on HIV/AIDS and its causes – from health workers’ teachings and at school. They said the causes are unsafe sex, or being harmed by a sharp contaminated instrument. Six of them, of all ages, did not have any information about cases in the community. But the 13-year old of middle-wealth said that sometimes people talk after a person’s death and so he heard that people died of HIV/AIDS in the community in the past. The 16-year old middle-wealth youth said he knew one person who died of HIV/AIDS last year and while it is not easy to know, there are rumours and he believes that as many as ten people live with HIV/AIDS in the community.

Most of them explained that having sex before marriage is not common in the community as it is not accepted in the churches. Two of the 19-year old (rich and poor) said that the youth who have sex before marriage do this with their girlfriend so there is no problem – and those youth know about condoms as a protection against unsafe sex because they heard about it through the awareness raising meetings. But they did not know whether young having sex before marriage use condoms. The 16-year old middle-wealth youth thought that most youth had sex before marriage and he did not know if they used condoms or not.

Finding work – economic independence

All except the 19-year old rich youth who has his own business noted that youth of their age usually do not have their own land. Families who can afford give land when the youth marry, not before. This may also not happen at all in poor families. Besides, as noted earlier young people are generally not attracted by farming. That is why youth have to find other ways of reaching economic independence – including trying to join higher education and a job through this route, or engaging in local non-farm activities or migrating to Shakiso. As said earlier, most of the youth interviewed noted that the opportunities locally ‘on offer’ are not sufficient to absorb the youth labour force. And it is not possible for the youth to engage in business because they lack start-up capital.

The 19-year old rich youth who has his own shop lives independently in Adado town while his parents live in rural Adado. He completed Gr10 but did not score high enough to join preparatory. That is why he started his business. His parents helped by giving him 7,000 birr to start up his business but he decided himself what he wanted to do. In the last 12 months he earned 4,000 birr which he reinvested in his shop.

The 13-year old mentioned that education is a good opportunity for boys of their age because people who learned get a better income than the illiterate people. The 19-year old rich youth also thought that education and getting a government job is one of the two routes that youth could try to take. Otherwise they could engage in trade and business although the problem is lack of capital. Others mentioned opportunities like trading coffee and livestock, or renting a motorbike, but lack of capital is an issue. Hence migration becomes an important opportunity, even though this pushes the youth to dropout and it is difficult and dangerous work.

Migration

As noted earlier the trend of migration to Shakiso for gold mining is growing in the community. The middle-wealth and the poor 13-year old boys said that even boys of their age go these days, if they know a person or have a relative there. The middle-wealth 16-year old youth said that it has become a fashion in the community as the youth see the ones returning with better clothes and income and they can support their family and establish an independent livelihood. He said that every year there are 250 men and youth of various ages going. Even 10-year old boys go by following their elder brothers or neighbours.

Most of the youth highlighted both 'push' factors as there are no other income-generating activities outside of the coffee harvesting season, and 'pull' factors as the youth see positive changes for those who go and return. They have no information about other migration destinations. Two of them knew about people dying in landslides in the mines. None of them had a plan to migrate as they wanted to continue their education. Only the poor 16-year old youth said that he might migrate for an income as he saw that Shakiso was a good place for this.

Getting married

The youth interviewed stressed that they will marry when they want and who they want; several of them added that this will be after they have completed university and secured a job. Generally they thought that the normal age to marry is around 25 or more. Marriage can also occur at around 20. None of them was married. The rich 19-year old youth said that his parents were quite keen.

They said that generally these days parents do no longer chose their son's partner but they have to consent. Parents from rich families in particular pay much attention to the girl's background, her family's wealth and her character. One difference between poor and rich is that the poor boy has less chance of marrying a rich girl. Also, the poor youth may not follow all of the traditional ceremony as this is costly. The young married couple will also face more difficulties if they are poor. This is the main challenge of marriage. Otherwise marriage is good as it allows having children. It is a sign of maturity and is a religiously blessed institution.

A few of the youth interviewed had heard about the government rules against early marriage, through awareness creation meetings at the kebele and school level. They thought that there was no such case in the kebele.

Establishing an independent household

All age and wealth groups agreed that establishing one's own independent household depends on having enough resources to do so. This is easier for youth from richer families that may give some land to the new couple. For the rich, the family and relatives will contribute gifts to help them settle with what is needed and they will be able to construct a house. It is a lot more difficult for youth from poor families as they may not get land, they will not get gifts like the rich, and they lack the means to engage in other activities. So, the poor may have to stay longer with his parents instead of establishing his own household rapidly after marriage.

The 16-year old middle-wealth youth added that there is one thing in common for both rich and poor youth that is, their future life depends on their strength. The rich will have an easier start in life, but in any instance *"if a person is weak in his livelihood activities, his future life will not be good"*.

All of the youth agreed that there is change in the community and most of them thought that on the whole the community is better-off – although a few highlighted the dependency on coffee and the risk with this. All of them explained that there is inequality in the community as there are (few) very rich households and other households who are very poor. While some of them did not know whether there is a trend, four of the youth interviewed thought that inequality is increasing, because there is little or no change for the poor whilst the richer ones are getting better-off (the middle-wealth and poor 13-year old boys and the 19-year old middle-wealth and poor). The 16-year old middle-wealth youth said that there is a good relation between rich and poor and the former support the latter with money to trade. The rich 19-year old youth said that the poor people are also working hard to change their life.

Having children

The 13-year old of middle wealth wants two children; the rich one wants six children, as well as the middle-wealth 19-year old. Those are the two extremes. Most want four children. Several said that they did not want more children as it is too difficult to raise them well.

Female youth trajectories

Circumcision

There is no practice of female circumcision in Adado and none of the girls and young women interviewed was circumcised.

Girls' work

Adult wives and heads of household all noted that their daughters contributed to domestic work. They fetch water and wood, clean the house, wash clothes; the older ones do the shopping for the family in Adado market; in some households daughters also do the cooking, including the poor female-headed household as the mother is busy with daily labour to earn an income. Several women related the level of workload to daughters having left the family (which increased their own workload) or on the contrary daughters growing up and taking on more work. In some households male members also contribute to domestic tasks.

The 13-year old girls helped in both domestic and farm work. This includes processing kocho, which the poor one said she disliked because it is tiring. The middle-wealth did not dislike the work but the fact that it is time-consuming. They explained that girls of their age usually do not involve in independent income-generating activities. However, the poor one is helping her mother in selling areke for her. The rich one has started selling ginger and pepper during the school break. She was helped by her father to start, and decided about ginger and pepper because it is not heavy to carry. She explained that some girls of her age are engaged in petty trade when the school is closed and there is not enough of this kind of work, they would like to do more.

The 16-year old girls also said that girls of their age share domestic and farm work for their family. The middle-wealth one dislikes processing kocho and splitting wood as it is hard work and time-consuming. They explained that girls of their age do not work in income-generating activities but they knew some of them doing so – retailing beans, salt and pepper and coffee, or petty trade or trading kocho which can be done throughout the year while the coffee trade is seasonal only. The poor one was herself involved in trading maize floor for an income, or cooked maize when there is no flour.

The 19-year old middle-wealth young woman, in addition to domestic and farming tasks, is growing vegetables and does hair dressing with and without artificial hair. This can rise up to 15 birr. The poor one did not have time for anything else than domestic works as she is the only one responsible for it all (her parents died and she is raising her siblings). The rich ones said she did domestic and farm work but nothing else and that most of the young women of her age are like this – doing work for no payment for their family. But the middle-wealth one mentioned activities like hair dressing, trading vegetable, selling tea and bread and that the latter is bringing good income.

The Research Officer observed that female teenagers are involved in domestic activities and petty trade. When they are young they do lighter activities and work heaviness increases with age. The 13-year old engage in petty trade locally, then when they are 16 and above they sell in nearby kebeles.

Combining work and education

The 13-year old girls who are involved in income-generating activities are said to do so during the school break in the summer.

The Research Officer noted that girls and young women can combine domestic work with education as it is a shift system at school – but it does take time that they could use for school work. Trade is late afternoon so it does not affect school attendance. But when they are 18-19 year-old those involved in trade are those who have dropped out of school. Poorer household girls are more likely to be doing petty trade. The rich do not, unless interested.

All three 13-year old girls noted that combining education and work is harder for the girls from poor families as the pressure of work on their time is detrimental for their education. For instance they engage in coffee harvesting and this negatively affects their education. The rich one who was herself engaged in trading pepper and ginger liked it because it gives her an income which she uses to buy hair food and a hair band for herself and also some cabbage and onions for the family. But she thought it is hard to combine because there is not enough time to study. She said she would not trade during school time, only during school breaks. They said that most of the girls of her age are at school although the poor and the rich ones mentioned that some are not attending (5% and 15% respectively).

The 16-year old agreed that it is harder for girls from poor families as they have less time for study and become absentees. The poor one is doing petty trade of maize flour. She decided by herself that she had to work and petty trade was the only thing she could do as she had no start-up money. She is earning around 96 birr/month and uses the cash to buy food for the family. The trade is affecting her education because she has to go to Bule to buy the flour and when she is in the afternoon shift she misses the class as she cannot return on time. So she is either late or is absent when she has to go to Bule. Selling in Adado is not an issue as this is in the evening time. She did not repeat class because of her involvement in trade but she will not trade next year as she will be in Gr8 and she will have to study hard. The middle-wealth and rich girls explained that 20-25% of the girls of their age are no longer at school.

One of the 19-year old women said that there is workload for rich girls too and it is possible to combine work and education by shifts so there was no difference for poor young women. But the other two disagreed with this. The poor 19-year old woman said that her domestic work (as she is the only one to carry it out) affects her performance negatively. If she had no domestic workload she could rank first in her class. She is trying to organise by shift but there is a lot to do. Next year she plans to add petty trade of salt to earn an income. The poor and rich ones said that around 25% of young women of their age are no longer at school; the middle-wealth one believes that as many as half of them have stopped.

Across age and wealth groups the female youth all mentioned education as an opportunity – and some added that families are supportive (e.g. avoiding putting too much workload on them or taking their income when they had an income-generating activity), and Gr9 and Gr10 education is now also available nearby. Some of them also thought that girls have more freedom and a better communication with their parents. And others mentioned that there are opportunities to earn an income. All of them mentioned that the main issue faced by girls of their age are financial constraints which may prevent them from continuing their education if they have no means of affording clothes or school materials.

They all said that no young female had recently completed Gr12 and that there are no unemployed female college graduate living in the community. They all said that there are a number of Gr10 female completers (between 4 and 10); they stay idle at home or do domestic work or do petty trade or hairdressing. Some of them are married and manage their household.

Future plans and dreams

Among the 13-year old girls the poor one wants to live in the community in future, but having continued her education and with a government job and marrying an educated man who is a government employee. The middle-wealth one wants to go and live in a place in Oromia where she has relative and marry someone with his own land and involve in agriculture, after completing Gr10. The rich one wants if possible to complete college like her role model and she wants to live in Dilla, and marry an educated government employee. All three have some of their friends who want to be a farmer's wife, but few only. Most of their friends want to go to college and get a formal job. One of them has friends who want to migrate but not the other two.

Among the 16-year old the poor one again wanted to live in Adado but she will be doing government work; the other two want to live outside, in Dilla. The rich one wants to complete Gr12 and get a government job and marry a man who is a government employee and has a comfortable life. The middle-wealth and the poor ones have fiancés in Adado and they plan to marry with them. One of them has an enset and coffee farm and while she wants to live in Dilla his plan is only to have his farm. The fiancé of the poor one does not want to study but he wants to trade. Both of these girls want four children, two boys and two girls. While the poor one has friends who want to marry a farmer (25%) none of the friends of the rich one wants this: they mainly want to go to college and get a formal job. The role model of the rich one is a young woman who is the daughter of a local farmer, is educated and is now working in the wereda office of agriculture in Dilla.

Among the 19-year old young women the poor one wants to live in Adado, but complete her education and get a government job and she wants to marry a man who is educated and has a government job but also an enset farm in addition to the government salary. The other two want to marry someone who is educated too. The middle-wealth one has a fiancé who plans to complete his education and if he fails he will be a merchant. She wants to study to be a DA and she would live in Adado if she was posted there, but she also wants to live in Dilla in future, and upgrade her profession with the government sponsorship. Their role models are young women who are educated or have chosen to continue their education rather than getting married. The rich one has a few friends who want to be a farmer's wife, but the other two have no such friends. Half of the friends of the poor and the rich ones want to go to college and get a formal job.

The middle-wealth young woman has many friends (60%) who do not quite know what they want. This is unusual. The others generally do not mention such friends or only a few of them who do not have plans.

Women's issues

The three 13-year old girls have not yet started menstruating. Two of the 19-year old have cramps or abdominal pains when they menstruate but they never missed school because of this. The others have no problem. But the 19-year old poor young woman said that girls face difficulties because most of them use clothes and not sanitary napkins, and they lack soap. The school does not provide any special facility for girls menstruating.

One of the 19-year old was harassed by a student colleague when they both were studying at the agricultural college. They used to discuss subjects together but she told him to stop. She told a female friend of her but there was no follow-up because it was not serious.

Most of them explained that there was no recent case of rape or abduction. But two of them (the 16-year old rich girl and the 19-year old poor young woman) knew of a case. The 16-year old mentioned a girl who was studying in Gr8 and was abducted by an older man coming from the Kolisha kebele whom she did not know. The case was brought before the elders and was solved by marriage even though she did not want to marry. It was not taken to court because even if the man was imprisoned there would be no one wanting to marry the girl. The other told about the case of one of the classmates. Her case was taken to court but the girl was convinced to say that she was consenting. So she is now living with the man who abducted her. In both cases the girls dropped out from school. In one case the man is 50 and he abducted the girl as second wife.

None of the girls/young women has friends who became pregnant before marriage. They did not know how common abortion is and where girls aborting are going; or they thought that there is no case of abortion among girls/young women in the community. The younger ones did not know whether young women have access to contraceptives or thought that they do not ask for contraceptives. The 16-year old rich one also did not know but the other two girls of that age said that young women have access contraceptives but fear to go and ask for them in the community. So, the poor one added, if they start being sexually active and their menstruation stop they marry

rapidly but this is rare. The 19-year old ones did not know much about contraceptives. The Research Officer confirmed that the girls generally were not well informed about contraceptives.

Inter-generational relations

The three 13-year old girls said that in their family the relationship between adults and teenagers is good and that generally in the community the young generation respects the adult one. But they all three said that there is some tension. The middle-wealth one disliked the parents' control on everything, and said that the adults do not respect and even insult the teenage generation. The main point of tension is around girls' clothes, which was confirmed by the other two. The adults dislike the clothes that young girls wear that show their body parts, are short, show their navel. The teenagers do not listen to the adults' advice, which creates tension. The rich one added that adults also do not like boys and girls to have a close relationship.

The 16-year old ones tell a similar story of good relationship generally but with tension and parents getting angry or the generations disagreeing with each other. This is because the adults choose the traditional way of living but young girls like modern ways of clothing and hair dressing (e.g. trousers, clothes showing waist and breast). Watching movies is also not acceptable for the adult generation while the teenager like it. The poor and rich girls also talk about parents' expectations and teenagers not agreeing (e.g. about farming or domestic tasks) and that this creates tension. The poor girl stressed that parents and teenagers do not have a common understanding about money. Parents give 10 birr as in the past and think this is a lot while teenagers think this is so small money.

The 19-year old seemed to think that on the whole the relationship is smooth, although the middle-wealth one said that when fathers refuse land to their son this creates a tension; and the poor one mentioned that there are problems when adults expect assistance from the youth on farming and the teenagers do not want. But they highlighted that parents listen to their children and try to fulfill their interest. They buy clothes and shoes and send them to school. The 16-year old middle-wealth and poor girls also appreciated that parents pay attention to their children's education.

Talking about themselves all of the girls and young women said that their parents are controlling their activities. The 13-year old middle-wealth said her parents get angry if she stays long outside and the poor one has to ask permission whenever she wants to go out while the parents of the rich one control her not to spend time with boys. Parents continue to advise their older daughters against staying out late; they fear abduction and relationships with boys because their daughter might be raped, get pregnant or infected with HIV/AIDS. Some families want their daughter to continue to study and fear that they might fail or drop out (the 13-year old middle-wealth and the rich one, the 16-year old middle wealth). Parents also interfere with their daughters' clothing choice. The parents of the 19-year old rich young woman tell her that she may wear improper clothes outside of the community but not in Adado.

Living in the community

All the girls noted positive change in the community (better houses, household goods, transport, electricity, more shops and tea houses etc.). They all said that it is a peaceful place to live. There are many things that most of them liked including these changes and the easy availability of food or the fact that they do not have to buy many things that are necessary for life. Two of the 13-year old girls mentioned the proximity of school as something they like.

But there are also things that they dislike, except two of the younger ones who had nothing to dislike. Several found Adado too cold and rainy (13-year middle, 16-year poor, 19-year rich). Some of them found that it is small and rural; it does not have places to buy clothes or restaurants or places to buy roasted meat and no entertainment place for young women (16-year old middle, 19-year rich). Several disliked the domestic work burden and that women do not have freedom (16-year middle and 16-year rich, 19-year middle and 19-year poor).

Sexual initiation

As noted earlier, the girls and young women interviewed did not have full information about access to contraceptives. Two of the 16-year old had a fiancé.

Most said that they knew about HIV/AIDS transmission means, citing infection through blood contact and un-protected sexual intercourse with an infected person, and several added that therefore the prevention methods are to avoid all these things. Two of them mentioned abstinence (16-year poor and 16-year rich). Two of them mentioned the use of condom (19-year poor and rich). The younger ones did not know how many cases of HIV/AIDS there is in the community or thought there is none. The 16-year old and two of the 19-year old young women also did not know, but the middle-wealth 19-year old said that although there is no official information according to rumours there are ten people infected in the community.

The three 13-year old girls did not know how common it is for young women to have sexual relations before marriage and only one thought that young men might but she did not know whether it is with their girlfriend or other women. They also did not know how common it is for young people sexually active to take precautions against HIV/AIDS. The same was true for the three 16-year old girls. The 19-year old middle-wealth young women thought that both some young men and some women have sexual relations though it is not common. Young men might have sex with women other than their girlfriend. She thought that most of the young people take precautions against HIV/AIDS. The two other 19-year old were not better informed than their younger mates.

Leisure activities and bad habits

The girls and young women interviewed agreed that young women do not get involved in bad habits. They all mentioned that they were active in religion; many said that they were interested in religious songs and five of them across all age and wealth groups said that they are themselves singing in their church's choir.

Three of them did some sport at school (the 16-year old poor girl and the 19-year old poor young women are racing; the rich 16-year old is playing volleyball; the rich 19-year old is racing and doing gymnastic). The middle-wealth 19-year old young woman does not do any sport and the same is true for the poor 13-year old girl. The other two younger ones and one of the 16-year old jump ropes with their friends.

Several of them mentioned watching TV and movies (13-year middle, 16-year middle and rich, 19-year rich) and two of them had a TV at home (the 16-year old middle-wealth and the 19-year old rich girls). Most of them said that they socialise with friends (all girls) and spend time to chat while walking, or going to each other's house or when they go to church or study together. They all said they have only female friends but one of them said she has a fiancé.

Religion

The 13-year old knew that there are Protestants and Muslims in the community but not the difference between the two. Two of the 16-year old and the rich 19-year old young woman knew about some differences like the fact that Muslims could chew chat and also, Christians and Muslims do not eat meat from animals slaughtered by the other group. All of the girls said that most people are interested in religion. But people do not spend much time on religious practices because it is not expected from them. The girls and young women interviewed did not agree as to whether the young women are getting more interested in religion or not. Slightly more of them (five) thought that this has not changed while three mentioned more interest. Similarly they did not agree about whether rules are getting stricter but most of them (six of the nine) thought that they have.

They knew of no conflict between religious leaders or followers. For instance in the poor family the 13-year old is a follower of Tsega, her sister belongs to Kalehiwot and her father is a non-believer. They said that having family members in different churches is not an issue but several of them added

that it is not possible to have Christians and Muslims in the same household. Four of them (the three 16-year old and the middle-wealth 19-year old) mentioned that in the past there was tension in the Kalehiwot church and some members disagreed and brought new churches like Tsega and Muluwongel and others joined Mekane Yesus.

Asked about other activities several of the girls mentioned that churches organise conferences and the religious celebrations. Six of them mentioned that their church is also assisting the poor and the sick but two noted that this is not on a regular basis as it is organised through people's contributing for this.

Politics

Two of the three 13-year old said that there is no relation between the government and young women, and no special message. The rich one noted that the government is working for women's rights – e.g. abductions have disappeared, the government calls meetings for women but they do not participate, and the government passes the message through radio, the school and the kebele that girls should avoid marriage before they complete their education. But all three of them agreed that there is no resource, training or advice from the government for young women's livelihoods or recreation. Among the 16-year old the middle-wealth girl said that the recent message from the government, heard on the radio, is about 1-5s and working in group. The others said that there is no message and no close relationship. Again they all three agreed that there certainly is no advice, training or resource from the government for young women. The 19-year old all said the same. The poor one just noted the message about education.

So generally there is a sense that the government is doing nothing for young women. A few of them had ideas about what the government should be doing. The 13-year old poor girl said that government should provide stationary for those going to school. The 16-year old middle-wealth girl thought that government should give lessons about studying well so as to succeed with their education. The poor one said that government should give credit to young women so they can engage in income-generating activities and support themselves and the community. The rich one believes that government should give jobs for those who completed their education and credit for income-generating activities for the others. The 19-year old poor and rich young women also thought that the wereda should encourage young women to perform in their education and organise them in 1-5s to start trading, or doing handicrafts to generate an income.

All the girls and young women interviewed agreed that there is no pressure for them to join the ruling party. Most of them did not know whether party membership brings any benefit. The 16-year old middle-wealth girl said that party members get to attend meetings and are informed e.g. about the harm of underage marriage and the benefit for young girls to attend education. The 19-year old middle-wealth young woman also mentioned exposure to lessons about life skills and teachings about how to do things. The poor one said that party members get letters of support from the kebele and whenever there is a vacancy they are given preference. But the rich 16-year old said that party membership does not bring any benefit.

All of them noted that the youth organisations are weak or not active and most did not know how many members there are and what attitude to them girls and young women in general have. Only the 19-year old middle-wealth young woman knew that there are 15 female members of the youth association and 5 youth league members. She explained that the organisations are weak because young people do not participate – because most girls think that the organisations are useless and they cannot see any benefit. In spite of this the general perception (apart for two of the 13-year old who did not know) is that girls and young women have a positive attitude towards the ruling party. One of them (19-year old poor) mentioned that this is because thanks to the government politics young women have freedom in their life. Several of them added that generally there is no interest in opposition among the young people in the community.

Community participation

The girls and young women thought that young women could contribute to the community development by involving in farming, trading or processing kocho or in income-generating activities or by performing in their education and getting a government job. Several of them said that the possibility for young women to contribute to the community's development depends on them being supported by the government to be able to do this (encouraging education, providing credit, providing jobs – see above).

Finding work – economic independence

The girls and young women interviewed did not have many specific ideas about types of work that could help women to lead an independent life. Three of them thought that processing and selling kocho is a good way forward (13-year rich and 16-year middle-wealth and poor). The 16-year old rich girl said that they need to get jobs based on what they had learned. All three 19-year old young women thought that getting a government job would be helpful for young women to establish an independent livelihood.

Generally the girls and young women interviewed mentioned women's independent livelihoods in relation to marriage and who they might marry. The difference between rich and poor one came in as the poor ones are less likely to be able to marry someone with an established independent livelihood because those men will choose women of better economic status.

All of the girls and young women interviewed said that it is not common for young women to migrate for work and they had no such plan apart from the 13-year old middle-wealth who wants to migrate to the place where she has relatives in Oromia, the 19-year old rich young woman who explained that she would go to Bule for further studies with her friend, and the 19-year old middle-wealth who said that she would migrate to Dilla to get a government job.

Getting married

They all explained that they will be the ones to choose their partner. And seven out of the nine confirmed that generally girls these days have full choice over whom they marry.

Most of them distinguished the minimum or average marriage age between those not doing well in education and those performing. The former would marry earlier (16 vs. 22; 16 vs. 24; 16 vs. 23). Most of them also mentioned that the poor girls are likely to marry later than the richer ones; and that when they grow older, usually between 22 and 25 girls start worrying about not marrying or not marrying to a good husband. The reported youngest age to marry varied between 12 and 15 but all female youth said that marrying that early is very rare. Most of them (eight out of nine) explained that the government legislation to ban underage marriage has an effect although most (six) also said that there is no prosecution of early marriage cases.

Among all of them only one (the poor 19-year old girl) had five friends who were married. The 19-year old middle-wealth and rich ones who have a boyfriend are advised by their parents to follow their education attentively and not having sexual intercourse until they are married.

Two of the younger ones did not know about advantages and disadvantages of marriage. The others said that one advantage is to bear children and improve one's life by working together. Challenges are food shortage, lack of land and of lack of income so that it is hard to raise one's family. Being married also increases girls' work burden.

Reproductive and productive work after marriage

None of the girls and young women interviewed was married and none of them projected herself into the role of a married woman, except a few who said that married young women had more workload.

Establishing an independent household

All of the girls and young women interviewed said that it is not possible for young women to set up an independent household. The barriers are lack of resources, and also culture as it is not expected that young women would do this except by marrying. And so, after their marriage young women are totally dependent on their husband and their husband's parents. They stay with their husband's parents for some time, varying between two weeks and up to three months. The duration of their stay depends on the family's agreement but also, richer families find it easier to welcome the young couple for a longer period of time. The poor families cannot afford keeping them for long. So, poor young couples may have to rent a place to live.

Those girls marrying someone from a good family will have a better life. There is also a difference between rich and poor young women when they are in crises after marriage as the richer one will get assistance from her family.

Having children

The younger ones have not yet thought about having children although the middle-wealth one said she wanted four, two boys and two girls. Most of those who had something to say mentioned that they wanted to have four children.

Gender inequities

The female Research Officer summarise the situation as follows. They observed that there is very little change with regard to women's rights and position in society. They usually do not inherit land from parents and have no customary land ownership. Legally they have the right but this is not accepted by the community, which prefers the customary law – this was confirmed by several female respondents during the second fieldwork. A few women bring cases of divorce or inheritance to court but they face problems as police or courts take bribes from men and refuse women's claims. In rare cases when fathers are still alive they give land to their daughters. Divorce is rare but when it happens, women are usually not given land. After divorce the woman can stay with the children but if she re-marries she has to leave and go elsewhere.

Women themselves are not strongly demanding their rights and there is no strong support from the wereda level either, or an active NGO that could support women. Basically the community takes regional law as 'foreign' and does not agree with it. And in addition the formal legal system is weak. Even wereda officials don't believe that women should have these rights.

Violence against women

Adult heads of households and wives agreed that generally women are safer than in the past in the community. There are fewer rapes and abductions because there has been much awareness creation including through general meetings and at churches and any social occasion. Penalties against attackers are also strong and people are jailed, which helped enforcing the awareness.

Female circumcision

There is no practice of female circumcision in Adado. It is a cultural taboo. The wereda women, children and youth affairs' officer explained that there are a few circumcised women from other ethnic groups in Bule the wereda capital, but even among immigrants the lessons given were effective and this is now insignificant.

Rape

The women, children and youth affairs' officer explained that there are some cases of rape in the wereda. In the past rape used to happen when girls travel to school which is far from their residence. Now schools are opened nearby in many communities; so the problem has been much reduced. There was no reported case of rape in the last year. The trend is decreasing quickly.

This is the situation of rape among young girls who are not married. The problem which is increasing now is rape of married woman when their husbands go to market or are not staying at home for various reasons. The problem here is that cases are not reported to the wereda. Instead it is settled at the kebele by community elders. The husband whose wife is raped is given compensation of 5,000-10,000 birr. Even though the wife is harmed the husband takes the compensation.

There was one recent case of rape on a married woman in one of the wereda kebeles called Agamsa. The raped woman was the wife of the kebele manager. The kebele elders got involved and the man who raped gave compensation to the kebele manager. He gave the compensation by selling his ox. Rumour on this case was heard at the wereda and when the wereda women and children affairs office went to the kebele to investigate the case they could not trace any evidence that would help them to take the case to wereda court. People who got involved in solving the problem were not willing to give information. The woman denied that she was raped. The kebele manager was removed from his position because he did not deal with the case in the legal way while he is supposed to fight such rapes in a legal way.

The problem that makes rape among married woman not to be reported is when women become willing to accept the rape.

In Adado, the young women interviewed reported no recent rape case. The heads of households and their wives generally said that there were rapes in the past but this has drastically reduced thanks to the government teachings and public campaign by various organisations. They said that generally the community accepts government message about the harmfulness of rape and agree that women must be protected from forceful actions by men. There is serious penalty and people transgressing the law are put in jail, which also helps. No one from Adado mentioned rapes of married women as an issue in the community.

Domestic male violence

The wereda officer explained that domestic male violence is a big issue in the wereda. Beating and insulting wives is widespread among married couples. Women are also forced by their husband to leave their house. There are interventions against it (awareness raising, reporting cases to the court) but they are not as effective as expected. There is a profound problem in the mind and culture of the community. Even those people who are better educated beat their wives. Still awareness raising activities in intensive way remains to be the solution to stop domestic violence on women.

There was one recent case of domestic violence reported to court. The woman is the wife of an inspector working in the wereda and she repeatedly faced beating and insulting by her husband. He even insulted the judge and others working in the court. It was not easy to get solution at the wereda court so the case was taken up to the regional women and children office. It was decided at the region that he had to be moved from his place because he cannot be inspector but this has not been implemented so far.

In Adado all adult household members reckoned that there is domestic violence in the past and wives used to be dominated by their husband. They generally think that this has decreased a lot thanks to the government teachings, and greater awareness of their rights to accuse anyone who is violent against them by the women. The middle-wealth farmer explained that there is a change in the community's culture and that these days,

Violence itself is considered as a HTP. The community does not like any family noise. They despise a household head if there is frequent family violence in his household. They say about him that he is a "person incapable to manage his household and not able to hold any public responsibility in the community".

The women were slightly less convinced and mentioned that not all husbands have stopped being violent. They highlighted that there is no punishment when violence occurs. So it decreases only

because of greater awareness.

Marriage

Underage marriage

The women, children and youth affairs' officer explained that underage marriage is a big issue in Bule wereda although the problem is reducing over time, thanks to intensive awareness raising activities (see below). The legal provision with regard to the minimum age of marriage is that the girl must be 18 years old. The office works not only to make women marry above the age of 18 years but to make girls marry after becoming economically strong and independent. They support the legal process when a case occurs, but there are various problems in enforcing the law, on both the side of the organisations supposed to uphold the law (court and police) and the girls' families cheating the court. So she believes that there needs to be more awareness-raising of women. The girls should be made to know their rights so that they will ask for that when the law is transgressed.

In Adado, adult respondents of both sexes agreed that underage marriage used to be a big issue. They explain that it is now reducing thanks to the government teaching about the importance of girls going to school rather than marrying early, which is generally well accepted. However, most of them reckoned that it is not completely stopped and there are secret cases. Cases of underage marriage may also occur when the two young partners agree with each other and commit marriage in secret, sometime in another place.

Male respondents talked about a law and penalties decided by the social court against those engaging in the practice. The successful businessman even mentioned that there were cases resulting in jailing the man. But generally the adult and young women interviewed noted that there has never been any prosecution. The girls and young women interviewed except one said that they had been oriented on the law and government legislation had an effect in reducing the number of underage marriages and encouraging girls and families to favour education, but apart from two, they said that there is no enforcement when underage marriage happens. The wife of the middle-wealth farmer explained that there are fewer cases because most in the community agree with the importance of girls' education, and also, marriage is delayed because of the increase in living costs.

One woman interviewed as a women's leader said that underage marriages are generally not reported because elders solve the cases locally, and after all *"there is nothing to be done after marriage. If the case is taken to court and the husband is taken to prison, there will be no one to marry the girl. For these reasons the community does not report underage marriages."*

Abduction

The women, children and youth affairs' officer was of the view that abduction is not an issue in the wereda. It was a problem many years ago but not anymore. There was no case in the wereda in the past year. What is becoming a problem is when the girl and the boy agree and run away from home. The court has to dismiss the case when the family accuses but then the girl says that she is willing. So, the problem is no longer abduction but elopement. The government is carrying out awareness raising activities on abduction as part of harmful traditional practices in the community. Awareness raising activities are also made on elopement.

In contrast, in Adado abduction appeared to be a bigger issue than the wereda officer implied. The heads of households and their wives said that abduction used to be *"a big issue for every household when female went to schools, market places and anywhere in the community"*, and so the change thanks to government teachings is much welcome and the community is accepting it. Male respondents added that there is actual punishment for transgressors and that this is a good lesson. Women talked about cases taken to elders. As a result, they agreed, abduction has become a thing of the past.

That does not seem to be entirely true as the girls and young women interviewed knew two

different recent cases. None of them had been taken to the wereda court and in both cases the issue had been solved locally by having the girl marrying or living with her abductor. The young women who explained about the cases said that even if the men abducting the girls were put in jail this was not resolving the problem as nobody else would marry them.

Choice of marriage partner

The wereda officer explained that in general in the wereda men choose their marriage partner more than women do. But compared to the past it is becoming more common for both. There is no government action or legal provisions regarding the choice of marriage partner. The women and child affairs office carries out awareness-raising activities, advising women that they should complete their education first and attain a good economic position, then make their own position. The office's position is that if women are not empowered economically they do not have the opportunity to choose their own partner.

Arranged marriages are often problematic. Parents arrange everything but when the girl goes to college she often abandons the boy chosen by the families and instead chooses someone educated like her, so the groom's family comes with complaints and the families get in conflict. The family has to pay compensation which is expensive because feasts were made including food and drinks and to-be groom may have bought gold and clothes. This is becoming a serious problem, so the office is advising girls not to have a boyfriend before completing their education. The same thing can happen when a boy abandons his fiancé after coming back from college.

Polygyny

The wereda officer explained that polygyny is widespread in the wereda. This is even very common in Bule, the capital of the wereda. There are many people who have two wives and some marry up to three wives at a time. This is against the law which came into application in 1987 EC that a man can be married only to one woman. Also, the majority of the wereda community are followers of Protestantism and the churches do not allow polygyny. But it is difficult to enforce the law because polygyny is deeply rooted in the culture of the area. Most of the people who have more than one wife got married before the coming of the law. Some of them got married to two wives after it. Polygyny has implication in the population increase in the community. At this time living costs are very high and polygyny leads to increased living costs because of its role in increasing the population of the community.

The wereda office carries out various interventions against polygyny, with mixed effectiveness (see below). For those who already have two wives and children – which for many of them happened before the law was enacted - there is nothing that can be reversed so the office advises husbands to take care of the wives and children on both sides in a fair manner. The office focuses on cases of men who intend to marry a second wife while the law now is in effect.

In Adado, people did not talk much about polygyny but this is still being practised. In several of the households interviewed the head had more than one wife.

Widow inheritance

At this time widow's inheritance is no longer practised in the community. Many years ago it used to be practised among the Gedeo and Oromo communities but not anymore. There is no specific legal provision on this issue. A woman can marry whom she likes including her husband's brother.

Marriage to dead wife's sister

Marriage to a dead sister's wife is not practised in Bule wereda. This has never been in the culture of Gedeo. There is no law that talks about marriage to a dead wife's sister.

Divorce

The wereda officer explained that in the area the customary practice on property sharing favours the

husband: when a woman gets divorced she takes nothing from the house and she goes to another husband. Now women have legal rights depending on who proposes the divorce. The one proposing the divorce pays compensation to the other. The money to be paid depends on the income they get. Property sharing is based on the number of children whom each spouse is going to have with him or her. The law states that children under the age of 7 must live with their mother. Above 7 children can choose themselves with whom to live. A woman cannot share the property that her husband had before their marriage. If the property is accumulated after marriage by both then the wife has the right to equally share property. If the woman accepts the customary practice she just leaves property behind and marries another husband. If the case comes to court she should get an equal share of property. But for various reasons (see below about interventions and their effectiveness) there was no case of property-sharing in the wereda in the past one year.

In Adado, male and female respondents did not agree with each other. Men highlighted that women these days have the right to access land and other household resources jointly produced whereas in the past divorce was informal and the husband was being favoured, because customarily the land belongs to the husband's family. In contrast, the women heads of household and some of the wives said that there has been no change in women's rights on divorce. But the wife of the poor farmer explained that there is change and a women divorcing can share equally the property that was earned during marriage. This change came five years ago; before this women divorcing would go without land and face huge problems.

One woman interviewed as a women's leader in Adado confirmed that women are made to equally share land and property but in reality they do not take land and are given compensation estimated to represent the half that they leave to ex-husbands. This started about five years ago. There are many issues, to start with that the amount of the compensation is not sufficient and it takes a long time to get it. She gave the example of case of divorce 5 years ago. The woman went up to Hawassa to get land estimation. She was given an amount of money which compared to the expenditures that her father made to bring the case to court (on transportation and other costs) was very small. Since five years things have improved a bit as women can get land estimated at wereda level – but not at kebele level. Also now the house, land and everything in the house is estimated and shared between husband and wife. So things are improving. But divorce is not common in the community. If a wife gets a problem in her marriage they usually try to get an agreement before divorce.

Widowhood

The wereda women, children and youth affairs officer explained that in the customary practice in the area, after the death of her husband a woman does not take the land but their children can inherit. She can use the land as long as she stays in the house to raise her children but if she leaves to marry another husband her right to use the land ends there. She will not have the right to use or live on her husband's land. This is when the land is her husband's from the very beginning which is the case for most women in the wereda.

These arrangements whereby a widow can use the land and properties of the household she formed with her dead husband but loses this right if she remarries another man was confirmed by both male and female adult respondents in Adado. Women from Adado explained that therefore, there has been no change in women's rights as widows. The wife of the successful farmer noted that a woman loses her rights to land and properties if she remarries even if the land or properties were bought during her previous marriage (i.e. if they did not belong to her dead husband before marriage). Her husband did not deny this but noted that in the past things were less favourable for women as they were forced to remarry a member of her dead husband's family to prevent the family's resources from being inherited by non-family members if she remarried someone else.

Women's economic status

Access to land

The wereda officer talked about change arising from the ongoing land certification process (see below). However, in Adado this was not mentioned except for one respondent explaining that general kebele meetings are still happening from time to time to explain about new ideas like why land measurement is a good thing.

Again female and male respondents from the community did not have the same perspective. The men noted that women nowadays have the right to access land, which was not the case traditionally. Indeed the wereda officer herself noted that traditionally only sons inherit land and so if a wife is giving birth only to girls, her husband has the right to marry a second wife to try to have a son. The successful businessman explained that unlike in the past both the women and the community at large know about women's rights to access economic resources and the middle-wealth farmer added that by law a woman can ask her family to provide her with some land. He gave the example of his wife. She and her sisters had not received land from their parents. Recently they took their family members to court saying that the family had denied them their rights. They won the case and shared their parents' household's resources including land.

In contrast the women (heads of household or wives) generally said that there has been no change in women's access to land in the past five years and women do not have access to land. The wife of the successful businessman and of the successful farmer both explained that women do not ask for land because traditionally this is not acceptable and they want to avoid facing problems. Several of the girls and young women interviewed appeared to think that land is not given to daughters when they marry, but only to sons – this is implicit in their account of how young people get married in the community nowadays. The wife of the successful businessman disagreed with her husband as she said that *"What the government is not doing for women is ensuring women's access to land. If women were given land they could implement what the DAs are teaching."*

However, there seemed to be some cases of women being given land. For instance the woman interviewed as coffee self-trader explained that her father gave her some land with some coffee trees on it, in 1998 EC. She added a few coffee trees and started selling her coffee three years ago. The woman head of a relatively successful household explained that her husband had given land to his two daughters before he died. But there are less positive stories too. For instance, the woman head of a poor household is landless except for a very small plot around her house. In the past she used to have land but her husband's father sold it because he quarrelled with her husband, before her husband died. She is forced to rely on daily labour as the household's main source of income.

Livelihood opportunities

The adult women from Adado (heads of households or wives) all said that there had been no change in women's access to economic opportunities in the past five years.

Men talked about increased awareness of their rights to access economic opportunities – which the woman heading the more successful household also noted. The successful farmer and the successful businessman both noted that beyond awareness, there is an emerging trend of active participation of women in various economic activities. They no longer limit themselves to household activities and engage in income-generating activities like trade. This contributes to diversify the households' livelihoods.

The successful farmer recognised that it is still limited but there is improvement. Women can claim their share of all resources jointly generated, they can participate in any social or economic organisation supporting them with an income or assets and they can work outside to earn an income – which was not possible in the past. The limitation is that women restrain themselves from participating in economic and social organisations and so they undermine the opportunities that

they have. The middle-wealth farmer put the responsibility on men's side too. He thought that in fact there are no sufficient and diversified job options for women in the community. They involve in trading in the coffee season or in other pretty trade. But most of the young women in the community are exposed to marriage due to lack of resources and options. They remain dependent after marriage as their husbands keep them confined to household activities and women remain poor because they are not exposed to economic opportunities. This is a big problem. Creating better awareness and leading women to economic activities would shape a better life for them.

The girls and young women interviewed generally highlighted that while the community's economy is growing, they have seen no change in either farming or non-farm opportunities for women.

In practice, among the wives of the four households interviewed three of them did not grow any crop independently, did not own livestock and did not sell any product independently. But the wife of the successful businessman planted coffee on empty farmland (previously she was growing maize and enset but changed this into coffee); she has not yet sold coffee as the trees are maturing but she will use the income herself. She also owns 2 sheep and 4 chickens.

In practice also, as noted above some of the girls and young women interviewed were engaged in income-generating activities and in one case this was supported by the girl's father. She did not need it as she was from a rich family but liked it. In the other cases it was more a question of necessity. In several cases, girls and young women were actually working for their family without payment. It seemed less common for girls and young women to be engaged in an income-generating activity 'on their own' than for their male counterparts.

Women's inheritance from parents

Women's inheritance from parents was not discussed as such with respondents in Adado but responses on other related topics indicate that most often women do not inherit equally with men from their parents. The wereda women, children and youth affairs' officer explained that legally women have equal inheritance rights with men, as per the law which took effect with the coming of EPRDF in 1982 EC. But in the customary law of the area there are no inheritance rights for female children. Only sons have the right to inherit their parents' land and property. Most women do not have confidence to ask for land because it is not acceptable by the community. Last year there was no inheritance case that any woman brought to the wereda.

Women's political status

Both female and male adult respondents were divided as to whether things are changing with regard to women's political status. The poor female head and the wife of the poor farmer thought that there has been no change: women participate and give ideas but decisions are made following men's ideas; or they are invited but do not go to meetings and so men decide on important issues.

In contrast, the more successful female head and the wives of the middle-wealth and successful farmers and of the successful businessman thought that women's participation has increased; they can explain their ideas in meetings and these ideas are heard so that decisions can be taken in accepting women's interests.

The four male heads of households had mixed views. They reckoned that women's participation is emerging: women are now allowed to take part in any form of local political activities; they benefit from becoming party members; there are women oriented organisations that promote women's political participation; and women are more likely to take up local political positions when they return from some form of education and training. But all of them noted that this is limited among others because the women's organisations are very weak in the kebele.

Perceptions of females

All of the adult household members interviewed agreed that the perception that women are weak is

decreasing, some even saying that it is no longer there. This is because the community can see women leading in very high positions in the country; they see that women are equally serving in public organisations, they work on farming, they are very active and even better than men, and they study and work like men. They can see this watching ETV and so, the community accepts the idea that women can take part in leadership positions. Some of the wives noted that the remaining issue is that women themselves do not ask for their rights and deal with problems following the customary way so as to avoid facing problems in the community.

The respondents in Adado also explained that girls' education is improving in the community. A decade ago or so there was a lot less attention to female education but this has changed following the wereda offices' campaign that '*teaching a girl is like teaching a whole family*'. However, they generally thought that there is still a lag. This is because girls are generally involved in a lot more of the domestic activities than their male counterparts – especially but not only when the mother is not alive. So, they are more exposed to dropout. Also, they are increasingly engaged in income-generating activities. This is a good thing, but should not come at the detriment of their education. Underage marriage is also still an issue.

Upward and downward mobility

Males

Being able to save (thanks to the good coffee price) and to invest successfully in other activities is one way upward. Education and getting a government job is seen as another one although this is more about status than income. Migration and successful gold mining followed by wise and successful investment is yet another one.

Downward trajectories may arise from chronic poor health preventing a previously successful farmer from handling his farm as well as in the past or forcing him to hire more labour. People in Adado are worried that the whole community could go downward if the coffee price continues to decline. Conversely a good price for the community's coffee has a lifting effect for many households, both direct and indirect as it means that households have a higher income to spend on various services and goods.

Females

For many young and adult women their trajectory follows that of their husband. There begins to be a few educated women getting government jobs or on the way to get one (e.g. one of the 19-year old young women interviewed is studying to become a DA). It is not common for women to migrate so this way of raising capital is not open to them. None of the women interviewed as model farmer or leading trader could be seen as tremendously successful.

Downward trajectories are a big risk for widows and a reality for some of them like the poor woman head of household. They were not rich when her husband was alive and things have gone downhill since. The case of the more successful female-headed household illustrates the risk of not being able to maintain one's economic status once the male breadwinner is no longer there, even when a household has considerably more resources to start with.

Age inequities

Youth and adults – male and female

The main inequality linked to age is about access to land for young men.

Adults and elderly - male and female

There is little information on the life of elderly people in Adado. The successful farmer can be considered as elderly and is richer than many younger men – although there is a risk that he could not manage to maintain this status as his health becomes poorer.

Government/NGO interventions to promote social equity

Assistance to poor people

There is no government assistance to poor people and no NGO active in Adado. The poor are exempted from the contribution for the Gedeo Development Association, from school contribution and from the contribution to sport (elders are also exempted from the sport contribution). The level of one-off contributions to national projects like for the Renaissance Dam is based on people's wealth. There is some suggestion that the AGP project will be open to anyone interested and able to get involved in a group-based business activity. But there should be some criteria, for instance poor people or people who are not active presumably will not have access.

The only assistance to poor people is through the churches and mosque, and this is not regular but based on contributions from church members.

Interventions to help vulnerable people

Orphans

The wereda women, children and youth affairs' officer explained that orphan girls who are going to school are supported with books, pens and exercise books as part of the wereda's campaign to promote girls' education. Nobody mentioned this in Adado. The 19-year old poor young woman whose parents died and who lives with her two brothers did not mention any support from the government or an NGO.

Disabled people

No respondent mentioned any institutional support for disabled people.

Vulnerable women

No respondent mentioned any institutional support for vulnerable women.

Promoting equity for women

The Research Officers summarised in saying that there is very little change with regard to women's rights and position in society. They usually do not inherit land from parents and have no customary land ownership. Legally they have the right but this is not accepted by the community, which prefers the customary law. A few women bring cases of divorce or inheritance to court but they face problems as police or courts take bribes from men and refuse women's claims. In rare cases when fathers are still alive they may give land to their daughters. Divorce is rare but when it happens, women are usually not given land. After divorce the woman can stay with the children but if she re-marries she has to leave and go elsewhere.

Women themselves are not strongly demanding their rights and there is no strong support from the wereda level either, or an active NGO that could support women. Basically the community takes the Regional law as 'foreign' and does not agree with it. And in addition the formal legal system is weak. Even wereda officials do not believe that women should have these rights.

Violence against women interventions

Female circumcision interventions

The wereda women, children and youth affairs' office gave lessons among immigrants living in Bule who practised female circumcision. This was effective and the practice is now insignificant. As it is a cultural taboo in Gedeo culture there is therefore no recent intervention against it. This is confirmed by the girls and young women interviewed. A few heads of households mentioned lessons from the government against HTP harming women in general and female circumcision as part of this.

Rape interventions

The wereda women, children and youth office has been working on rape as one of the harmful traditional practices in the community. The officers were of the view that working on increasing the awareness of the community is effective because people commit rape due to low awareness.

The intervention being made to avoid rape in general is teaching the community to have good awareness. This is effective because women are willing to report cases. However in cases of rape of married women this may be more complicated if the woman is unwilling to report the case or her husband as might have been the case for the kebele manager of Agamsa (mentioned earlier).

The health office, schools and the police are teaching the community to avoid rape. The health extension workers and the Protestant church are working on awareness raising activities. The church teaches that rape is sin. There is change as a result but not as desired. The teachings given to the community are more effective than legal punishment. Some police and other people involved in the legal process put obstacles to making the criminal get the appropriate punishment and they even interrupt the legal process by giving wrong information.

In Adado adult and young community members reported government teachings and public campaign and strong penalties as being effective to drastically reduce rape in the community.

Domestic male violence interventions

The wereda officer explained that to intervene against domestic male violence the office is teaching the community about the equality of women. The women and children affairs office make couples to have good communication based on the family law. When violence on women occurs, the office counsel couples and when necessary they take the case to court. The police are teaching the community that beating a person is a crime that leads to punishment. The effectiveness of the interventions is not as desired.

In Adado community members explained that awareness-raising by the government led to awareness by men that domestic violence is harmful. Women are aware that they can accuse anyone who is violent against them and in turn this leads men to protect themselves against this possibility. Some of the women were not fully convinced of the effectiveness of the interventions against domestic violence and explained that some men do not accept the government teachings and there is no legal punishment when violence occurred.

Marriage interventions

Underage marriage interventions

Wereda officials explained that the wereda women and child affairs office is working intensively to stop underage marriage, which is a big issue in the wereda. The office works on awareness raising activities in the community and to take the cases to court when underage marriage occurs.

In the office there is a work process called "*gender mainstreaming in development*". With regard to underage marriage the office teaches women that they are harmed when they marry underage because they marry too young without having their own income. The legal provision with regard to the minimum age of marriage is above 18 years old – the officer does not know when this law came into effect. But the office's position is that girls should not only marry after 18, but also marry only once they are economically strong and independent.

The structures and enforcing bodies with regard to underage marriage are the attorney, the court, the police and the wereda women, children and youth affairs' office. When cases are reported to the office they report to the police; the police investigates and gathers evidence and then the case is taken to the court. Both families involved in an underage marriage are sued if they knew that the girl was underage. The girl will also be asked before law if she was consenting to the marriage.

But there are various problems in enforcing the law. Sometimes the police investigating the case

receive bribes and make the evidence incomplete or put together wrong evidence. They hide the right information by making an agreement with the family. There is also a problem that arises from the girl's family. They cheat the court by increasing the girl's age. When a girl also cheats on her age, then the office does no longer have a basis for the case and it gets dismissed. The attorney also sometimes does not interpret the law in the right way. They sentence a guilty person with eight or ten years of imprisonment while the law foresees a longer imprisonment time.

The officer was of the view that in general there needs to be more awareness because in one way or another, the problem arises from poor awareness. The girls should be made to know their rights so that they will ask for that when the law is transgressed. The court, the police and the attorney must work based on the law stated in the constitution. The women and child affairs office works hard, exchanging ideas with these bodies and having discussions at different stages, trying to convince them about the importance of respecting women rights because they are their wives, mothers and sisters.

In Adado community respondents knew about the law but women in general said that there are no prosecution. The interventions that seemed to be more effective are awareness-raising and convincing the community about the importance of girls' education. The girls and young women interviewed explained that they were oriented about the law and the supposed penalties against transgressors in public meetings at the kebele and in the school club about HTPs. However, the woman interviewed as women's leader highlighted that law enforcement is not a solution: if a case is taken to court and the man is jailed, no one else will want to marry the girl and so, the community is not willing to report underage marriage.

Abduction interventions

The wereda officer mentioned that government is creating awareness against abduction as part of the HTPs harming women. In Adado community members highlighted this too, together with the fact that cases are taken to elders and (according to male respondents) there are strong penalties, unlike in the past. According to them these measures led to the almost disappearance of the practice. As noted earlier this does not seem to be entirely true. The wife of the poor farmer also explained that cases are rarely taken to government.

Choice of marriage partner interventions

There is no government legislation about the choice of marriage partner according to the wereda officer. She explained that her office is trying to raise the girls' awareness of the importance for them to complete their education and be economically strong before making their mind in terms of marriage.

Polygyny interventions

The law against polygyny came into force in 1987 EC. The wereda office is working to ensure that the law is being implemented. The office collaborates with the Protestant churches, which ban polygyny too, to increase the awareness of the community. When a household is already polygynous they advise the husband to treat fairly the wives and children. They focus on trying to prevent any new intended marriage of a second wife. When the office gets information about a plan to marry a second wife it informs the police. The police and the attorney process the divorce of the second wife. The office is using the development teams to fight against polygyny.

Difficulties in enforcing the law occur when the man who has two wives is rich; he gives bribe to the police and the attorney and the evidence gets insufficient to support the case, then the case gets dismissed. The other problem is that the women themselves support polygyny and are not willing to give information to the court. There are also cases when the first wife accepts the coming of a second wife - when the first wife has no child or has only two children or when children from the first wife are only female. Women do not inherit land so there must be a son to inherit the land.

The changes that could be made to strengthen the effectiveness of the law with regard to polygyny are to increase the awareness of all community members and making the police to take ownership of the cases. The awareness of police and other people whose action is affecting the community negatively should be increased. The office is informing the community about the importance of leading a better life with children from one wife. The office is also telling women that they have to fight for their rights. Poor awareness of women is contributing to the failure to take cases to court because they do not know that they are being harmed when they are second wife to a man. Most cases in court are related with husband and wife.

Widow inheritance interventions

There is no intervention related to widow inheritance as this is no longer an issue.

Marriage to dead wife's sister interventions

There is no intervention related to marriage of the dead wife's sister as this was never practised in Gedeo culture.

Divorce interventions

Wereda officials explained that nowadays women can take their divorce case to court and claim their rights – that is, sharing properties that have been acquired or generated jointly during the marriage. The police and the court are involved in making women get equal share of property. They collect evidence and witnesses and finally the court decides.

The issue in law enforcement is that husbands give bribes to the court and they make witnesses to give wrong information. Husbands say that they bought property before the marriage so that the court's decision excludes this property. The attorney gets bribes and favours the husband. Women also become hopeless in waiting for the legal process to end and so they prefer the customary practice. Last year there was no case of property-sharing in the wereda. The wereda officer was of the opinion that to further strengthen the implementation of women's legal rights in cases of divorce there needs to be more awareness creation among women.

In Adado people mentioned the legal provisions that women now share the household's properties equally if they bring their case to court. One women's leader clarified that in reality women do not take the land but are supposed to be given compensation for the half of the land that they leave to their ex-husbands. The process to get the land and other properties estimated can be undertaken at wereda level while five years ago it was only at regional level so this was costly and long. So, things are improving though as the RO noted, the community's customary law remains strong including among women and this prevents the government's interventions from having their full effect.

Widowhood interventions

Customarily a widow can use the household's land and properties as long as she does not remarry another man. When the women and children affairs' office get information about a case that needs their assistance in relation to the rights of a widow, they facilitate things for the woman to take the case to court. The women and children affairs office, the police and attorney are the structures involved in enforcing the implementation of women's rights after death of husband. The wereda officer was of the view that the police and the court are well organised to implement such cases but the problem is low women's awareness which prevents them from taking their case to the wereda court. The change needed is to increase the awareness of women about their rights to land.

Respondents in Adado did not mention specific interventions with regard to widowhood.

Interventions to improve women's economic status

Land interventions

The wereda officer explained that in the wereda there is land certification after measuring the land.

Women are involved in the certification, which started in 1998 EC. In the past land certification used to be only for husbands; now it includes wives. There are still problems; the production from the land is usually used by the husband only. Also, there were problems in including women in land certification and as a result, land is going to be measured again by the government. It is also complex if the husband has two wives. If a husband with two wives has four farm land plots he registers two plots in his own name and two plots in his second wife's name. In this way the children from the two wives will get equal share from their father. If he has only one wife he makes the land only in his own name.

As noted earlier community respondents in Adado did not mention the land registration process. There seemed to be a nascent awareness of women's rights and fathers spontaneously giving some land to their daughters. The middle-wealth farmer also explained how her wife had successfully taken her claim to land from her parents to court and won the case.

Livelihood interventions

The wereda officer explained that in the women affairs' office there is a process called '*improving capacity of women*'. It ensures the participation of women in economic activities so as to increase the capacity of women in the wereda. Women are made to be organised in small and micro enterprises in urban places. Half of the credit is allocated for women but those officials at the small and micro enterprises office have awareness problem so do not work well. In rural areas OMO micro-finance gives credit to women and makes them start income-generating activities, such as livestock rearing and beekeeping.

OMO, the SME office and the women affairs' office are the stakeholders in strengthening women's economic empowerment in the wereda. A Women Development and Transformation Package (WDTP) was designed in 1998 EC and is implemented by a committee called Abiy Committee, comprising of individuals from these organisations, chaired by the wereda administrator and with members from the agriculture, trade and industry, education, health offices and other government sector offices. The Women affairs' office is the secretary of the committee.

There is also a technical committee which is led by the "*gender mainstreaming*" process owner. In all government sectors there are gender mainstreaming officers and they are the members of the technical committee and represent their respective government sector office. The committee is established to assist women in development. At the beginning there was a problem because members were not giving attention to issues of women in the wereda and the committee was not very effective. Now the problem has been solved, and the committee is more effective since the establishment of development teams in Yekatit 2005 EC. The development groups were first piloted in Alaba special wereda and Kochche wereda and another wereda in the Region. It was found that development teams were better in the implementation of various development activities so it was expanded to all weredas.

Women are organised in development teams and 1-5 groups. Women have started savings in these teams. Intensive awareness raising activities were given by cabinet members. Women who are members of development teams are participating in cattle and sheep rearing and producing vegetable in group. There is one team of women who collect and sell stones. Now they have accumulated 6,000 birr at OMO microfinance. There are also development teams who have bought an ox by contributing 50 birr each. There are 22 members and they collected 7,142 birr within one month. This working in development teams is very effective.

There is a project called Agricultural Growth Plan (AGP). It targets both men and women but it foresees that at least 40% of the beneficiaries must be to women. So far it has established 7 associations with 10 members each. It gave 13,000 birr to each of the 7 associations. There are associations that have accumulated up to 30,000 birr. When AGP starts working with women it assesses their interest - it can be beekeeping, sheep rearing and cattle fattening, growing potatoes

or enset seedlings. The AGP gives technical support at kebele level. In 2004 EC the AGP was working only in 7 kebele; this year (2005 EC) it has added 7 more and Adado is one of the new kebele.

In April 2013 the girls and young women interviewed in Adado were very clear that *'there is nothing that the government is doing'* to support young women and women in general in strengthening their livelihoods. A few of them heard the government message about forming 1-5s and getting credit in group but this is all. Nothing practical has happened. No resource, training or advice has been provided by the wereda. They had some ideas of what would be useful, such as giving lessons to study better and perform better with their education, providing stationary for the girls and young women attending school and generally encouraging and helping them to perform better in education, giving credit so that young women could engage in income-generating activities, organising them in 1-5 groups and making them to get engaged in trade.

When Research Officers returned in November 2013 the wereda was rolling out a new initiative educated youth (see below). However, among the 13 groups that had been formed and given credit or on the way to get credit, only one included a few young women. The HEW explained that this was because unlike young men, young women had no ways of making enough savings to be eligible for the scheme, which demands a down payment of 20% of the credit asked by the group.

Among adult women interviewed, their level of interaction with government livelihood interventions varied quite a lot. The poor woman head of household had no interaction with agricultural extension services or any other service. In contrast, the woman heading the more successful household used fertiliser for her maize and said she had a better yield; she also got advice from the DA on coffee and as a result she is now preparing her own coffee seedlings to replace her trees; she had access to improved chickens but they died; she got injection and sheep spraying services from the wereda vet services, and also advice on her sheep's health. But she noted that there is no credit for women.

With regard to wives of male-headed households, the wives of the successful farmer and of the poor farmer did not have access to any intervention. In contrast, the wives of the successful businessman and of the middle-wealth farmer had access to various services. The wife of the successful businessman got DA advice to plant beet root, caulis, maize, and haricot beans. She also took improved breeds of chicken. The chickens were good in laying eggs daily. She got fertiliser and improved maize seeds and got higher production. She used compost based on what the DAs said and this helped her to grow enset seedlings in a good way. The wife of the middle-wealth farmer got extension advice related to crop and used fertilised and improved maize seeds bought cash. She also got advice related to livestock rearing and as a result she took a loan and bought and sold an ox; however, this was a loss because she lacked fodder and the ox lost weight so she had to sell it cheaper than she bought it. She believed that there should be a separate office for women to get organised and start generating income.

Women's inheritance from parents interventions

Legally women have equal inheritance rights with men. The law to this effect took effect with the coming of EPRDF after 1982 EC. Women would be entitled to bring their case to the wereda court. But as customarily women do not have inheritance rights they do not have confidence to ask for land because it is not acceptable by the community, and generally they do not bring their cases to the wereda court. The wereda officer noted that there has to be awareness raising activities to increase the knowledge of the community so that women will know their rights on land and take their cases to the wereda court.

Interventions to improve women's political status

The wereda women affairs' officer explains that in each kebele there are the women association, league and federation, and a representative of women affairs. The women affairs' representative is cabinet member so that women participate in kebele decision-making. These four organisations directly work on women.

1. The women association's role is to capacitate women socially and economically. It works to make them and their children to go to school and improve their health status, helping women to use family planning services. They also collaborate in the implementation of the 16 health extension programme packages. They are promoting women's saving.
2. The women league is an organisation which is capacitating women to improve their participation in politics. It is making women to have more of a role in political decision-making in the EPRDF.
3. The women federation works by organising the women association and the women affairs office. It works to ensure that women are participating in all economic, political and social aspects of the wereda.
4. The women affairs office works with the women association, league and federation and other government sectors to improve the life of women in the wereda.

At the wereda level too women are now participating in different government offices while in the past they used to only have one representative in the wereda cabinet. Today in the wereda the leadership positions occupied by women are: the vice-head of civil service, the head of EPRDF rural politics department, the vice-head of culture, tourism and government communications, the Council spokesperson and the youth affairs head. This was made intentionally to increase the participation of women in leadership in various government structures. Women are therefore involved in more cabinet positions. They are also given positions as process owners and school heads. Now there are 3 female school heads in the wereda. The women and child affairs office is making women to increase their capacity. There is an increase in the decision making capacity of women.

But in Adado, respondents unanimously highlighted that women's organisations are weak and not functional, so that women's participation is emerging according to the men and some of the women, but still limited. The men believed that the government should pay more attention to strengthen these organisations, and that young women should be pushed to actively take part in decision-making in schools and at church so that they can exercise and get exposed to speaking in public.

Other interventions related to women

The wereda is following the government policy of promoting girls' education. The woman and child affairs office and the education office are contributing a lot to make female children to go to school. Sending more girls to school and making them perform better is one of the main plans in the wereda. The office is encouraging girls to go to university. For instance during the raining season 40 students attending preparatory class, college students and better performing Gr 7-10 students who stood first to third rank in their class were made to get together, coming from all 30 kebeles, to share their experience. The students promised that they will work hard enough to join university without trying to drop out to get married. On the occasion the female students going to preparatory school were given 100 birr each as a prize. Orphan girls who are going to school are supported with books, pens and exercise books. The woman and child affairs office communicates with schools and makes female students to get tutorial classes.

The officer believed that the effort made on girls' education is effective. In Adado a number of the male and female household members recognised that things are improving but thought that more has to be done to prevent girls from dropping out or failing at exams. They thought that government should train families, women themselves and the men; that households should take responsibility and avoid overloading girls with many more domestic tasks than their male counterparts, and government should ensure that families are aware of the equal importance of girls' education; and that families and the school should cooperate to prevent dropouts.

The wereda officer explained that there are affirmative government actions to increase the participation of women in the overall development of the wereda. If a 2 point mark is required for a government position a woman can get it with a 1.8 point mark. Similar affirmative action is taken in the processes of promotion and competition for educational opportunities awarded to government workers. This is done effectively but there are some problems in the wereda due to poor awareness

and negative attitude towards women. When women fight for their rights some men are not happy about it as they want to favour men who have acquaintance with them. They favour people who support their idea and who accept their involvement in corruption. Women in the wereda are not involved in corruption, and men do not like this as they want someone who collaborates with them when they are corrupt. This is an obstacle in implementing government affirmative action. And so, the problems that women face when they do not fight for their rights are the same as when they fight for their rights. They face challenges in both cases.

The wereda officer also mentioned that there are categories of vulnerable women in the wereda, including women with disability, daily labour workers, women with low income, homeless women and women living in shabby houses, women having many children and landless women or women with a very small land. There is no special support for these categories of vulnerable women.

Youth policies and programmes

Youth livelihoods- male and female

All adult household members agreed that there is a big issue around youth livelihoods and not enough is done to address it. First, most youth in the community fail to reach education levels that would ensure that they get employed and so, several of the respondents said that the government has to make young people study in such a way that they could attend higher education. This was also reflected in the views of several girls and young women.

Second, even when they are educated to Gr10 the youth in the community lack job opportunities – except during the coffee harvesting season. Boys in large number migrate to Shakiso and girls engage in petty trade, but when the young men return and want to marry there is not enough land for them. Moreover, educated youth often do not want to work on farming. So, what is needed in their view is for the government to provide jobs for the educated ones; and to promote SMEs and create access to opportunities in urban areas for the youth of the community. They think that there is potential for the landless youth to engage in many forms of business activities and SMEs but they need training, advice and start-up capital – including being organised and getting credit in group.

The male Research Officer believed that the youth could engage in a number of non-farm activities such as renting tennis table, providing play stations and video watching services, wood works and metal works. But there is no initiation.

The kebele officials concurred with the other community members and explained that nowadays young people face problems to establish an independent livelihood. Land is scarce and they do not have start-up capital to start a business. Those who have attained better educational level also do not get jobs. There is high demand for daily labour workers during the coffee harvest season so this is good opportunity for those who are less educated. But this is seasonal only and at other times of the year opportunities are few and less well paid. In the kebele there was no land distribution on an individual basis or to youth co-operatives. There is no youth package. For the future there is a plan by the AGP to give money for the youth as start-up capital. But this has not started yet.

As a result there are so many young men who migrate to other places, especially to Shakiso in Oromia. More than 100 young men migrate annually and some of them are as young as 10. Young married men also migrate soon after their marriage. This migration is increasing because of population increase, land scarcity and absence of business opportunity in the community. Young women are at a disadvantage as they do not migrate outside of the community.

Thus, youth unemployment is a big issue in the community and it holds for both young men and young women. The same respondents highlighted that among others it also means that getting married and establishing their own household is difficult as most young people do not have a stable livelihood. The wife of the successful farmer said that the government should make sure that parents do not have to worry about their children. Most adult respondents were sympathetic to the

youth. A few respondents, however, said that in their views the problem was also on the youth's side: they want 'readymade things' and lack commitment to engage in hard work and therefore do not seize opportunities such as the new scheme being rolled out by the wereda (see below).

The girls and boys and young women and men interviewed all explained that the government is doing nothing to support livelihood activities for young people in the community. Three of the young women explained that the government is passing a message about girls' education and forming 1-5s. Five of the young men knew about orientation being given to selected youth by the government, about group formation, credit and starting businesses. They heard about it in kebele meetings and visits by wereda officials, or on radio or TV (e.g. they saw a training given in Bule). But this has not reached the kebele.

In November 2013 a number of respondents explained that a new scheme was being rolled out for the educated young people of Adado who completed Gr10. They were organised by an 11-member kebele steering committee (including the DA as secretary, the kebele chair, the kebele OMO agent and the kebele manager) into groups of 3 to 5 people to start different businesses. The committee's job is to select those who are fit and have the potential of paying back. These groups must first save 20% of the amount they estimate they need to start the activity, and they get the remaining 80% on credit. It is understood that they will repay in 5 years. This is an initiative from the wereda agriculture office Rural Youth Opportunity Creating Sector. The capital is from the wereda even though credit provision is organised by OMO.

So far 13 groups had been formed, with 41 youth involved – among whom only one young woman as they find it hard to get the necessary savings. The groups are working or intend to work in fattening of cattle or sheep or restaurants/tearooms and one group in grain trading (see table below). Together the 13 groups had a starting capital of 231,000 birr, of which 80% is a loan. The largest loan amounted to 26,500 birr for a bull fattening group which started with a 35,000 birr capital.

Table 6: Rural Youth Opportunity Creation in Adado, 2013

No members	Team name	Occupation	Down payment	Starting capital
4	We develop on job	Fattening bull	8,500	35,000
3	We reproduce through job	Grain trading	6,000	30,000
3	We become strong through job	Fattening bull	5,000	25,000
3	Development	Fattening bull	4,000	20,000
3	We become rich through job	Fattening bull	3,000	15,000
3	The father of job	Fattening bull	3,000	15,000
5	We grow through job	Sheep fattening	3,000	15,000
2	We bring change through job	Sheep fattening	2,000	10,000
3	Growth for development	Restaurant	3,600	18,000
3	We grow	Restaurant	3,600	18,000
3 (of which one is female)	Let us work and bring about change	Restaurant	3,600	18,000
3	Through job we reach high position	Restaurant	2,000	10,000
3	Let us change our selves through job	Bull fattening	4,000	20,000
				231,000

Several people noted that this was very new and too early to see the results, but were happy to see this effort. The kebele chairman, however, noted (in talking more generally about the need to diversify Adado's economy away from dependency on coffee growing) that with no all-weather road,

no market to speak of, and a small town, businesspeople engaging in shops, tearooms etc/ would not be successful – which is why, he said, some people with no land migrate to urban areas where business is better.

Community and political participation

The household wives and female heads, except the wife of the successful businessman who said that youth are invited to meetings and their voice is heard, found that youth do not have voice in the community. The wife of the successful farmer added that those whose voice is heard are the elders and the people in leadership positions. The women generally thought that this lack of voice is not a big issue, although most of them said that it would be good if it changed and government made the youth participate *'in issues pertinent to them'*.

The male heads of households were more concerned. Two of them said that there is some improvement: elders are more aware of the importance of voice for the youth (poor farmer) and youth ideas are important because they improve through education and they have a modern way of thinking (successful businessman). All four noted that while there is supposed to be youth organisations for the youth to 'exercise politics' and get their ideas heard, in the kebele they are very weak and non-functional (the successful farmer noted that in other areas they function well). They thought that the government should work to strengthen their structure and management and the youth themselves should be informed about their importance. The poor farmer contrasted the poor functioning of the youth organisations with the many improvements in the kebele administration (social court, council, many committees).

The middle wealth farmer also thought that the youth would benefit from being party members as they could exercise decision-making in this way and also they are better informed about their rights and obligations when they are involved in party and political issues.

The male heads of households also thought that the issue is more serious for young women, because they generally are even less involved than male youth: they focus on family affairs and do not engage with community affairs. They all thought that this should change and for this, young women should involve in work outside their home, in public and business affairs (middle-wealth farmer) or get exposure to public life through exercising decision-making in schools and at church (poor farmer). More generally they should take part in various social and economic institutions so as to bring their experience and make their voice heard (successful businessman).

In their households, nobody is a member of the youth organisations except one child in the successful farmer's family.

The youth did not speak of community and political participation as a topic in itself but had different ideas about how they could contribute to community development – through being educated and getting jobs or coming back to serve the community, through engaging in economic activities, through being an educated farmer using improved technology etc. The female youth interviewed were almost unanimous in saying that they do not have information about the organisations and what girls and young women think about them. Their male counterparts heard about the youth association, league and federation from the wereda or in other ways but either said that they are not operational in the kebele, or that they do not know their specific agenda.

One of the young women (19-year old, middle-wealth) had some information. She said that the organisations are there but not much active because the youth in the community do not participate. She knew that there are 15 female members of the youth association and 5 female members of the league. But she reckoned that most of the young women are not interested as they do not see the benefit and think that these organisations are useless.

A group of other young men interviewed on the topic confirmed that there is no strong structure like youth association, league or federation in the kebele. There is no sufficient support to strengthen

them. They explained that there are around 100 young men registered as members of Youth Association. The league and federation are not visible in the kebele or the three organisations are seen as one. Besides, the youth association carries out no visible activity; it is just a structure and youth are not using the institution.

They believe that it would be advantageous for the youth if the youth association/league/federation would function effectively. It would help the youth to take part in political activities. But the youth are not actively participating because the kebele administration is not much concerned with youth affairs. As noted earlier, there also does not seem to be much party outreach towards the youth.

In November 2013 kebele leaders explained that they let about 91 youth voluntarily participate in repairing internal roads and cleaning springs. They estimated that this represented 200,000 *birr* which these youth could be said to have contributed to the community.

Youth and HIV/AIDS

The wereda officials interviewed did not mention any specific intervention in relation to youth and HIV/AIDS (this was not a topic in itself but might have come up in the discussion on preventative health services).

In Adado, adult women (female heads and wives) all said that there is no issue with youth contracting HIV/AIDS in the community. The male heads of households thought the same but were aware of risks such as when the youth move to other places for education, work, migration or military service. Two of them said that it used to be a big issue but is now better because there has been intensive awareness creation by the health workers, counselling and training that shapes boys and girls of the community, and messages through the school clubs and women association. But they thought that this needed to be continued and even strengthened. The successful farmer thought that if the youth were given means of establishing an independent livelihood they could marry more easily and avoid unsafe sex practices.

The girls, boys and young women and men interviewed all displayed good awareness of the means of transmission and therefore of protection. But they generally had no information on cases in the community and most of them also did not know whether young people are at risk because they might have unprotected sexual relationships (or did not want to say anything). A few better informed ones heard rumours that some people died of HIV/AIDS in the past or that there are ten people living with HIV/AIDS in the community.

Nobody in Adado mentioned ART.

When asked whether young couples carried out HIV/AIDS testing before marrying, different respondents gave very different responses. The kebele leader thought that very few – if any at all – do so. The kebele women affairs' cabinet member said 50% of the couples take the test; and her brother and fiancé had done so. There were several other examples among those interviewed. One young woman highlighted that educated girls, especially those who completed Gr10, were more like to demand a test before marrying; others would not due to low awareness.

Youth recreation

There is no recreation centre for the youth in Adado. Among the adult household members interviewed, three women thought that this is not an issue as youth can watch movies and recreate in private tea rooms and houses. A fourth one thought that even so it would be good if the government was making a recreation place for young people. The other (men and two women) thought that the lack of a recreation place is a problem; most of them thought it is not a huge issue but addressing it would be good and a recreation centre in the kebele could be both a place for the youth to go and recreate and a means of generating an income for them.

The 19-year old middle-wealth young woman mentioned that the wereda provided a TV, chairs,

benches and a TV stand to the Adado youth and they are using it, watching drama, church songs and movies. Three young men mentioned that the wereda gave some sport equipment (a football and clothes and shoes) – although only one of the three stated that the youth are using this when there is sport competition in the wereda.

Fields of action /domains of power

Livelihoods domain

Local macro-economy

It was estimated by one knowledgeable person that smallholder farming including coffee growing provided 90% of the local macro-economy in Adado. Agricultural labour represents about 1% of the local economy (including cultivating and harvesting); non-farm business about 5% in trade (coffee, vegetables, fruits, livestock, shops, local drink selling) and skilled work (blacksmith and carpentry); migration 3%; and non-farm employment (in tea selling, house construction etc.) and daily commuting for work out of the kebele about 0.5% each.

The economy of Adado used to be largely enset-based subsistence farming, with some coffee growing. With the rising interest on international markets for niche coffees like the locally-grown Yirgacheffe, farmers in Adado responded to the market demand with support from the government extension services to help them reach the required quality standards. Adado now looks more like a cash crop-based economy with some food production. The economy is largely dependent on one cash crop whose price fluctuates according to the vagaries of the international market.

Most of the community respondents thought that the local macro-economy is quite conducive and conditions have improved in the recent past. This is due to increased coffee earnings as the international market has been buoyant, the Union has strengthened marketing and farmers have improved their technique thanks to government extension advice. There also is a nascent trend towards a relatively vibrant diversification with some good income options (trade of various kinds, skilled works, service transport and migration for the youth).

However, there were people less optimistic noting that the community is not engaging seriously in trade for instance, or that altogether the local economy remains overly dependent on just two crops and in particular, coffee for income. The price of the coffee suddenly dropped last year and most adult respondents in Adado are concerned by this. It makes life harder for small growers and it also means that large coffee growers have suddenly much less income to invest in other activities. Some of the less optimistic ones highlighted land scarcity as the overarching constraint and that whatever the options, with the rapidly expanding population the local labour supply is structurally exceeding the demand.

Indeed a large part of the ongoing diversification depends on coffee income earned by the large coffee growers and reinvested in other economic activities or spent on services and goods that other people give/produce. Trade is de facto limited by the limited range of local products. Livestock and livestock products have become even more marginal than in the past as the land is 100% occupied with crops – mainly coffee and enset. Enset has remained the most important food crop locally produced. The provision of urban-like services and goods imported from urban areas or other rural areas (like milk and butter which are no longer produced locally) presents some opportunities and some of the very rich people in the community have engaged in this but as just explained for these activities to thrive there needs to be a demand. The kebele chair highlighted that for many potential options, the lack of sufficient local demand and difficulties in access to market outside meant that anyone trying to diversify would find it hard.

Given the increasing shortage of land, many in the young generation have no option but to look for non-farm based options. Unlike many other areas, in Adado the young people who reach college or

university graduation still find a job easily and this has been a rising trend in the past decade or so. One emerging big issue is the large number of those who 'fail on the way' and have much fewer options. One of them is migration for gold-mining to then invest locally in trade or business activities on return.

In November 2013 things were not looking very bright for many people in Adado, with both a largely failed maize harvest and the prospect of a quite low coffee production.

Smallholder agriculture

Land for smallholder farming

Land laws

Wereda officials mentioned land registration and that land is owned by the smallholder farmers and not allowed for leasing. If investors wish land from farmers, it is through mutual agreement between them through a short-term contract. The kebele communicates the consensus between an investor and a farmer to the wereda for approval, in cognizance of the zonal administration. This is the procedure for smallholder farmer land rental process. They did not mention the federal or regional land law and nobody in Adado mentioned land laws either, except in relation to people trying to illegally buy urban land or land along the road, which had become impossible.

Access to land

There is no irrigated land in Adado, and no communal grazing land. Most people use zero-grazing as they also have no or very little private grazing land. All the land except for houses, the public buildings and the Union's coffee plant, is used for agricultural endeavors by the local smallholders. There is no land leased to investors.

Land has become the scarcest resource in the community and a point of tension between generations when sons ask land and fathers refuse. Families are customarily expected to give at least a small plot of land when a son marries but with the population increase the pressure on land has become very high. It is a concern for people of all categories alike, kebele officials, many adult community members and especially those with little land or landless, and many of the youth.

The group of knowledgeable farmers interviewed on farming in the community explained that

There is no free land in Adado. There is no additional land to accommodate the growing population of the area. Thus, parents give their sons just a place to put their home to form the new family. This trend is getting worse. The land pressure arises from the growing population. People who own less than half a hectare are very many in number. Very few of the community members have land of above 3 hectares. There are also people in the community owing ¼ of a hectare of land.

As result people are forced to curtail livestock production due to lack of grazing/grass land. The lack of land (to own or be employed on) also pushes significant number of people to migrate to Shakiso for gold mining or Taro and other places for sharecropping. Land scarcity also fuels the community's dependence on coffee and enset as only cash and subsistence crops, because very few people have (or feel that they have) enough land to invest in other crops.

There are various statistics with regard to access to land. Knowledgeable people in the community explained that households lacking any land are only 50 or so; and households with 0.5 ha have to pay land tax. A different group of knowledgeable farmers explained that 150 households are reported to be landless, or between 150 and 200; and that the number varies because there are a growing number of people owning less than 1/8th ha and some people consider them as landless but they said that these people pay tax on the small plot that they have. After verification kebele officials said that no household in Adado was totally landless and all households pay tax. In the community the largest amount of land tax paid by one individual is 400 birr for 17 ha, which are

owned by a model farmer.

See section 5 for issues related to women's access to land, which in practice has changed very little.

Land re-distribution

There has been no redistribution in Adado, on either an individual or group basis; and there is no trend toward redistribution as there is no land to redistribute.

Land registration

Wereda officials mentioned land registration in 2006 although they also explained that there were issues and the government has to measure land again. In Adado respondents explained informally to the Research Officers that the process stopped as there was a lot of opposition to the fact that land should be registered to the name of both husband and wife. As a result, land is still owned on the basis of who pays the tax.

Share-cropping, renting and contracting/buying land

The knowledgeable farmers reported that long term land leasing depends upon negotiation between partners but this is not practised in the community. Short-term leasing is also not commonly practised. Sharecropping for one or two or even for longer years is possible and practised. This is one way by which landless people including young people can get access to some land. The poor farmer, for instance, is sharecropping. Sometimes, richer households also take land for sharecropping from the poorer/elder/sick households. For instance the person interviewed as lead farmer explained that he is not leasing land but has a good farmland size and also sharecrops with some other households. There are also around 10 farmers sharecropping the school land.

Sharecropping is said to have increased because households facing land shortage involve in it. The arrangements are that the land-owning household just provides the land whereas the partner provides both labour and inputs. But there is generally no sharecropping of land planted with coffee. Some few people may rent their coffee farm for a year. Those who migrate and have land in Adado give it to keep to relatives or trustworthy friends until they return. If a migrant gets a better deal where he has migrated he might sell his land in Adado. For instance, the DA livestock knows some landowners living in Bule or in Oromia, as traders or farmers over there; but they visit twice or three times a year and always come for the coffee season. There is no land owned by someone who is not considered one way or another as member of the community even if he does not live full time in Adado.

Agricultural labour

The knowledgeable farmers explained that it is common to use family labour in all farming activities in both rich and poor families. However, richer families hire labour from outside during peak coffee harvesting or farming seasons.

There is also some change in using family labour because the youth are now busy with their education and do less than they used to do in the past – but some say, they start when they are younger because they are smarter. Both male and female children are asked to participate to farm activities although girls and young women do lighter tasks. Male children may help planting enset or coffee (digging the holes needed for this). Girls and young women are involved in hoeing enset or coffee or maize or vegetables.

Women in a household may be involved in livestock-related work (cleaning the livestock house, feeding them) but for most households this is not a significant demand on their time as livestock production is not widespread and always small-scale.

In the community all categories of people except very young children get involved in picking the coffee berries during the harvest season as this must be done very rapidly for the coffee to be sold fresh. This is done through family labour as a first option, but households with a large number of

coffee trees (e.g. more than 3,000) hire daily labour.

A few households – the richer group in the community (i.e. around 5%) hire agricultural servants for farming activities. As there is no ox-ploughing due to the unfavourable topography, the farmers who grow a substantial amount of crop also ask for agricultural labour. Poorer households are hired rather than hiring others. Daily labour is mostly done by men lacking an income or land, and poorer female or widows with small landholdings – who also engage in enset processing (see below). For instance among the household heads interviewed, the poor farmer is working as daily labourer on other farms and also on contractual work like preparing mud for plastering house walls (for which he may earn 50 birr for one contract). Middle-wealth households mostly use family labour for farming activities and it is less common for them to hire agricultural servants or labourers.

The practice of hiring both agricultural servants and daily labourers has become more frequent in the last ten years. The lead farmer explained that an increasing number of people ask for this kind of work as land has become so scarce due to population growth. However, the 'lead local economist' estimated that households who involve in daily labour because they have too little land represent no more than 3% of the community.

The remuneration has improved. It was very small in the past (no more than 10 birr/day), but these days it has increased to at least 30 birr/day. At peak time in the coffee harvesting season the rate can go up to 50 birr/day. The woman model farmer who hires daily labourers to plant vegetables and for other farming activities usually hires three of them at a time. The wage rates vary depending on the season: in the dry season due to coffee harvesting labour is expensive but in other seasons labour is cheaper. Her annual expenditure on daily labourers is 1,000 birr. She does not use a daily or monthly rate, but a negotiated rate for specific pieces of work (e.g. clearing a coffee farm of a certain size might be paid 100 birr; hoeing a certain size of farmland might be paid 200 birr; the lead farmer said that he pays at least 30 birr to prepare half a hectare of land for crop growing).

There are no in-migrants working in the community. Labour requirements for coffee harvesting and preparing land for crops that are not covered by family labour is undertaken by local daily labourers and daily labourers coming from other areas, but who do not stay overnight. This occurs especially during the coffee harvest (see below, section on 'story of most important cash crop').

Women can get daily labour opportunities through processing enset for others, like the poor female head. Different people gave different rates for the payment. That woman said that she is paid 10 birr/day. Other respondents mentioned a rate of at least 20 birr/day and it can take three days to complete the activities. The lead farmer said that women producing kocho are paid 30-50 birr to prepare a single enset, which may take more than a day. The payment for daily labour depends on the volume of work and the agreement-contract.

One recently introduced change is the work of the 1-5s. All respondents spoke positively of them. The group of knowledgeable farmers said that this is so helpful. They suggested that it might reduce the demand for daily labour but on the other hand, producing the finest quality coffee is labour-intensive and requires additional labour force compared to the past, and agricultural labour is cheap in the community. Moreover, hiring labour allows supporting those poorer households lacking land or an income and the households with a large farmland find handy to get help to harvest their products in as short as possible a time.

Household heads agreed about the usefulness of the 1-5s and noted that this is improving the previous practice of informal group work among neighbours and friends. Large working parties are no longer common. The poor farmer explained that if there is someone from the group unwilling to work there is *gimgema* and penalties. Other farmers mentioned this as well and found it a good thing. The scheme is well organised and entails that the group works three hours a day for at least three days of the week, rotating from one member's farmland to the next, and until the farming work is completed for all members of the group. One farmer explained that for some of the farming

tasks the 1-5 groups come handy as they replace the labour of the children going to school.

On sharecropped land the arrangements are that the household owning the land just provides the land. The partner provides the labour and the inputs.

Interlinkages

As said earlier, there is sharecropping in the community. Labour sharing or rotating is now organised through the 1-5 system. There is no share rearing and no ox-ploughing so no sharing of ox. Sometimes households share farm tools on a daily basis when many of the household members in one household intend to involve in an activity and there are too few tools.

Crops grown

Crop mix

The community grows coffee for cash, enset for subsistence, and all other crops on a much smaller scale. Enset and coffee are historically the most important crops and they are part of the community's culture. Farmers also say that these crops are the identity of the community and they are inheritable for the future generation.

Enset production is inherited from the community's forefathers and Adado is known for its agro-forestry of enset and coffee. Farmers pointed out "*you can see the surroundings: every household land is fully held by enset and coffee crops.*" "*Enset is our cultural food*" and "*coffee is the community's green gold*". Most households in Adado consume *kocho*, the main product processed from enset, three times a day, with cabbage or other ingredients. People appreciate that enset is available for consumption the whole year round. Enset is considered as drought resistant. All parts of enset are used for household and livestock consumption. Availability of enset is an indicator of wealth in the community.

Coffee is the most important and prime source of income in the community (see story of most important cash crop below). It is internationally recognised for its unique taste of 'forest coffee' and organic quality. It is Yirgacheffe label coffee and to preserve its quality, farmers have been taught by the DAs how to produce seedlings locally and avoid the use of inorganic fertiliser and pesticides.

Knowledgeable farmers explained that there is not much land to produce other types of crops. The successful businessman explained that the area is suitable to highland crops like tef, barley and sorghum but due to lack of land most farmers do not grow them. Some crops are also not suitable to mix with coffee on the same farm. Therefore, all the community members have primarily been involved in coffee and enset production for a historic period of time. However, very recently people have started allocating some small land plots for vegetable and root crop productions.

Other crops produced include maize, bean, *boloke* and also but not commonly sorghum, teff, barley; some root crops (*boyene, boye* and potato), some vegetables (cabbage, salata, green pepper, onion) and fruits (avocado, *geishta, zeyton*, papaya and banana) and trees used mostly to shade and protect the coffee plants and sold for an income and replaced when they are mature (eucalyptus, wanza, shola, tsid, grevillia). Growing pulse, oilseeds and spices is not common in the community. Women produce some spices for home consumption. Apart from coffee all other crops are not sold in any significant amount but just to make some cash when there is a need and if there is surplus.

Vegetables such as cabbage, salad, green pepper and onion and fruits such as avocado, geishta and zeyton are commonly produced on a small scale, mainly for home consumption. Sometimes households sell vegetables on the market to buy spices like salt and for coffee drinking. This is similar for fruits though there is a trend to sell more avocados because the price on the market has improved. There is no irrigation for vegetable and fruit production and for growing trees although some households fetch water from the rivers to water the plants.

Eucalyptus is commonly sold but some farmers explained that it is now less planted since it harms

the coffee plants and dehydrates soil. Wanza, warka and tsid are used for timber production. However, tree production does generally not represent a significant income.

Chat is produced by some households but this is considered as prohibited by the Protestant religion.

Changes in crop mix

There has been no fundamental change in that enset for subsistence and coffee for cash have remained the most important crops produced by the community since ten years. However as said earlier, recently some households have started reserving some land for vegetables and other crops such as root crops. The DAs teach the community about vegetable production, production of fruits such as apples and mangos, and how to grow crops that can be mixed with coffee and enset.

The main changes have been in enset and coffee production. Land planted with these crops has been expanded as much as possible. Also these days, households have their own nursery and produce seedlings for both enset and coffee; farmers also use compost for these crops. People could not agree about whether tree coverage had increased or decreased, perhaps depending on what is considered as tree. The land is almost fully covered with coffee and enset trees. In addition, people plant other trees to shade and protect the coffee and this is said by some to have increased while others said that it has not changed.

Some people thought that on the whole enset production has increased thanks to local production of seedlings so that farmers can replace easily the trees affected by disease. Those people even think that overall, enset productivity has increased as there is less land per capita and more people to feed in the community and yet, the total production is sufficient.

Others, talking about production at the household level, thought that it is decreasing because of diseases and also decreasing soil fertility due to lack of rotation. Some of them explained that there is a decrease in the productivity of enset trees, because of a disease called *wo-elo* which started in 1998 EC and which is destroying the trees. Leaves get dry and eventually the whole tree dries off. There is nothing which can be done except uprooting the sick tree and throw it away in a place where it cannot contaminate other trees, and replace it. The disease has spread all over Adado and the wereda agriculture office has not been able to give a solution. In addition, they highlighted that because of declining soil fertility the enset trees take longer to mature. It used to take 3 years and now it easily takes 7 to 10 years.

Several households also complained that coffee production is decreasing. In April 2013, talking about the end 2012/early 2013 and earlier harvests, this was not a general complaint and may have been linked to weather variations. However in November 2013 a number of respondents mentioned that the old coffee trees were also getting affected by a new type of disease that had started in 2012. It is widespread in neighbouring kebeles and this year was being seen in some gots of one of the zones in Adado. There is no solution other than uprooting the trees affected. It does apparently not attack the new seedlings grown in Adado or the improved seeds that a few farmers got (see below). This combined with the prolonged heavy rains meant that coffee growers were expecting a significantly lower output this year (late 2013/early 2014).

In November 2013 people also said that farmers tended to grow less maize year after year. The area planted with maize declined from 20 ha three years ago to just 3 ha in 2013. Farmers plant their land with coffee and enset to avoid having to take improved seeds that have repeatedly failed in the past few years.

There has been some increase and diversification in vegetable and fruit production. More people understand the benefits of consuming these.

Inputs

One important change in inputs is that coffee and enset seedlings are now produced locally – which was introduced by the government agricultural extension services because seedlings coming from

other areas were not suitable.

The promotion and teaching about local coffee seedling production is part of a broader effort at enhancing and maintaining the quality of the local organic 'forest coffee' competing on the international market. Hence the DAs have also taught farmers how to make and use compost from decaying tree leaves and avoid using inorganic fertiliser which is the rule of the Yirgacheffe cooperative; how to plant suitable trees to shade and protect the coffee flowers from extreme heat and heavy rain and whose leaves are used for compost; how to protect the seedlings when they grow and how to pick the coffee cherries to ensure maximum quality. The practice of producing seedlings locally and using compost started in 2000 EC. Locally produced seedlings and improved coffee seeds become all the more important that they seem to be protected from the new 'cholera' disease attacking the old trees.

Kebele officials also mention a new variety of coffee which yields in three years but is not widely used. This new type of coffee, called 74158, came from the wereda agricultural office in 2012. Selected farmers were given 5 kg in 2012 and 15 kg in 2013. It grows faster as a seedling but the plants are not yet old enough to see how well it flowers and matures.

Farmers were appreciative of the efforts made by the extension services in relation to coffee. They reported that the use of locally produced seedlings as an input is increasing. The middle wealth farmer for instance said:

The access to seedlings everywhere in the community is an opportunity to increase the production and productivity. There is good change in both quantity and quality of coffee production thanks to the DA advice. The way of harvesting has also improved due to orientation by the DAs. Farmers now pay attention to pick only the well mature cherries, which is valued when the coffee Union purchases from the households.

As farmers cannot use inorganic fertiliser on land planted with coffee, there is little use of fertiliser in the community. Only those farmers with large landholdings can reserve a part of the land exclusively for crops other than coffee and enset; most farmers in the community use mixed farming of coffee, enset and other crops on the same land. This also means that the community tend to use local seeds for grains and other crops like beans and *boloke*.

The government extension services promote improved maize seeds but to grow well these demand fertiliser – the use of which is limited for farmers who have small plots and grow coffee. Moreover, in April 2013 the kebele officials explained that in 2000 EC and 2004 EC they got bad seeds from Hawassa and all maize plants dried and there was no production. The wereda agricultural office did not bring any solution.

Farmers gave mixed accounts. The lead farmer said that improved maize seeds were not productive for three years and therefore people were not willing to buy them but DAs 'convinced' them. He explained that farmers are rightly suspicious as they paid a lot of money for the seeds that are supposed to produce more and then get a poor yield. The successful female head of household and the poor farmer said they used fertiliser and improved maize seeds and had better yields. The successful businessman explained that improved seeds are good when used with fertiliser and there is sufficient rain. But the successful farmer who has also used improved seeds and fertiliser said that it is problematic when the rain is insufficient and the fertiliser burns the crop seeds. He suggested that extension workers force the farmers to take these inputs without considering the reality (small land, incompatibility of inputs with coffee and enset farming etc.). When farmers get a poor output they resist taking inputs for the next season. The poor farmer also suggested that there is enforcement on farmers to take inputs and this is not proper.

On the other hand the successful farmer – who is one of the rare opposition supporters in Adado – complained that the criteria to get agricultural inputs are not transparent and members of the ruling party get preferential treatment in getting all government interventions. Kebele officials explained

that with the very high inflation prices of inputs have tremendously increased, which is harming the farmers' purchasing power. For instance, fertiliser now costs 1,500 birr/quintal, up from 200 birr/quintal in 2008 GC. The price of improved maize, barley and beans has also strongly increased. The DAs explained that fertiliser and improved seeds are stored at the kebele and paid cash unlike in the past. There used to be credit until 2004 EC but not anymore and the proportion of farmers who can access inputs on cash is no more than 5%; these are the richer farmers.

The lead farmer explained that the government is providing fertiliser and improved seeds but the absence of credit prevents farmers from using them. It is possible to find fertiliser sold cheaper on the market but this is not easy to find as it is illegal (fertiliser can be sold only by the government) and risky (the expiry date is not clearly written). There is no service cooperative in the kebele but they buy directly from the wereda agriculture office. There is no pesticide or weed-killer. DAs advise against them as farmers will stop weeding and become dependent.

In November 2013 things had come to a head in relation to improved maize, as outlined in the box below.

Box 2: Improved maize production in Adado in 2013

For maize, in addition to improved seeds DAs promote planting in line and crop rotation with beans. On the former there are mixed account for the 2013 season. DAs say that only 34 households planted in line while a model farmer says that half of them did and a young farmer, that only those using improved seeds plant in line.

Regardless of the technique they used, all farmers interviewed reported very low production and even the successful farmer faced a loss on his maize. The kebele chair, who got 4,000 birr from his maize in 2012, got only 1,500 birr in 2013 and said that he would not grow maize in future. A lead female farmer explained that the plants had remained very small and the harvest was poor in all areas of Adado. Farmers had asked an explanation to DAs but they did not say anything except that they would report the problem to the wereda and it would improve in future. While they recognise that the heavy and prolonged rain was problematic, farmers also blame the improved seeds, once more. This is not the first year that they get problems and so many were reluctant to take improved seeds this year but were forced to do so (as narrated for instance by the kebele women affairs' cabinet member).

DAs themselves recognise that there is a problem. They got the seeds from Hawassa again, and carried out germination test for which only 43% of the seeds grew. But it was too late to send the seeds back and so, there was no other option but to give them to farmers. It is the fifth time that there are problems. The DAs also state that for most farmers, the price of inputs is beyond what they will get from their harvest. They were made to take improved seeds on credit and will be forced to pay during the coffee harvest; they might be imprisoned if they do not.

As a result farmers tend to grow less maize year after year (only 3 ha in total in 2013) to avoid both being forced to take inputs and to face losses because of their lack of reliability.

The DAs have also introduced "*Canada boyena*", a new root crop which some farmers said is growing faster compared to local root crops, and improved seeds of salad and some other vegetables. Farmers using these seem happy with them. The DAs promote planting and using vegetables like beetroots and caulis and planting fruit trees like apple and mango trees but some farmers said that the commonly grown fruits like avocado, geishta and zeytun were not introduced by the agricultural extension services but people buy seeds from the market. Different people gave different numbers of households doing this and proportions of vegetables sold on the market vs. consumed at home varied. One respondent talked about 150 households or more than 10%.

The DAs also promote (and give for free) tree seedlings of trees that are suitable to shade and protect the coffee trees and grow fast. Farmers are also happy with this advice. Trees are also planted to prevent soil erosion (on private land as there is no communal land).

Many members of the community talked about enset and coffee disease and the group of knowledgeable farmers said that in recent years coffee production had been harmed by the disease as some trees dry up and others do not produce so that they have to continuously replace trees. There are people suggesting that the diseases were introduced to the area when seedlings were imported from elsewhere. Indeed the coffee 'cholera' became more widespread in 2013, but it does not attack trees from local seedlings.

Story of most important cash crop

Coffee production

Coffee is most important for the community. Respondents reported that farmers plant coffee seedlings in all parts of their land mixed with other crops. Since coffee has become the most important cash crop both for local and national and international markets, farmers have been expanding the land planted with it. These days, coffee and enset make Adado a place remarkable for its agro-forestry: every plot of land is occupied with these crops as seedlings are readily available for every household in the community.

Coffee production has increased in the community. Even very poor households, with just a small garden plot, try to produce some coffee. Households' annual income from selling coffee varies from 80 birr for this woman to 10,000 birr for the successful businessman. The middle-wealth farmer sold for 1,000 birr of coffee in the last season because he only has half a hectare.

People highlight both improvements and problems with production. On one hand they explain that production and productivity have improved thanks to all the efforts mentioned above (local seedlings, compost, tree protection, careful selection and handling during harvest). On the other hand they point that coffee has been prone to disease and reduced output in the past few years and they get less coffee than they used to. They insisted on the importance of preserving the unique quality of the coffee as this is what makes its good price on the national and international market.

Inputs for coffee

Coffee trees should be replaced quite regularly to keep quality coffee. It takes three years for a coffee tree to produce and while a tree can last ten years or more, farmers are advised to replace them before ten years and anyway it also loses in productivity. Since the awareness creation by the agricultural extension service about how to prepare coffee seedlings in their private nursery sites, the households have no problem with frequent replacement. They use coffee seeds from their own coffee output in a better season, to produce the seedlings. Besides, the local coffee seedlings are more suitable. Some coffee growers have started to sell seedlings as well, locally or outside of the kebele. They transport them on their back or the back of a mule or donkey to the market. Seedlings in bunch of ten or so are wrapped in enset leaves for the transport. Those doing this are among the richer and business-oriented farmers. In November 2013 one well-informed respondent said that about 100 farmers grew seedlings and 30 were selling them.

A few farmers have also been given new seeds by the wereda agriculture office (since 2012 GC) but they have not yet started to produce. The DA livestock explained that the variety has been tested in laboratory and is expected to have high yields in addition to being resistant to diseases, but it has not yet matured to the point of producing.

As already explained people also do not use inorganic fertiliser to grow coffee, but compost which costs nothing but labour. DAs also advise to leave more space between coffee trees and possibly to intercrop with enset, cassava or sweet potatoes or even maize (but not using fertiliser), but this does not seem to be uniformly accepted.

According to some people the change in coffee production and productivity thanks to these new ways of doing (regular replacement with local seedlings, use of compost) is incredible. But there are also diseases that result in the trees to dry or be unproductive and the community cannot use

pesticides which like inorganic fertiliser would affect the taste of the coffee. Also, there is no credit specifically targeted to support coffee growing. Individuals wanting to borrow have to look for credit from private lenders or relatives. Land scarcity is the most acutely felt constraint on further increasing coffee production.

As explained above, the labour required for coffee production (planting, hoeing, weeding, spreading compost, protecting the seedlings and trees, tending the seedlings) and harvesting the berries is found locally. Most households use family labour – and everyone except small children get involved which leads to absenteeism at school during the coffee harvest season. A few richer households with larger land plots hire daily labourers. The more careful handling of the harvested coffee and generally more intensive work required to maintain the coffee quality means that demand for daily labour is said to have increased.

At peak time of the coffee harvest many daily labourers come from nearby kebeles; some of them come from as far as 3 hours' walk. They are paid 10-15 birr/day depending on their age. Males and females come for the harvest. Some men also come for the land preparation period. People from Adado have no problem with this. If labour is not sufficient the coffee berries fall on the soil and the coffee quality may decline; or the berries can be stolen. Moreover, the labourers buy food from local people (tea, biscuits, sambusas, bread, injera, mango, avocados and bananas) who sell at high prices. The only problem is when women picking the coffee have butter on their hair, which is said to prevent the trees from producing the year after. Also sometimes labourers do not take care and trees get broken.

The crop DA supports farmers in preparing coffee seedling nursery sites. Households are also trained by the DA on how to make compost, how to harvest coffee (right degree of maturity, avoiding any contact with anything oily), how to send it to local or central markets without damaging the required quality, and how to store it in a place where there is good ventilation. The wereda agriculture office regularly supports the DA to arrange training or awareness creation workshops in the community.

Sale of coffee

In Adado households generally sell almost all of their coffee output on the market. People mostly use husks to drink themselves, and sell the main output to the Adado Farmers' Union coffee processing site or in Dilla ECX office. The coffee produced in Adado is highly exportable. It is renowned on international markets for its superior taste. It is exported to the countries having trade partnership with Ethiopia. The improved roads are helping as this means that the coffee Union can bring the processed coffee to Dilla by car, which was not possible in the past.

The 'big coffee trade' is done by men. Coffee can be sold fresh and dried. When it is sold dry it needs more berries to make a kg, but the advantage is that the price can be negotiated whereas for the fresh coffee this is not the case because it cannot be stored. So coffee is sold dried either by rich growers or traders who can afford storing and want to speculate on increases in prices, or in small quantities throughout the year as a means of getting small amounts of cash when needed. Different respondents gave different responses for the proportion of coffee sold fresh or dried. One model farmer said around 45% was sold fresh.

Dried coffee is sold locally and mainly in Dilla. Fresh coffee is sold to the local Union, which has an office and a washing plant in Adado and regular links with Dilla ECX office. (See more information on the Union in the box below). The fresh coffee once processed is sent to Dilla and from there to the national/ international market as Yirgacheffe certified coffee. Mule and horse are used to transport the coffee locally. The coffee is taken by car to Dilla. The Union sells the locally washed fresh coffee in Dilla or even in Addis Ababa, hiring trucks to transport it. Note that as further explained in the box below, it is not entirely clear whether farmers can or cannot sell fresh coffee to anyone else than the Union – except when this is arranged by the wereda.

Farmers sell directly to the Union or to middle traders who sell to the Union in the kebele. Those

who pass through middle traders do this because they have to reimburse loans that they have taken from these people. These are not large loans, rather loans for smoothing consumption or if they have an unexpected expense (e.g. around 1,000 birr or so). It does not work like a formal credit system with principal and interest. Rather, the lender comes and assesses the coffee harvest of the borrower and they agree on a number of trees which the harvest will be for the lender. So, the profit for the lender depends on how well he has estimated the harvest. Most farmers sell directly to the Union. There are approximately 20 middle traders.

The local selling/buying price is derived from the information given by ECX office in Dilla, where there is a notice board displaying prices for both fresh and dry coffee. That price is fixed in reference to the local and international market. The local Union is in daily contact with the Dilla ECX office. But coffee growers would like the ECX information to be directly accessible in Adado.

The Union has elected officials who themselves are coffee growers. Most farmers are members of the Union and get a dividend when the Union makes profit. This is not big (like 100 or 120 birr/year for one share, recently) and not every year. The dividend is proportional to the number of shares of each farmer, itself proportional to their coffee contribution.

Farmers are generally happy with the Union system, which is new. It has been institutionalised after the 2010 election. It makes it much easier for them and they avoid the costs and risks of transporting fresh coffee. It protects them somewhat from even more extreme price fluctuations. And there is the small dividend. But they are less happy with the current management team. They are accused of not negotiating the price well. Coffee growers are very much aware that the past two years have been much less good (see prices below), but they complain about the non-transparent management of the Union, and that they do not get enough explanation. E.g. the Union regularly has to borrow to be able to pay the coffee growers and this is then repaid to the Commercial Bank with interests, but they are not told the details.

The coffee price fluctuates a lot. The Union gets the info from Dilla about how much they are likely to be able to sell the coffee. They estimate on that basis the price that they can give to farmers, including covering the costs of the Union (washing, transport, administration, new de-husking machine). Five years ago fresh coffee was worth 70 birr/kg to the coffee grower. It then went up to 100 birr/kg but today is down to 35 birr/kg. So, as farmers explained the international market price is directly affecting the local price. There has been growing demand for their 'niche coffee' and the price increased for a number of years, and the community responded to this by expanding coffee production. But the last year (2012/13) was much less good – and in addition several of them reported that they had a less good output for the reason mentioned above, of disease harming the coffee trees. In November 2013 coffee growers in Adado did not yet know at what price the fresh coffee might be this year.

Box 3: The coffee Union of Adado (interview of its manager, November 2013)

The name of the organisation is the *Adado area farmers' service cooperative* but it is usually named as 'the Union'. In the Gedeo zone there is Union with 26 members like the cooperative of Adado. The Gedeo Yirgacheffe Union was changed into the Gedeo Yirgacheffe PLC in 2005 EC. In future Adado's 'Union' will also become a PLC. It was established in 1969 EC. Today there are a few coffee growers who are not members but the majority (in Adado) are members and shareholders. Initially people were paying 6 birr for registering and 6 birr for a share. In November 2013 the registration fee is 50 birr and one share is 100 birr; one household can buy a maximum of 5 shares. The Union is supposed to serve 9 kebeles including Adado and 8 others in the wereda.

The Union does not have a record of its capital, assets etc. but since 1969 EC it has improved a lot. It has fixed assets which include a coffee processing machine, one motor bike, the union office and the coffee washing site. The Union also has a shop selling goods to local farmers. However, two recent audit reports showed that the Union made a loss of 2,000,000 birr. The reports note that there was inappropriate spending and do not hold anyone to account. However, according to the current

manager the truth is that the previous leaders abused their position and embezzled the money. The community has refused to accept the two successive audit reports.

Since it was established the Union gave dividends to shareholders in 2003 EC (120 birr for a share) but the amount given was not correct and was partly taken from the capital of the Union. The amount of the dividend was 120 birr. In 2004 EC and 2005 EC there was no dividend payment as the Union was in loss. But members who sold their coffee to the Union got a 'second payment' of 0.50 cents per kg of coffee.

There are farmers who sell fresh coffee outside of the union to privately-owned processing plants, including one near to Adado. Last year quite a few coffee growers sold their coffee there – because the Union was not ready to buy their coffee when they started harvesting. As a result there was a 'financing gap' and the Union asked people to sell their coffee on credit that is, that the Union would pay them when it would have sold the coffee.

It is difficult to know the proportion of those selling to the coffee Union vs. to private investors. Last year (2012/3) the Union bought 2 cars of washed coffee and 1 car of 'sundry' coffee from growers in Adado and around. The individual coffee processor owner bought about 8 cars of coffee. This year the Union have prepared well in time and they should be able to buy a lot more.

The executive of the Union includes a chair person, vice chair and 5 other executives. They are elected from the 9 kebeles that are members of the Union. There is no issue with the current management. But there are issues arising from the fact that the coffee processing machine is in Adado. However, the Union does not have the capacity to solve this problem. Maybe in the long term future if its financial status grows a lot they could add 2 or 3 processing machines elsewhere. But for instance, last year out of the total 164,259 kg of fresh coffee sold to the Union, 126,404 kg (just about 75%) was from Adado. For people from other kebeles, the distance and poor access are big disincentives and they sell their coffee to other private investors and other unions.

According to the management there is no problem of transparency in price fixing – contrarily to what some farmers say. The price is fixed from lowland areas that collect and sell coffee earlier than in Adado. The wereda also give information on the price. People complain because the price is not commensurate with the continuously increasing living costs. They say that the price of coffee must increase to solve the issue of inflation. But the Union cannot increase the price of coffee based on what the community want because it would be out of competition in the market. There is no role for ECX in fixing the coffee price. Their role is to control the quality. To avoid any issue the Union has workers who control the quality of coffee at the coffee union site.

Neither members nor the leadership have access to Union's account. The Union's financial accounts are controlled by the Yirgacheffe Union (now PLC). At this time the service cooperative does not know its financial status or how much money is in their account.

There is employment opportunity for 8 permanent workers and other daily labourers. The permanent workers are an industrial worker and his assistant (both controlling the quality of coffee); a motorist operating the machine and a vice motorist; a store keeper; a finance worker and 2 guards. These employees get their salary from the Union. The manager is paid by the Yirgacheffe Union at the zonal level. There are also up labour opportunities for up to 120 daily labourers in the coffee harvest season, who work day and night in shift. They are 20 birr/day for the day shift, and 22 birr/day for the night shift. The workers come from all the 9 kebeles that formed the union.

The Union has land and pays tax. Its land includes the land on which there is a nursery managed by the wereda agricultural office. The nursery started operating more than 10 years ago. It produces coffee seedlings from seeds given by the wereda agriculture office. The DAs advise the three local workers, all from Adado (and including both the middle-wealth farmer and his wife interviewed in the research). They and kebele leaders also use the nursery to show to coffee growers how to prepare seedlings. The three workers were selected because their residence is near to the site. They are all paid on a monthly basis and directly from the wereda (having to go to Bule wereda agriculture office).

The price of dried coffee similarly fluctuates widely. Some years it reached 120 birr/kg. In 2000 EC it was only between 15 and 35 birr/kg, sold in Dilla. Husk is sold too and people do a local drink with it.

Its current price is 5-7 birr /kg.

ECX also has a warehouse system for quality control. There is not much information about this – except that everyone seems to be much aware of the importance of carefully maintaining the quality of coffee for it to be marketable as Yirgacheffe coffee.

In November 2013 further developments related to coffee growing in Adado included that the Agricultural Growth Programme had given training to seven members of the Union, in Dilla, on quality marketing, records keeping and organisational management. The AGP also gave training how to collect quality coffee from seedling stage up to harvesting stage. The plan is that 420 farmers should be trained on how to preserve coffee quality. Secondly, six model farmers from Adado, visited by the wereda and selected on the basis of their hard work, interest, large land plot and the fact that they volunteered, were taken for special training and will be benefiting from a new arrangement allowing them to sell their coffee directly to foreigners at a better price. Thirdly and at the same time as this measure for selected farmers, there was a recent kebele meeting at which it was decided to ban the selling of fresh coffee to anyone else than the Adado coffee Union.

In November 2013 people in Adado were quite divided on whether the Union is successful or not. They heard that the Yirgacheffe Union was successful compared to others that were bankrupt but were unhappy with the unaccounted for loss of 2 million birr. Generally people said that it gives a better price for the coffee it buys but it seems to be regularly short of cash and asking coffee growers to sell on credit, which they do not like. One respondent said that last year the Union bought coffee at a lower price than one of the private investors (7.4 birr/kg against 7.6 by the private investor). One woman said that coffee growers in Adado sell the quality coffee to the Union and poorer quality coffee to private sector people. There is competition on price.

There is a sense that the Union is useful but could do better. Officials say that to help it do better the local people should invest in it more, in three ways: (i) they should contribute money to raise its purchase capacity; (ii) they should sell their coffee on a credit basis and (iii) the number of members should increase. They also note the need to link the Union to foreign coffee companies directly so that it gets a fairer deal.

Story of second main cash crop

There is no crop other than coffee which is sold on a sufficient large-scale to qualify as cash crop. There may be a trend toward increased marketing of kocho as many households do not have enough enset or are too busy with other activities. This provides daily labour opportunities for some women, processing enset for other households like the poor female household head. Some women engage in kocho production on a larger scale – with enset that they buy from others. In at least one instance the woman running this as a business employs other women to help processing. She sells at her home and on the local market. (See more information in the SME section).

There are about 40 people who are producing and getting an income from chat. There are more people involved in chat production than five years ago because chat is highly demanded and it is sold at a higher price. But this is not supported by the agricultural extension services and for most people in the community it seems a not very desirable trend as chat chewing is forbidden by the protestant churches. There is not much more information on this crop.

Irrigation

In spite of the fact that two rivers and many springs are available there is no practice of irrigation in the community. A few households living near the rivers water their garden, fetching water manually. The male Research Officer is of the view that there is a big irrigation opportunity in the community and it would help diversification by increasing the production of vegetables and fruits. But farmers are not knowledgeable and they do not have the pumping technology that would be required to pump water up from the river to their farm land.

Other farming technologies

Farming technologies are traditional in Adado. Notably, there is no ox-plough as deep land tilling would be problematic. There is also no tractor for the same reason and also the topography would make it impossible to use. Farming is manual and farming tools are mostly prepared by local blacksmiths. Sometimes farmers buy tools from the agricultural office in the wereda.

Livestock

Livestock mix

There are 1,500 cattle in the community, of which 700 improved breeds from the Guji area, mainly through cross-breeding at the initiative of private farmers. This is for local, small scale and seasonal fattening: animals are sold during the coffee season as people have money and consume meat. Large-scale livestock production is difficult due to lack of grazing/grass land. But there are few diseases and so, according to the livestock trader interviewed it would easily be profitable with a small number of high quality animals. Skins and hides are sold also during the coffee season, as this is when people consume much meat.

Numbers vary for the other livestock. One person mentioned 700 traditional breed sheep and around 1,000 traditional breed chickens. A group of knowledgeable farmer said that there are 3,000 sheep and 50 goats, and around 300 chickens. Milk, eggs and butter are produced mainly for home consumption. Generally the income from livestock is not significant for the majority of households. Dung is used to make compost. Some farmers have started producing honey (1 litre costs 30 birr on the local market or Bule or Dilla). The group of farmers mentioned 120 beehives.

Cattle and products

Cattle production and fattening

The group of farmers indicated that cattle population is declining in the community, because the land is fully allotted to crops and there is no free grazing area. However, households involve in short-term fattening activities. Better quality cattle are mostly brought from other places (Guji and Borena). In this community, there is no ploughing of farm land and so, oxen are bought for fattening purpose only. Cattle rearing demands much effort as there is no grazing land. Otherwise, the weather is very favourable to rear cattle, sheep as well as bees. But they explained that in order to better rear cattle the community should be taught how to prepare 'artificial nutrition'. Both the new breeds and traditional cattle can cope up well with the local weather condition and are therefore suitable in the area. They have a practice to rear both types of breed – as indeed was reported by the successful businessman and farmer. In contrast, poor households do not have any cattle.

Cattle inputs

Mostly cattle consume enset leaves and trunk, sugar cane, and sometimes fodder prepared through mixing crop by-products. Fodder is not sufficient due to lack of free land to grow natural grass. Sometimes farmers use fattening medicine from the wereda agricultural office. Recently the office has introduced new fodder (grass) for cattle. As it does not take a lot of space some people are trying to use it.

Breed cattle are quite common. People buy them from other places and also get it by natural insemination from a local bred bull. There is a veterinary officer providing clinical services but the area is not as such vulnerable to animal diseases and people rather go to Bule.

There is no special credit arrangement for cattle rearing.

The group of farmers thought that inputs for cattle production are not sufficient in terms of quality breed, medicine and improved fodder supply, and community members are also less inclined to rear cattle as they are discouraged by land shortage. They believed that cattle production could be

improved for those having better land size. Otherwise, the community should involve mainly in short-term fattening business with man-made animal nutrition. They think that the community should invest in fattening activities rather than rearing given the constraint on land.

As cattle rearing is not on a large scale it does not demand much labour. Often both husband and wife take part in livestock-related work. Sometimes, children support the family in fetching water for cattle drinking.

Cattle sale

The main market for non-fattened cattle is in Bule. Buyers are people from this and neighbouring kebeles who buy for fattening purpose, or for farming activities in other places. Fattened cattle are also sold in Bule wereda, in Sokecha kebele and even in Dilla. Traders buy the fattened cattle to sell meat on local markets or in Dilla and even they send meat to Addis Ababa. The group of knowledgeable farmers did not know whether the meat is also for the export market.

They highlighted that the livestock price fluctuates regularly. It is very high for fattened cattle in the coffee season because meat consumption increases as almost all families consume meat once a week. In other seasons, both non-fattened and fattened cattle have lower price on local markets. They have no information about cattle price on other market places. They said that generally there have been tremendous changes in the price for cattle, which has continuously increased. They think that cattle fattening could be profitable but there needs to be sufficient initial capital and to their surprise these days, even one small ox will not be bought with less than 10,000 birr.

Cattle products

Butter and milk is produced on a very small scale. There are few dairy cows in the community. There is support from the agriculture office when households want to inseminate their cow with improved breeds. A few households use better quality cows.

One issue about dairy production is the place and fodder needed to rear the cows. In the community, households use their homes to keep dairy cows in a separate room or in the common room. To process the milk into cheese women use a traditional instrument called "keshe". Milk and butter processing is the work of wives and senior girls and sometimes children and this is done with traditional processing instruments. There is no advice or information provided regarding milk, butter and cheese production.

The wives sell butter and milk to buy other household consumables, mostly on local markets (Adado and Bule). Households in the community buy the milk and butter for home consumption. There is no production of milk or its by-products massive enough to sell it to enterprises. Prices of cattle products are increasing because the production does not meet the demand for it in the community.

Shoats and products

There is small scale household level shoat production in the community, more or less at the same scale as ten years ago. The goat population is 50 as the area is not suitable for goats. People rear sheep and there are about 3,000 of them. These are traditional breeds, mostly bought from Oromia and other zones. The knowledgeable farmers explained that as shoat will stay only for a short period for fattening in a household, there is no need to invest in improved breeds.

Even poorer households may have some shoat. In the richer households like the successful businessman family, shoat may be owned by the wife, or the children who sell them to buy exercise books, clothes and shoes.

There is no serious problem in rearing shoat except shortage of grassland. Households use residuals from their own consumption to feed shoat. Like for cattle, shoat may be kept in separate houses or not; and all household members participate to manage them. When people want to have them vaccinated they go to the wereda veterinary office since there is no vet posted in the kebele. There

is fattening medicine in the vet office in the wereda and sometimes households use it. There no as such severe shoat disease in the community. There are no credit services.

The group of farmers thought that shoat production is not sufficiently supported by the government: as the production is very minimal vet advisory or other medical services are weak. However, these days the AGP is trying to introduce better shoat and livestock production in the community.

There is selling of both fattened and non-fattened shoat on the local market in Adado. Individuals buy non-fattened shoat to fatten them in a short time span. Most of the times, households sell fattened shoat on the Bule wereda market and sometimes in Dilla. Neighbouring kebeles have also better market places. The shoat production is very small-scale and not sufficient for exporting or sending to huge market places on a regular basis.

Selling prices vary seasonally following households' income and are higher when households earn a better income, during the coffee harvesting season in particular; their consumption of shoat meat also increases at that time. In Belg or kremt seasons when there is no active local market for shoat, households keep shoat to fatten and sell them when there are religious festivals like Easter, when most of the households consume some meat.

Milking goats and sheep is not usual. They are produced for meat, hides and skins for household consumption and sale on other market places. There are traders selling hides and skins from other households and send them to central markets through middle and larger sellers. There is no wool production.

Chickens and eggs

Chicken production is common but not massive in the community. An individual household does not have more than 10-15 of them, most often these are traditional chicken. The community produce chickens for their own consumption when there is a festival, and sell it when they face financial problems; otherwise, it is not much promoted as a means of business. They sell them on Bule market place or anywhere in nearby market places. Households produce in the same way, mainly for home consumption and selling on the market to earn some income to buy other consumable goods. The sale of eggs is mostly limited to Adado market. The price for one egg is 2 birr, which is very expensive. Sometimes, women or youth involved in trading eggs collect it from the community and sell it on Bule wereda market.

Like for shoat, chickens can be owned by the family's wife and children in richer households.

Traditionally chickens have their place on the house's floor and require little labour. Some people said that there is no new breed in the community and that people do not use them because they believe that the breeds cannot cope up with the area. They explained that there was some information by the DA about new breeds of chicken but it has not been implemented so far. Others mentioned that the DA informed the community about taking part in improved chicken distribution by the wereda agriculture office, and a few interested households did this. But most of the time households do not like the improved breeds because they cannot cope up with the area. Thus, the few using them appreciate the size of the eggs but also complain about their weak resistance to disease. The male Research Officer is of the view that the area seems suitable for poultry production, but no one is planning to do this.

Bees and honey

Bee keeping has expanded a little compared to ten years ago. There is no problem or risk in bee keeping but the community is not very well aware of it. The required inputs (a hive, bees, and favourable flowers and water points) are available. The wereda agriculture office has promoted new hives and people use bees coming from neighbouring areas. There are traditional beehives too. Besides, the local carpenters are producing local hives equivalent to the ones provided by the agriculture office, and they are cheaper (30-50 birr). Bees are captured when they move from one

place to the other in searching for favourable places. If there is a hive visible in a tall tree and if the access to flowers and water is better, the bees start to produce honey. This is a traditional means of catching bees and people in Adado do not buy bees. Bees have access to the river water and flowers from the coffee and other trees.

Production does not require much labour force except household effort. DA provides advice on how to use improved beehives and select appropriate places for the improved beehives. There is no new equipment used to collect honey from the hives. People extract the honey in traditional ways, using a piece of cloth to protect their hands and face from the bees.

The group of knowledgeable farmer knew that a few community members are gaining good income from honey, which is sold nearly 30 birr/litre. The honey is sold on the local markets and also, but rarely, in other market places in the wereda. Most of the time community members use it for traditional medication and even the local demand for it is not met.

Bee production is suitable in the community, but there is no sufficient intervention. It is not sufficiently promoted and households do not use the potential of bee production in the area.

The middle-wealth farmer who had a traditional beehive five years ago now has an improved one. The successful farmer has no beekeeping practice but he is interested in starting as he was informed by another farmer about it, and that it generates a good income as people use it for medication and for local drink preparation.

Income from farming

Interviews of household heads and wives give a clue about income from farming in Adado. It ranges from 80 birr from selling 6 kg coffee at the Union for the poor woman head of household who is otherwise involved in daily labour, to 13,000 birr selling coffee (10,000) and maize (3,000) for the successful businessman. His wife actually says that they earned 20,000 birr from coffee, kocho, avocado, gishta and banana, not mentioning the maize.

Other income levels reported are as follows:

- The poor farmer got 300 birr from selling coffee to the Union but he had a lower output than some other years; his wife said it was 400 birr and she also sold for 40 birr cabbage, 40 birr barley and 40 birr beans – at a better price than in 2008 GC.
- The woman heading a richer household sold coffee for 400 birr but she too faced decreased production.
- The middle-wealth farmer sold coffee for 1,000 birr and explained that this small amount was due to insufficient landholding as he only had ½ ha; his wife said it was 1,200 birr.
- The successful farmer sold coffee for 6,000 birr and had an income of 1,200 birr from selling eucalyptus trees and 800 birr from selling enset seedlings; his wife explained that they did not sell most of their products as they want to store and sell to build a new house; she explained that their production of coffee has decreased a lot, from 20 quintals to 5 quintals for the same size of land.

Government smallholder farming interventions

The role of the wereda agricultural office

The wereda agriculture office is basically supporting the local DAs in their various awareness-raising and training activities, like for instance the introduction of local production of coffee seedlings in 2000 EC which is widely seen as a very successful and important measure by the local farmers. The DAs also get the fertiliser and improved seeds that they promote (maize, some vegetables) from the wereda agricultural office.

The office is presumably the source of the pressure on DAs to enforce farmers to take improved maize seeds. As explained earlier this is problematic for a number of reasons. First, only farmers with

large enough landholdings can really use this to good effect as inorganic fertiliser, which is needed for the improved seeds to grow well, cannot be used on land planted with coffee and most farmers with small holdings mix crops with coffee. Moreover, a number of community respondents explained that the seeds, coming from Hawassa, failed several times in the past few years. Others seem to think that this was because there was not enough rain and the fertiliser burned the seeds but in any instance this meant that farmers who bought inputs at high prices got no return. In 2013 this was a very serious problem, and DAs themselves recognised that seeds largely failed the germination test that they carried out, but as it came late there was no time to return them back. They told the farmers that they had reported the problem to the wereda agriculture office and that it should improve in future, but farmers' experience is that thus far the office did not bring any solution and they continue to be 'enforced' to take bad seeds.

The lead farmer was not impressed with the office. They have management problems and in addition, they plan from the top things that do not take the local environment into consideration and cannot practically be implemented within a year. He believes that plans should be made locally.

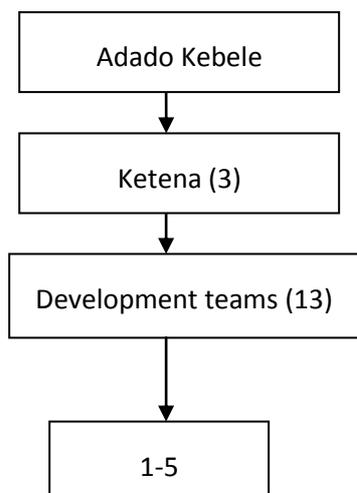
The male Research Officer is of the view that Adado is not a high priority for the wereda agriculture office as they use little inputs.

Local agricultural research institutes

Nobody mentioned a local or locally important agricultural research institute.

Agricultural extension

The diagram below shows how agricultural extension is organised in the kebele these days.



Unlike in the past, the organisation is based on the new sub-kebele structures gradually put in place since 2002 EC: the *ketena* or sub-kebele, the development teams having 20-40 members and the 1-5s under the development teams. The *ketena*, development teams and 1-5s were established in 2002, 2003 and 2004 EC respectively. In the absence of this structure the DAs used to go house to house to teach the community. The teachings at that time were not effective to bring changes while there is now visible improvement as teachings started to be given in a more organised way through the structures. The DAs also use the political cells to deliver their message on the agricultural extension programme. In general in their view and that of kebele officials the structure is very much more efficient than the previous working way. This is further discussed below.

Kebele officials noted that the development agents play a big role in agriculture. They are the only ones working to implement the agricultural extension activities. As noted earlier, farmers indeed seemed to appreciate at least part of the services, especially in relation to coffee production. They

were less convinced with regard to the DAs' role and importance for other agricultural endeavours and their role in promoting (or enforcing) the use of improved maize seeds which do not work well for most farmers was seen as problematic.

At the time of the fieldwork there were two DAs in Adado; the third one was on training. One of the DAs is Cabinet member and also closely works with the kebele manager on party activities. In addition to working with development teams and 1-5s for passing information the DAs also demonstrates practical things using land from volunteer or model farmers to show other farmers as they accept more easily when they see it on land of others.

Agricultural extension – Focus

Farmers appreciate the advice on coffee. There has been an increase in household production of vegetables due to training by the DAs. But farmers dislike the fact that they are forced to take improved maize seeds which have failed for several years – and in 2013 this would bankrupt many farmers. Even the DA knows that farmers make a loss but he has no choice as he is expected by the wereda to ensure that farmers take the improved seeds. Actually local seeds work better, because of the issue of fertiliser and the dubious quality of the improved seeds provided through the wereda. As explained earlier this issue really came to a head with the 2013 maize season. Also for those with enough land and using fertiliser, they complain about high price and there is no credit.

Thus the DAs face problems on both sides. With the people: there is the issue of the maize seeds, and in addition the DAs believe that there is potential to grow different sorts of vegetables but people are reluctant. With the wereda they face the management problem mentioned above, which they also alluded to.

Kebele officials noted that DAs work with both women and men. However the DAs explained that most of the time they work with men in a family but they also give advice to female-headed households. When they meet face to face they advise to use all family labour to both household types. Sometimes messages go to women through their husbands. In most cases husbands are invited to meetings.

Households' experience is mixed. The poor woman head of household does not seem to have had any interaction with the DAs – she is landless but tries to grow some coffee and cabbage for her family. The more successful female head of household used fertiliser for maize and was happy with this and she got advice from the DAs on preparing seedlings to be able to regularly replace her coffee trees and she is happy with this too. The middle wealth farmer appreciated the DAs' support in improving coffee production (quantity and quality). He also highlighted a rather positive role in relation to other crops but that this is not strong enough, as follows:

DAs promoted tree planting to improve coffee productivity in shedding it from heavy rainfall and extreme heat, and suitable as they provide leaf residues. Community members are made aware of the importance of tree planting for watershed management and of the income-generating opportunities. But land scarcity prevents from expanding tree planting. DAs are advising farmers on the seasonality of cultivating and harvesting certain crops, informing them about the right season to plant various types of grains. Farmers produce more following this advice as they can grow various types of crops in mixed farming, knowing which are suitable with each other and fit the season. There is an orientation by DA to grow fruits other than avocado such as apple, mango and the likes. But agricultural extension service is not strong enough in the kebele. It is limited to crops and not sufficient with regard to livestock. It is also not material. There is advice from the DAs, but they have no other resources. Credit is not available. Since livestock production is very weak in the kebele, the vet service is also weak.

The poor farmer basically concurred with the usefulness of the DAs but he noted that they and the wereda agriculture office pay less attention to poor people with little land, which is not proper. Services should be available to all. The successful businessman concurred with the middle-wealth

farmer and was happy with the advice and inputs he had used, including seeds of sweet potatoes, cabbages, salatas and other vegetables, seedlings of trees suitable to the area and to coffee growing, and their advice on mixed crop farming and on coffee production. The successful farmer agreed with the importance and usefulness of the DAs' advice and inputs except when it comes to maize production. Moreover as explained earlier, he said that inputs are not fairly distributed and there was a bias towards party members.

The wife of the middle-wealth farmer had access to various extension inputs (credit for livestock, fertiliser and improved maize seeds) on her own i.e. separately from her husband. This was the case for the wife of the successful businessman as well (advice from DAs on tree planting for an income, on vegetable growing, and on improved chicken breeds that lay eggs daily, and use of fertiliser and improved maize seeds) though it is not clear how much of this is separate from DAs advice to her husband. The wife from the poor farmer did not have separate interaction with the DAs. The wife of the successful farmer mentions the beneficial advice from DAs in relation to tree planting and he gave seedlings but this may also have been advice to the household head.

The lead farmer (who is a model farmer with 3.5 ha land) explained that

He got follow-up advice for his coffee production and advice in seed and fertiliser use, as well as for livestock health control. He planned to take improved chickens but he could not do so because of shortage. He asked the DA why some of his coffee became less productive and was advised to replace them with new seedlings and to treat the land with compost. It is good to use agricultural extension service in material form or in advice because they tell us the right ways of doing farming activities, which was very traditional in the past.

See also more information below on 'recent crop interventions' and 'recent livestock interventions'.

Agricultural extension – Approach

The DAs explained that they use various ways to give advice and demonstration to the farmers. They work with the kebele administration when there is a message to pass to the community. The kebele leaders first call leaders of 1-5s and inform them about the new things. Also, farmers are made to share experience among themselves. When the DAs teach about the importance of growing vegetables they make the community to visit the garden of those who have grown vegetables in a good way. Or they use land from farmers who perform well and are willing, to demonstrate for instance how to sow barley and beans in a row, and they make other farmers to see how to do. Or a person with good experience comes to meetings and he explains his experience to the farmers attending the meeting. Wereda officials also come from all sectors and communicate with community members about what the DAs are doing. The wereda supervisors also come and advise the community to follow the DAs' advice to increase their production.

According to the DAs the best method to implement the agricultural extension programme is experience-sharing because farmers tend to apply on their own when they see things practically done by other people in the community. In order of importance the methods to reach out to farmers are first experience-sharing, second demonstration on farmers' land, third using development teams and 1-5 teams, fourth working with model farmers, fifth training, sixth general meetings and lastly information by wereda officials.

The DAs further explained that the ways to deliver the livestock extension programme and vet services to the community is similar to farming extension services. Development teams and 1-5 teams are used to teach people about the benefit of rearing livestock and others. Sometimes trainings are given to people on rearing livestock and related things. Working with model and successful farmers is also used for livestock because those farmers are generally good in accepting new ideas whether on crops or livestock. Experience-sharing like in farming is used because farmers understand easily when they see other farmers getting benefits. Those successful in livestock rearing share their experience. The DAs also use demonstration on farmers' livestock holdings about the

way in which they rear and feed animals. General meetings are used to communicate with the community on animal rearing and vaccination. Sometimes wereda officials visit Adado and give lesson to the community in overall agricultural including livestock.

The best method to make people easily understand and implement teachings on livestock and vet programme is experience-sharing. The idea is the same as for farming, because farmers do not accept without making sure that it has benefits. The ranking of methods to reach out to farmers in relation to livestock is the same as for crops.

The farmers, however, paint a quite different picture of how they get access to extension services and inputs and apply some of the advice. In particular, and as further explained in section 6.1.3.5 and 6.5.4 below, the role of the DTs and 1-5s generally in relation to economic/farming activities and labour sharing is far from clear.

The Farmers' Training Centre

There is no FTC in Adado.

Mobilisation of local farmers

As shown in the diagram above, the farmers are being mobilised through the new sub-kebele structures that came into being in the last three to four years. In addition there are model farmers.

Model farmers

Before 2010 GC the model farmers were used to teach the community. With the new organisation of the extension services there are also new model farmers selected annually through the new sub-kebele structures. The development teams are used to create models farmers and followers who are those individuals who do what they learn from the model farmers. The model farmers are then used to teach the rest of team members. There is nothing called champion farmer.

Among the households interviewed, the successful female head of household is a model farmer – as noted above she used fertiliser and improved maize seeds. The middle wealth farmer – who is guard at the Union's office and also working at the nursery as well as his wife – is not a model farmer. The poor farmer, an ex-soldier demobilised in 1991 and leading party member but with only 1/8th ha, is not a model farmer. The successful businessman, who owns 4,000 coffee trees and 7,000 enset trees and occupied various official positions at kebele and wereda level and as regional MP in the 1984-1988 EC period, is not a model farmer. His wife said that she is a model farmer – herself, not her husband. The successful farmer who served the kebele under the Derg and is one of the highest suppliers of coffee in the community but is a supporter of the opposition is not a model farmer. His wife too said that she is a model farmer.

One farmer interviewed as lead farmer is a model farmer. He explained that successful and model farmers usually are good in accepting new things so when there is a new technology to be given to the community the model and successful farmers are chosen to implement the new technology first and they are used as demonstration. If there is something to be given freely they are given priority. In addition, different trainings are given for selected community members at Adado, at wereda level and at zonal (Gedeo) level. Both men and women are given the chance to be trained but the model farmers are given priority. This was confirmed by kebele officials who explained that recently men and women who are active in development activities, have good motivation and good acceptance in the community were selected for training on watershed preparation work, preparing coffee and enset seedlings and compost preparation. They added that the government use models to speak at meetings and share their experience with others in order to make others to do like them in development in general as well as agriculture and also health extension.

The lead farmer highlighted that there are also some innovative farmers, doing things in their own way or observing something and then doing something in a creative way. For instance, it is known

that seedlings grow better under shade so it needs sticks standing high to put a cover of dry leaves; on the other hand haricot beans need a stand to grow better. Usually people grow coffee seedlings and haricot beans on separate plots of land but one of the innovative farmers used the same plot of land to grow coffee seedlings and haricot beans. He grew the haricot beans on their stands under which the coffee seedlings grew with the protection of the haricot beans' leaves. Other farmers are using the area around enset to grow coffee so that the coffee get shade from the enset plants and land is used efficiently. Other farmers are copying from those who have innovated.

Development Teams

Men are organised in development teams and they are supposed to use the teams to perform various activities in collaboration. They do public works like road pavement, bridge work, spring cleaning and latrine construction. They also do their personal farm activities like coffee harvesting in team. In principle, the development team members attend agricultural lessons in the team, they grow vegetable and share experience from one another. The development agents use this structure of the development team and 1-5 to reach out to individual households. The DAs also demonstrate different things like the use of beehives, how to fatten bulls and compost preparation and how to grow coffee and enset seedlings through teaching the development team leaders. The women development teams and 1-5 groups are used to implement development activities in health and agriculture. In relation to agriculture women in DTs grow vegetables with the help of the DA.

1-5s

The Research Officers interviewed a farmer who is Gr7 completer, age 45 with a household of eight members and is one of the 1-5 leaders in the community. He explained that the 1-5 members work together for the members' farming activities including land preparation, planting and harvesting. The team works for 3 hours in a day for one member, in the morning. The labour revolves to all the 1-5 members in a week. This helps the members to complete the job in a very short time instead of each farmer working on its farming activities on its own as in the past. Everyone is forced to attend this labour sharing. There is gimgema among the members if there is any absenteeism. The labour revolves around the members until the farming activities are completed for all.

The male heads of households concurred with this description. The middle wealth farmer and successful businessman even seemed quite enthusiastic. The middle wealth farmer explained that

Every household head is a member of its 1-5 group in the neighbourhood. Households in the group share labour for farm works, read newspapers and share new ideas from the government. The team members are supervised by the Development Team leader. In the past arrangements were among volunteer neighbours and there was no supervision and further idea sharing. The 1-5 is stronger and more effective in farm labour sharing, in bonding households in networks and in follow-ups. The grouping by itself enforces members to actively take part in activities. The 1-5 leader is responsible to coordinate the members. The group schedules activities in a week for farm works and others assignments given from the kebele. The advantage is that the task burdens are smaller for the members. We also cooperate for any other issues beyond farm labour.

The successful businessman added that the results and decisions of the gimgema among 1-5 members are reported to the development team leader overseeing many 1-5s.

The poor and successful farmers put some nuances to the picture. The poor farmer explained that the arrangements benefit in particular farmers with large landholdings and he benefits less as he has a very small land. The successful farmer (who is also an opposition supporter) highlighted that the time spent on 1-5 labour restrains the time available for private activities other than farming.

In marked contrast with the male household heads, the two women heads of households said that the 1-5s had not changed anything for them. In the second round of fieldwork people were asked more specific questions about the activities of the DTs and 1-5s and their response suggest that in

practice, it is not clear that these structures do much at all in relation to farm work - or if they do, it would be quite occasional. Several respondents in the November 2013 interviews explained that the DTs and 1-5s had not had any activity in relation to economic development or farming. Sub-kebele structures had mobilised people for public works but it was not clear whether these were the government/development structures or the political *hiwas*/cells. Even the question of whether DTs and 1-5s were mixed for men and women, or separate, was completely not clear.

Recent crop interventions

The most important crop interventions focus on coffee and include: the use of locally produced seedlings, compost preparation and use (which is said to give a big boost to productivity), advice on mixed farming techniques and suitable trees to protect the coffee and crops to mix with coffee and enset, and techniques of picking and handling coffee. With regard to trees DAs provide seedlings – it is not clear whether farmers have to buy them.

In contrast at 100% in terms of perceived lack of usefulness by farmers, the extension services also promote the use of improved maize seeds which do not grow well without fertiliser (which farmers cannot use for coffee) and/or are faulty. Crops that are given attention in the local extension programme are maize, beans and barley. But production is small-scale as farmers focus on enset and coffee.

In between these two extremes in terms of effectiveness and scale, DAs are said to also provide advice on how to use various techniques that boost production such as planting in line, intercropping using beans and haricot beans, using less seeds in a given area, mixing crops such as coffee, enset, haricot beans and cabbage together with maize.

The DAs are not involved in helping the farmers to sell their outputs because for coffee there is the Union in Adado. In the case of maize it is highly demanded and there is no market problem. The rest of the production is small scale and not produced for the market although it can occasionally be sold when households need cash. For the same reasons, the DA are also not involved in promoting links with larger enterprises involved in the sale or processing of livestock products.

What the farmers are successfully producing but which is not included in the agricultural extension programme is enset. There is no other crop with considerable potential and which is not included in the agricultural extension services. However, the lead farmer noted that ginger can be planted under coffee trees and can be a good source of income and yet it is not included in the extension advice given to farmers. The DA agreed that it has a good potential for the future.

Recent livestock interventions

According to the livestock DA the main focus of the livestock extension programme is advice on fattening bulls and rearing sheep. There is vaccination service and drugs for livestock. Fodder is given for people fattening animals. Insemination service is given at Adado by an expert who comes from the wereda. The DA does not give any service on shoat rearing but there is sheep spraying service. Improved breeds of chicken for meat and egg were given to selected farmers. They took them as a package from the agriculture office (there is no information as to whether it was on credit or not). There is no provision of cattle, shoat and bees. There is no service given by research centres. All the services provided are given with cash payment. The proportion of farmers who use these livestock services is quite high (more than a third) because the services are very cheap. There is no alternative that farmers have to get the above mentioned services for livestock and veterinary service.

There are no continuous vet services in the kebele. There are wereda officers coming to Adado to provide vet services on schedule but respondents explained that local farmers go to Bule. There is also a perception that vet services are not very strong but there is not much demand for them as the community's interest in livestock is low.

The DA is not involved in selling outputs. Farmers also usually produce for their own consumption so

they do not need a huge market. For the same reason he is not involved in promoting links with larger enterprises involved in the sale or processing of livestock products. Livestock extension activities which are popular in the community are the provision of fodder seeds and of chicken breeds – although this was challenged by the group of knowledgeable farmers who explained that while people are happy with the size of the eggs they complain about the improved breeds' sensitivity to diseases and most think that local breeds are better as they are more able to cope with the local environment. There is no refusal from farmers in relation to the livestock extension programme. There is no livestock which farmers are rearing successfully but which is not included in the extension programme. There also is no livestock with considerable potential.

There is contradictory information with regard to beehives. Some respondents informed one RO that there are no inputs in relation to beekeeping and modern beehives in the wereda as a whole because the cold climate is not suitable for modern beehives; in the past there used to be transitional beehives called Kenya top bar but not anymore. Other respondents told the other RO that the wereda introduced modern beehives (which may well be the Kenya ones) and now one local carpenter is making beehives like those that were introduced by the wereda. These people also explained that DAs give advice on where to put the beehives.

In April 2013 people talked about one new development, with the start of the AGP activities in Adado. The project was said to have given orientation about improving livestock production and diversification; and to plan to give credit for different non-farm activities to selected people, including youth and at least 40% of the beneficiaries should be women (including wives in male-headed households). It is said to be open to anyone interested and able to get involved in a group-based business activity and the AGP money could be for different things. For instance, the wereda women affairs' head explained that when the AGP starts to work with women it assesses their interest and it can be beekeeping, sheep rearing and cattle fattening, growing potatoes or enset seedlings. The AGP gives technical support by going to kebeles.

But as shown in other interviews in general wereda officials promote fattening quite heavily – as a way of diversifying the local economy away from exclusive reliance on coffee. The wereda administrator noted that the AGP and SLM programmes are under way to realise household level projects in groups – focusing on ox fattening, sheep, goat and hen production. And the kebele officials and local farmers in Adado see it as a project promoting ox fattening in group. Several of them were quite dismissive because the amount of the credit proposed (13,000 birr for a group of 13) is too small to buy a big ox so that according to kebele officials, *'many of the community members hate the proposal'*. The successful businessman also said that the money cannot be used for any other business so this limits people's interest; and *'as the loans are not sufficient to do any business, taking this kind of credit will not help business activity rather it would harm other regular business'*.

In November 2013 information on the AGP was very confusing. Some respondents said that it would not provide credit for livestock at all – contrarily to what people had heard and reported earlier on. There were mentions of AGP support in relation to modern beehives and honey-making, and fishery.

Credit for farming

The general perception is that there is no credit service for farming. The credit service for inputs like fertiliser and improved seeds was discontinued in 2004 EC and people have now to buy the inputs cash, which few can afford. Several coffee growers highlighted that there is no credit service focused on supporting coffee growing. Those who want to borrow have to look for credit from private lenders and relatives. There is also no special credit for livestock – be it cattle or goat.

The only credit available is from OMO microfinance institution that has a branch in Bule and provides limited credit to selected households.

The AGP is just starting and it was unclear, by end of 2013, to what extent it would help in relation to access to credit and for what.

There is very little experience of credit for farming among the households interviewed. The middle-wealth farmer's wife took a loan from OMO to buy an ox. She then sold it but at a loss because she did not get enough fodder and the ox lost weight.

Producer co-operatives

There is one large producer cooperative in Adado, which is the Farmers' coffee production Union. Its functioning has been described above (in the story of the most important cash crop). Most households in the community are members, through the heads (i.e. wives are not separately members). The woman head of the more successful household is a member as well.

She and the middle-wealth farmer are happy with the Union. The poor farmer highlighted that there remains an issue as the price of coffee is fluctuating widely. The successful businessman pointed to the same fact and he explained that there is 'a little management gap' at the Union. But the two most important meetings he attended last year, he said, were meetings of the cooperative focusing on coffee productivity and price issues. The successful farmer believed that establishing the Union was an indispensable measure of public support to coffee producing in the area. But he also noted that the Union's managers are not strong and the price-fixing process is not transparent and the producers are not given a chance to decide on the price.

There is no other producer cooperative in the community, including no youth or women's cooperative.

Government Service Co-operatives

There is no service cooperative in Adado.

Investors

There is no outside investor in Adado. Wereda officials explained that land belong to smallholders and cannot be leased except through bilateral agreement between a farmer and an investor, that has to be approved by the wereda and reported to the zone. But there is no such case in Adado.

Farmers from the area have formed the Farmers' Union that has taken some land in Adado to establish a coffee washing plant. The Union serves several kebeles in addition to Adado. Nobody raised any issue with the land taken for this as the presence of the Union is mainly beneficial for the coffee growers and in addition it provides seasonal jobs for some community members during the coffee harvesting season (in addition to the coffee harvesting work itself).

Diversification

Although more than half the households in Adado make a living only from farming activities, generally the range of activities that people do has broadened. Involvement of people in non-farm activities has increased. Business activities such as coffee trade, livestock fattening, carpentry, blacksmith work, hand crafts (kerkaha and selen), beekeeping and running shops in Adado town, selling vegetable (cabbage, kariya), spices for coffee and fruits (avocado, geishta, papaya), petty trade (spice, salt) and selling tea have become regular income-generating activities besides regular farming. Young people provide transport services by driving motorbikes – which may belong to other people and they are hired to do so.

People involve in non-farm income-generating activities because there is no more free land to expand farming and it is very difficult to meet the households' living costs only with income from coffee, which is seasonal and in addition depends on one's size of land.

Involvement in daily labour is also increasing. Many women of all ages including young women and widows with small landholdings engage in daily labour to process enset to make kocho.

People with small landholdings and landless people have no livelihood options except working on these types of non-farm labour activities or, for men mainly, migrate to farm elsewhere (for a few)

or in Shakiso's gold mines (for most). The community is increasingly involved in non-farm business because the number of such people is increasing. There is also an increasing number of young women and of widows with small landholdings who have to finance their own or the family's expenditure. Since women cannot go to Shakiso they increasingly get involved in non-farm activities. Young men who wish to marry also have to involve in income-generating non-farm activities even when they also take part in farming or education. Also when young educated people fail to attain higher education they prefer to engage in business.

As explained earlier, in November 2013 a new scheme creating opportunities for educated young people was being rolled out in Adado. The type of activities they (plan to) engage in is so far focusing on livestock production and hospitality services.

In general, diversification of activities is more meaningful for women and girls as well as youth and children from richer and middle families when compared to the poor. In the richer and middle families, business is equally important to farming.

According to the kebele manager among the male members of the community there are about 100 people working as agricultural servants and 150 people living from agricultural daily labour; 200 have their own business, 50 do skilled works (which can be part-time), 30 are in regular employment and about 10 do non-agricultural daily labour. All these groups have increased in number since 2008. Among the women there are no agricultural servants but about ten percent are involved in agricultural daily labour and another ten percent in non-agricultural daily labour; 25% have their own business, 5% do skilled works, and 2% are in regular employment. Women usually stop doing agricultural daily labour when they have enough money to set up their own business.

Another explanation was given by a knowledgeable farmer, who said that the community's work still comes for 80% from smallholder farming. Agricultural labour on smallholdings represents no more than 0.5% which is a bit surprising; trade counts for 10%, other non-farm businesses for 3%, non-farm employment for 3% as well, commuting for work is small (0.5%) and migration counts for 4%.

Although the estimates differ, these responses suggest that diversification is a reality in Adado. It is also perceived as necessary by both community members and officials. But the people and local officials are also aware of the constraints and highlight the required investments, which have not been forthcoming thus far. E.g. there are people talking about the potential of irrigation – but it would require pumps given the topography, and better access to markets for the products. Officials mention livestock production but people note the trade off in using any land for anything else than coffee and subsistence crops, and the lack of alternative ('man-made' as one farmer said) fodder. There are also ideas around fishery – and apparently this might be supported by the Agriculture Growth Programme. One respondent indicated that 11 people in one zone had started in May 2011; two others talked about one model farmer who started, got fish, but has not yet started selling. The question of market again arises.

To expand these activities the wereda should provide farm instruments, improved seedlings and training for agriculture; meaningful credit for livestock, and training on fodder production; and medicine and food for fish and professional advice and supervision for those engaging in fishery. There should be experience-sharing visits, and the wereda should help making links with markets.

As for diversification into activities for which there is or might be a demand in Adado, the kebele chairman was of the view that this would always be limited.

It also seems a bit of a chicken and egg situation in that, at household level, it seems easier for richer households to diversify and in turn, this contributes to their continued accumulation of wealth. Very rich households have a widely diversified livelihood portfolio, as shown by the example of the leading businessman in the box below.

Box 4: Livelihood diversification at household level in Adado

He is a businessman and he is also farming. He has a very large number of coffee trees and sells coffee locally or in Dilla. But as the coffee price is fluctuating, his other activities are important. He has two big shops in Adado town. He has land in the rural areas for livestock fattening.

He has a shop and restaurant in Adado. He brings items from Dilla with a vehicle and sells on retail. He sells many consumables including wheat and other crop flour. He also bakes bread and sells it every day and he distributes bread to others selling on the market. He is also involved in livestock fattening and sells it on markets in the community and outside. He is share-cropping and sells the farm products on the market in the community.

There has been no severe problem in his business activities except for seasonality as households buy and large stop buying items from his shop and limit their consumption to their home products, mostly enset, when the coffee season is over. The livestock business is also seasonal. He buys from local sellers or from other market places and fatten for a short time before selling with some profit. He uses the profit for enhancing his shopping business.

All household members support him in his business activities. The shop is managed by his sons. The livestock is managed by his wife. In the coffee season all family members are harvesting and he also hires daily workers for a week to harvest coffee and to prepare the farmland. He also has labourers for baking the bread in his restaurant. They are permanent workers and produce more than 500 breads per day. One piece of bread is sold for 2 birr.

He is running all his activities with his own financial means. He does not want to take any credit because he does not need to; if he lacks money to run one business he replaces the income with that of other businesses which are active then. He has a good size of land for farming and sharecrops in from other households so he has no land problem.

He pays 250 birr for business license and 300 birr as income tax. There is no as such tough competition for the business activities in the community. Rather, there is good communication and cooperation with other business people in and outside the community.

Trade*Trading in the community*

Overall, Adado is a net supplier of coffee and enset products; livestock is bought mostly from Oromia; crops are in net bought from neighbouring kebeles; consumption goods come from Bule or Dilla. Coffee trade is the dominant trade activity by far – and coffee is the only item that is really considered as cash crop. Kebele officials give more details on the rest as follows:

- Enset products especially kocho are sold, in larger quantities and a lot more expensive than in the past – although it is not considered as cash crop.
- Root crops are not considered as cash crops but there is more production and selling of Canada boyena which looks like potatoes and grows well with compost.
- Grain crops are negligible in Adado's trading activities.
- Beans are produced in larger quantities and more is sold and this has become a good source of income for some farmers as the price is getting higher.
- Vegetables are produced in larger quantities and larger quantities are sold but they are not considered as cash crops; while there is no change in production and sale of fruits.
- Livestock is traded on a small-scale for meat, and more people also bring meat to the local market but this is highly seasonal.
- Milk and butter are not much sold and this has not changed.
- Eggs have always been partly sold for raising small incomes and this is increasing; eggs are becoming more expensive and traders buy them at higher prices than in the past.
- There is more chat produced and sold than five years ago as the demand and the price have increased.

People buy consumable crops from Adado local market and Bule and sometimes Wonago markets. They sell livestock in Bule or other nearby markets like Hoticha. They sell enset products in Adado, Bule and other nearby markets.

Young women and girls are involved in retailing food and other items such as four, salt, pepper, onion and ginger. They may also sell fruits and cabbages or other vegetables. Older women sell kocho – which takes time to process. Most women are self-traders or collect small quantities of products from other households and sell to consumers. Women are also involved in coffee trade but on a small scale (see below). There are shops selling consumable items – more information on this is given in the SME section below.

Trading of most important cash crop

The most important cash crop trade is coffee trade. There is *no female large-scale or middle coffee trader* in Adado. The 'big coffee trade' is done by men as said earlier. One widow whose husband died eight years ago and who has some land for coffee and enset is a *small-scale coffee trader*; she buys from other people and sells it. She uses the income to send her children to school. As her trade is small-scale she does not have transportation problems; she transports the coffee herself. Most often she finances her trade by taking coffee from people on credit and paying them when she has sold it. She explained that people do this as they know her situation. She earned a net profit of 300 birr in the last 12 months, which is very small because the price of coffee was much lower this year. She is also involved in retailing beans and salt on a small scale. She makes 2 birr profit in selling locally a can of salt bought for 8 birr in Bule and 6 birr profit on beans that she buys for 30 birr. She believes that she would do better if she got capital to be able to bring larger quantities to retail.

One young woman was interviewed as a *self-trader*. She is selling the coffee that she grows on the land that her father gave her in 1998 EC with some coffee trees on it and she added some. She produces 3 quintals a year, sells one immediately and keeps two to sell at higher price during the year – as '*it is better to keep coffee than to keep money*'. She carries the coffee herself. She saw an improvement since she started growing and selling coffee. She does not know the net profit of her activity but she earned 1,000 birr in the last twelve months from selling coffee.

The large coffee trade is all done by men, but people explained that there is no large trader. There are several middle traders and many small and self-traders.

One of the many *male middle traders* in the community has been doing this for 14 years. He is also involved in other small trades and in farming. He buys coffee from farmers and smaller traders and transports it using mules, horses and donkeys (as vehicles cannot pass on the paths to the farms) to the Union washing plant if this is fresh coffee; otherwise he sells the dry coffee in Dilla. The trickiest issue is the coffee price. They cannot bargain with the Union as the coffee has to be sold fresh otherwise it is difficult to sell it somewhere else. Moreover, the trend in coffee price has been harming them (from 70 birr in 2003 EC to 100 birr in 2004 EC and now down to 37.75 birr/kg). He explained that "*this is like a car accident*". Last year he earned around 2,000 birr and got a net profit of 750 birr, excluding consumption expenditures that he financed with this income. In addition to his coffee trade he occasionally sells enset products and retails locally maize, teff, maize flour, beans and barley that he buys in neighbouring markets, usually when the coffee season is over. It is not very profitable. He also trades livestock and that is more profitable. For instance in 2004 EC he made a good profit, buying a cow for 1,200 birr and selling it for 3,500 birr. He raises the money needed for these trade activities from selling the household's farm products. Farming also takes a significant part of his time. In all this he is working by himself and got no support for any of his trade activities.

One *male small trader* has been involved for five years. He too explained that the main issue is about price, and lack of capital. He earned 1,000 birr in the last 12 months and saw an improvement in his family's life since he started this trade such as they were able to buy sheep and build a tin-roofed house. He has no other trading activity and has only 0.3 ha of land. Sometimes his family members

sell some enset and cabbage to be able to buy other items like maize, barley, fuel and others. He also involves in house construction, for about four months in a year – outside of the coffee harvesting season. His various activities do not conflict with each other.

One *male self-trader* earned 1,100 birr as net income from his own coffee production that he sold. This was small income because of low productivity. He too highlighted that these days the coffee price fluctuates much more widely than in the past. He is not involved in other trade though he plans to involve in livestock trade.

Coffee trade does not appear to be taxed or subject to having a license. The main issues raised by coffee traders are the lower production which seems to have been experienced by most of those who are coffee growers as well as traders, and the fact that the coffee price is fluctuating. This is a long-term issue as fluctuations in coffee price have regularly affected the community's livelihoods (people talk about 'price shocks', fluctuations or shocks discouraging farmers etc.) over the years. But it has recently become again a big concern given the much lower price in 2005 EC compared to the year before. People know that the local market is directly affected by the international market but a few of them highlighted that unlike for other commodities for which the government plays a role in smoothing price, this is not the case for coffee and yet the coffee income is vital for the community. Lack of access to capital for trading is also raised as an issue.

In contrast transportation is less of an issue: the road to Bule and Dilla has improved to the point that the Union can use motor vehicle to transport the coffee, which was not possible in the past.

Trading of second cash crop

The men all said that there is no second cash crop. Selling other crops is done on a small scale and for short-term smoothing of daily income shocks. Women sell kocho and this is the second cash crop after coffee. It can be processed and sold at any time and women who do this are usually engaged in this activity throughout the year. There is no large- or middle-scale trade of kocho.

The women interviewed as small-scale and self-traders have both been involved in the trade since a very long time (respectively 25 and 15 years) and report a tremendous increase in the selling price. What used to be sold for 30 birr when they started (a load called '*chinet*') is now sold for 300 birr. Kocho is heavy and so the self-trader sells it preferably at home or else she carries it on her back to the market, like the small-scale trader. A third woman who buys kocho from people in Adado and nearby kebeles and sells it locally uses mules to transport it. She explained that there is no competition in this trade, but it is somewhat affected by seasonality and sometimes she has no buyer. She said that she needs credit to expand her trade but has not taken credit formally. Sometimes she borrows from private individuals.

The small-scale trader sells the other crops that she harvests to finance her trade of kocho as she buys kocho from others cash, not on credit. She works alone, sells kocho only on market days in the late afternoon so it does not take too much time, but processing kocho is time-consuming. She makes a monthly profit of 75 birr on average, with variations – kocho is sold at a higher price during the coffee harvest season. She is also farming and selling her own coffee and seems to be happy with the price although she does not know how the price is fixed.

The self-trader sometimes employs up to three people to help her process her enset. The majority of her buyers are local small traders. She makes an average monthly profit of 80 birr and is happy with the current trading conditions. She also grows and sells her own coffee and she too does not know much about the price fixing process. She is also growing vegetables but for her family's consumption.

The trade of kocho does not appear to be taxed or subject to having a licence.

Crop traders' activities

There is no other significant crop trade activity in Adado.

Livestock trade

A group of knowledgeable farmers explained that livestock trade is not a big deal in the community. The cattle population is decreasing because people favour using their land for coffee and there is no communal grazing land. Households involve in short-term fattening of cattle and sheep. Fattened and non-fattened sheep are sold locally; fattened sheep are also sold in Bule and sometimes Dilla; non-fattened cattle are sold in Bule and the buyers are local people buying for fattening and farming (but not in Adado); fattened cattle are sold in Bule and even Dilla to traders who sell the meat on local markets, Dilla or even Addis Ababa. The price fluctuates seasonally and is much higher during the coffee harvest season when most households consume meat at least once a week. Generally the price for cattle has tremendously increased over the last five years. They believe that cattle fattening could be highly profitable but requires sufficient initial capital. They explained that these days, even a small ox cannot be bought for 10,000 birr.

Several respondents highlighted factors that should encourage livestock production and trade (no disease, no drought, attractive price on markets, high demand even locally) but the land shortage and lack of means to produce sufficient fodder are a big disincentive.

There is no woman trading livestock in Adado. As explained above, the middle trader in coffee also occasionally involves in livestock trade.

One of the livestock traders said that there are a few livestock traders in the community. In the last 12 months he bought 20 local breed cattle from Guji and sold them. Most of the time, he buys the cows and oxen in Bule wereda market and he sells them in Raphe market place nearby Adado. People buying from him use the oxen and cows for fattening. The market price is fixed based on negotiation by the two parties and fluctuates over the year: low in the Kiremt season and higher in the Bega season. The market was not much active in the last 12 months and he just made a paltry 500 birr net profit. He called it a loss year.

The market tax is 10 birr/ market day. He has no business license. He involves in livestock trade in Bega and Kiremt seasons, and in farming the rest of the time. He employs no labour. He is financing his business with long-time savings and explained that there is a very serious lack of finance to run this business, which would require at least 50,000 birr to take-off properly. So to improve livestock trade access to credit would be very important.

Livestock product trade

As explained earlier there is not much trade of livestock products in the community. Eggs are produced and sold locally and sometimes in Bule and people doing this get a better income than in the past (eggs are sold 2 birr a piece). But some people say that the production is rather decreasing as people have fewer chickens because they easily destroy seedlings and vegetables. Honey is also produced and sold locally and outside the community, and those doing this get a good income as the price has increased, following higher demand (30 birr/kg). But the knowledgeable farmers said that there is insufficient promotion of beekeeping.

More people are involved in selling meat that they bring from other areas. This is because of the scarcity of land and decreasing livestock population in the community. Similarly, there used to be some milk and butter production. But this has now stopped. Whatever households produce they consume themselves and instead, Adado has become a net buyer of milk and butter. There are three women trading butter and at least eight women trading milk, buying it from Bule and retailing in Adado. One of the women doing this was interviewed. She started three years ago, buying butter from Guji Oromo in Bule market and bringing and retailing it in Adado. She finances her trade by selling kocho but faces financial constraints. Sometimes there also is shortage of butter. The profit is

small (120 birr profit in the last 12 months). She pays no tax and does not have a business license.

Hides and skins are not really considered as a source of income and yet, there are more of them sold locally than in the past and the price is much higher. One woman sells hides when people slaughter cows; she buys them in Adado and the neighbouring Kolisha kebele and sells them in Bule. There are at least five middle scale traders of skins and hides in the community. The trade is active mainly during the coffee harvest season as there is more meat consumed and people dispose of the skins and hides. Middle scale traders collect from smaller traders and households themselves and on the market. They sell to larger traders who send the items to the central market in Addis Ababa.

One of the large traders was interviewed; he is also a farmer and coffee grower. He started this trade in 1971 EC on a very small scale. He now has a license but from the Oromia region, for which he pays 210 birr annually. He pays market taxes when he sells on market places and estimates that in a year he may pay 200 birr as taxes. He collects skins and hides locally and sells them to larger traders who send them to Addis Ababa. This is good business as there is a vibrant market linked to the country's leather production. Given the seasonality of the supply, in the *bega* season he buys enough for it to have to be transported with an Isuzu car to Dilla. This is not always easy and sometimes he has to use animal transportation. Cars also cannot take the internal roads and paths so he is collecting also using animals – which is an improvement compared to the past when even animals could not travel on the paths.

He has three regular suppliers (young boys) that he hires when the trade is much active, in the *bega* season, and he also buys from community members. He pays the boys a daily labour wage of at least 30 birr/day. He usually sells to the same large scale traders. He made a 4,000 birr net income over the past 12 months from this trade. He has several options to finance his trade. He borrows from the traders to whom he sells the skins and hides, or he uses the income he gets from selling his coffee, or he uses earlier savings. He can also borrow from other traders as they collaborate with each other, lending money to the one who found a good supply. But lack of access to finance is a constraint when for instance the large traders do not send the money timely. He would be very glad to have access to credit but OMO is not working in the community. He knows that the AGP is planning to provide credit but this is for ox fattening in group so it does not help him to expand his trade of choice. He thinks that the trade would be very good if traders could get sufficient capital.

Small and Micro Enterprises

SMEs in the community

The wereda administrator explained that there is awareness creation on the importance of small and medium enterprises in rural areas but still none that has been established. He believes that the AGP and SLM programmes will help households to realise such projects in groups.

In Adado town there are five shops, eight places selling tea and bread, two mini-restaurants, two local drink selling houses, three local biscuit selling centres, one bakery and two TV/film watching services. There are more shops and services in the broader Adado. There is easy access to soft drinks and beer and it is easier to find injera than in the past. Near the town there are also skilled workers. Two barber places are found on market days. Butchers bring meat from outside on the market. People sell wood from their land. There is no grass supply.

In general there are more informal SMEs (as opposed to formally established as the wereda administrator would see it) than in the past. Some people believe that there is good potential to further develop this and it is indispensable given the scarcity of land, to give employment for the young people. Quite a few members of the community, including the young men and women interviewed and the Research Officers, thought that this should be supported more aggressively by the government through orientation, organising groups, training and credit.

In several of the households interviewed there is some non-farm activity, but not in the successful

farmer's household where family members focus on farming activities. In the poor female-headed household the head of household is earning most of the family's income through daily labour.

The woman head of the more successful household is running a tea house where she also sells bread, soft drinks and *koker* (bread baked in oil). She tried to run a shop and took a credit from OMO for this (3,000 birr) but did not succeed and quitted it. She got into debt as she only repaid 2,000 birr of the total 4,000 birr that she owes. For the tea shop her children are helping. It is better than the shop but seasonal with fewer customers in the rainy season. She uses the income to hire labour for her farm.

The wife of the middle-wealth farmer sometimes is hired to prepare food for wedding ceremonies. This is occasional and seasonal but provides a good income in the wedding season. She and her husband get a regular salary as workers at the nursery. Two of their children are involved in shoe-shining. They have a daughter who is working in a beauty salon in Dilla and earning a good income.

The poor farmer sometimes works on contract to prepare mud for plastering house walls. His wife is processing enset and also retailing barley, beso and maize flour that she buys in Bule. She gets a small profit but nothing that can change her life. The children sell cabbages on the market.

The wife of the successful businessman (who is also a very successful farmer) sells local alcoholic drinks. She started ten years ago and both she and her husband said that it is profitable because the inputs are cheap and easily available. But he explained that the benefits are less than they could be because she is selling on the market rather than at home.

Skilled production

In Adado there is no woman involved in skilled work like carpentry, pottery, tannery, weaving, blacksmith work, spinning, making blocks or making baskets or making wool products.

Seven male carpenters produce logs to make chairs, beds, tables etc. and they make some furniture, doors etc. and sell them locally and on nearby markets. This is a part-time activity besides farming. Two of the men producing logs explained that there is a good market for products like chairs, tables and beds but they lack the machines to produce them and there is no access to credit. This is a missed opportunity including for the young people.

There are 10 male tanners working on a part-time basis. They prepare skins for households' use like bed net and chair. There are no weavers, wool makers and people involved in spinning and no potters. There are 3 persons preparing baskets and chairs from bamboo trees. The floor for houses in urban or rural areas is made of bamboo and it is also used for making chairs, fencing and making walls. The bamboo is growing well in the area. In general, there are no improved tools that are used in this type of works.

There are skilled persons preparing bee hives from local wood. These are similar to the ones provided by the agriculture office. They sell them for 50-80 birr depending on the size and quality. The male Research Officer is of the view that as honey is becoming more important as a source of income it is good to promote this kind of local production. One of them explained that he has a plan to introduce these beehives also outside of the community.

There are six blacksmiths. They also farm but spend most of their time on blacksmith work. They produce farming tools and tools used in enset harvesting and processing so they have a very important role in the community. They bring the steel from Dilla and use local instruments made of skin to pump oxygen to produce the high heat level required to be able to bend the steel and shape it. They sell on the market and also work on order by households. Sometimes households bring their own steel. One of them explained that the work provides a good income but it is hard work. He also believes that the market is stagnant and steel has become expensive which has an effect on the price of his tools. He would like to diversify into other activities but lacks the finance to do so.

Construction is not at enterprise level, but small masonry activities are carried out by individuals who got skilled during their stay in urban areas. These people engage in masonry part of the year, like one of the small coffee traders. Boys and young men may also work part-time in construction, like the 19-year old middle-wealth young man who is doing shoe shining and also worked as assistant mason on a daily labour basis, to finance his education expenses. The daily labour work is not common; he asked the kebele workers to assist them and they agreed. He earned 30 birr/day from daily labour work and 600 birr in total.

Livestock and products SMEs

There is no SME or individual involved in commercial production of livestock and livestock products like eggs, honey and milk. Activities in the sector are small-scale and carried out on an individual basis, except for skins and hides for which some traders have medium scale activities and one of them is hiring young boys at peak business time (see above). The AGP has started promoting the idea of group-based credit for ox fattening but as explained earlier many in the community find this unattractive as loans are too small in their view.

Local drinks and food

A number of women are involved in producing and selling kocho at home or on the market, as described earlier (under 'trade'). At least one woman works as cook for weddings on a seasonal basis. There are people involved in selling food but this is highly seasonal too. They are many more during the coffee harvest season as people in the community have money to spend. At other times of the year like at the time of the March-April fieldwork, there are only four people selling food.

There is no-one engaged in large scale production of local drinks. One woman said that three women are producing both *areke* and *tella* on a medium scale. Another said that there were approximately 12 small-scale local areke producers.

One of the middle-scale producers was interviewed. She produces areke throughout the year but more during the coffee harvest season, following higher demand from the community. She produces on average 24 litres of areke per month and sells areke to customers who come to drink in her house. She uses malt and maize flour that she buys cash and brings from Bule market and gesho that she buys from her neighbours in Adado, sometimes paying them after having sold her areke. She fixes her own price based on the prices of inputs and fuel. Those vary and she reflects this in the price of areke accordingly. However, she sometimes makes a loss like under the current market conditions: she used maize flour, gesho, fuel wood and malt for 120 birr to produce areke that she sold for 72 birr and tella for 42 birr, so a total of 112 birr. When this is the case she has difficulty to pay people for their gesho. This is worse as some clients drink on credit and do not pay her. Sometimes there is profit. Even when there is no profit she produces areke and tella because the activities help her refresh her mind, although recently she gets tired when she processes areke because she has a kidney problem. She does not have a licence because she is not expected to have.

Another smaller-scale producer explained that in a month she produces 7-10 litres of areke which is sold in the community. Inputs are available on local markets and she finances them from her savings and coffee sale. She also reported seasonal variation in the business and in input prices and her selling price. It is not a formal business requiring a license.

Productive co-operatives

There is no productive cooperative other than the Farmers' coffee Union. There have been attempts at establishing savings & credit co-operatives which could also engage in income-generating activities. They were initiated by the wereda co-operative desk and were inconclusive. They are described in the section on savings and credit below.

Natural resource sale

There is no grass sold and no charcoal production. There is no woman involved in selling wood but some households sell trees from their land. Farmers plant trees to protect their coffee and when trees are mature they cut and sell and replace them. People use eucalyptus for construction of houses and this is a good income though DAs discourage farmers to plant them because they dry off the soil. Some trees are used to make logs as said above.

Petty production

No-one is involved in petty production.

Service enterprises

There are no private education services like kindergarten in the community, and no other service enterprises.

Food processing services

There is no grain mill in Adado as the main staple food is prepared from enset and does not require grinding. The only food processing services in Adado are the processing of enset in kocho, and bakeries. One young woman said that there are now 13 bakeries all over Adado, some using clay or brick oven, others just a metal sheet made from a barrel. Yet another respondents even said 17.

The biggest is also the first one which was opened in 1994 EC, by the leading businessman also running a restaurant/tea house. He copied from Bule then others copied him afterwards. He employs permanent workers in his bakery and they produce more than 500 breads a day. He sells the breads in his restaurants and to traders who sell them on the market. One loaf of bread is sold 2 birr. The female Research Officer explained that the bakery is adjacent to the restaurant/tea house and this house is also one of the biggest entertainment places. In evenings many children and young people are watching songs on TV until the bread is baked.

Hospitality services

There are no medium size hotels or restaurants in Adado. There are a number of places which sell tea, bread, other drinks, local drinks and biscuits. There are two very small scale restaurants in the kebele. They are not as such competent suppliers. They stop to supply when the market is inactive during non-coffee seasons. These are family businesses and the labour is also family based. Two or three household members may involve in selling food in the family restaurant on market days. On other days the household wife can manage the work alone. Many of the other tearooms are working mainly during the coffee harvest, when they sell food to those who come from outside as daily labourers.

One woman involved in selling food and drinks was interviewed. She sells soft drinks and beer, bread, tea and *besso* mixing with sugar and water. She also sells juice during the *Bega* season because at coffee harvesting time people get a good income and have money to spend. Her business place is located at the centre of Adado near the market place. The problem she faces is that during the rainy season there is no good demand so it takes her longer to get the same profit as what she gets in a short time in the coffee harvest season.

She gets soft drinks and beer from traders who distribute in Adado. She buys bread from the bakery in Adado and she buys the fruits from Adado as well. Those who buy beer are adult people, usually men. Women and some men hide themselves to drink beer because it is not acceptable for Christians. Both poor and rich drink beer and there is better demand for beer in coffee harvest season. People of all ages buy tea, bread and soft drinks, and they drink soft drinks as entertainment. Her business is affected by inflation - she gets fewer clients because of it. When the price of coffee is good she can sell at a higher price. There are many people who sell soft drinks, bread and tea but there is not much competition in selling beer. To attract customers she sits and

chats with the adult customers. She cooperates with other businessmen. With those who bring beer and soft drinks from Dilla she sometimes buys soft drinks on credit. She has no employee on a regular or casual basis and manages the business with her children.

The business environment is good except for the fluctuating market situation depending on the coffee harvest. She needs credit to improve her business. Sometimes she uses credit from individuals but she did not take from a formal credit institution. She is running her business by renting a house and the price is reasonable. So far she did not ask land to run her business. She does not have business licence and she does not pay tax for the business because this is not expected.

Health services

There are no private health services like clinic or pharmacy in Adado. Men say that there are no traditional health services but women mention 11 people who practice traditional medicine. They are involved in bone-setting and giving herbs for skin diseases. There is no drug shop for veterinary supplies. There are traditional attendants in the community.

Shops

There are 10 shops in Adado, of which 5 in town - while there were only 4 in 2003 GC. All the shops sell consumption goods like powder and bar soaps, oil, lentil, chewing gum, biscuits, sugar, candy, maize and wheat flour, and cigarettes. They buy these items in Dilla and retail them locally. Compared to 2008 GC there are also changes in the items that are found in the shops: in 2008 there was no lentil, oil and wheat flour which are now available. One of the shops in Adado town is run by a 19-year old rich young man who failed at the Gr10 exam and started thanks to his family who gave him 7,000 birr as start-up capital. It was his decision to start a shop. He is very glad with this business because he earns a good income. In the last twelve month he earned more than 4000 birr and re-invested it in his shop business. He hopes that the shop business will make him rich in the near future if he works hard. He saw some of his friends becoming rich from this kind of business.

Leisure services

In Adado there is no table tennis, football table, play station, billiard, chess board for rent. There are 20 places to watch TV and two places to watch movies that show football, domestic films and other shows. There are no other leisure services in the community.

Petty services

There are 10 shoe-shiners and 20 people repairing shoes; they are all men or boys – like for instance two of the children of the middle-wealth farmer, the thirteen-year old middle-wealth boy who does this with his little brother, and the 19-year old middle-wealth boy who also works as assistant mason when there is such work. The shoeshine boys are also involved in repairing shoes. The 13 and 19-year old boys mentioned incomes of 200 birr and 500 birr in a year, respectively.

There are 4 men who repair watches. There are 20 people providing mobile phone charging services including all the kiosk shops. There are 2 men repairing mobile phones, and 3 men repairing torches. There is no one involved in selling lottery tickets. There are six people selling second-hand clothes and two people selling second-hand shoes.

On market days there are young men providing male barber services. This started in 2008 GC with three young men. They now are ten according to one respondent. They have a simple portable machine that they keep at home, and they work in different markets in the area, depending on the day: Adado on Wednesday and Sunday, Bule on Monday and Thursday and Sokicha on Tuesday and Saturday. The cost is 5 birr for an adult and 3 birr for a child.

There are a number of women doing hair dressing, with and without artificial hair. Women also make *dantel*. *Dantel* has different designs. It is used to put on sofa and table and cover different furniture and sometimes for bed cover. It is like knitting but it is using only one thread. People who

know these women come to them and tell them what they want. One of the 19-year old young women interviewed was doing both hairdressing and *dantel*. Usually from making *dantel* she earns 300 birr for a piece. She makes the *dantel* when individuals order her to do so it is not a permanent income.

Transport

Female respondents explained that in the community there are 80 men who are providing transport services using donkeys; 10 young men using bicycle and another 10 using motorbikes. There is one person who has an ISUZU car and it mostly comes during the coffee harvest time. There is no other transport service like truck, cart or bajaj. The road and internal paths are not suitable for carts and bajajs even though they would be handy. There is no one repairing vehicles. People go to Dilla to fix problem with motorbikes.

Male respondents mentioned approximately 5 youth from the community renting motorbikes. There may be more giving transport services to community people when they come back from outside. One respondent explained that two young men were able to buy their own motorbike with the money they earned from migrating in Shakiso.

More than 40 mules and horses are found in the community and used for transport in addition to the donkey. Car transport is not common except for occasional transportation of coffee to Dilla during the harvesting season and sometimes by traders transporting trees from the kebele to other places and bringing items for the shops in Adado, brought from Dilla. As explained above at least one of the skin and hide traders uses an ISUZU car to transport a full load (in the coffee harvest season) outside of the community.

The Research Officers highlighted that they faced a very serious issue of transport shortage to move from Bule to Adado. They asked the Traffic Police to help them who called a motorbike renting youth in the wereda but they were asking 70 birr for only 10 km. Motorbike renting is a very good means of income for the youth, but it is very expensive. The youth who drove the male RO explained that he bought 4 motorbikes, considering the good market opportunity. He added money from other sources to buy them. He wishes to buy a car after working for some years.

As motorbikes are very expensive few people use them. People sometimes rent a mule/horse for transporting the poor to the health centre. Animals are also rented to transport stuff to market places. Traders rent them from farmers to transport coffee and skins and hides for instance.

Government support for non-farm activities

There is no government intervention related to non-farm activities, and no NGO active in the kebele. Even credit is not available as OMO stopped working in Adado (see below; the new scheme for youth is managed by OMO but the capital is from the wereda).

Those youth renting motor bicycle are asked to hold a driving license. Several of the SME activities outlined above use electricity (e.g. entertainment places and petty services like mobile phone charging) and are therefore benefitting from government's investment in electrification. But there is no use of it for machines for wood or metalwork.

The only support that is being talked about is the AGP and as noted earlier, this seems to be focusing on promoting exclusively livestock-related activities and people are not convinced that the support offered is relevant.

A good number of both adult and youth respondents including kebele officials explained that they thought the government should be doing a lot more to support non-farm activities as there are an increasing number of people, especially young people, who cannot establish sustainable livelihoods based on land and outside of the coffee harvest season job opportunities are few and not well paid. Kebele officials explained that in the kebele there is no land distribution on an individual basis or to

youth co-operatives and no youth package. There is also nothing done for women. Thus, youth unemployment is a big issue in the community and it holds for both young men and young women.

Some of the young people interviewed heard government messages about forming 1-5s, and a few young men knew about orientation being given to selected youth about group formation, credit and starting businesses. In April 2013 this had not reached the kebele; in November 2013 this was being rolled out (see 'youth livelihood interventions' in section 5 above) and it was too early to assess impacts, but people were generally happy with this development.

Non-farm employment

According to the kebele manager among the male members of the community there are about 30 who are in regular employment and about 10 who do non-agricultural daily labour. Few of these are women, who are more likely to run their own small business. According to the local best economist, non-farm employment counts for 3% of the community's labour – excluding migration. This also excludes the government employees working in Adado, who are not all from the community.

People who could be counted as involved in non-farm employment include the women employed by the woman selling kocho on a relatively larger scale, the boys hired to help the skin and hide trader, the boys hired in the bakery, the young and adult people hired to do daily work on construction activities (like collecting stones for the construction of the kebele toilet or preparing mud to plaster walls). Few of these kinds of jobs are regular.

There are a few regularly salaried jobs too. Ten people are employed as guards and nursery workers. Guards take care of public buildings such as the school, the health centre, the agriculture office, the kebele office and the Union office. Nursery workers produce coffee seedlings and seedlings of other important trees to be distributed to the community. The nursery employs three people including the middle-wealth farmer and his wife who get salaries of 400 and 390 birr (net) respectively. The wife explained that she works approximately 32 hours in a week, hoeing seedlings and making beds for the seedlings. They get their salary from the wereda every month. Guards are paid by the kebele. The father of the 19-year old middle-wealth young man is guard at the health centre; his sister is a cleaner there. There are also approximately 10 domestic servants, supporting household works and business activities in restaurants and tea and bread selling shops.

The coffee Union plant employs 8 people on a permanent basis, including the manager paid by the Yirgacheffe Union. It also provides seasonal daily work opportunities for 120 workers from the nine kebeles served by the cooperative, including Adado.

Male respondents estimated that approximately 200 individuals from the community are civil servants employed outside of the community. Most of them work as experts in Bule wereda offices such as agriculture, health, and finance offices. Most of them do not commute. Although this number seems high, it may result from affirmative action at the regional and zonal level aimed to raise the number of 'local officials' in the different government administrations. For instance the same 19-year old middle wealth man has a brother with a Gr10+3 diploma in agriculture, working in Bule agriculture office.

There is no NGO and no industry employing in the community or in the wereda, except the coffee washing plant.

Inward investment

There is no inward investment in the community. It is not known from the first fieldwork data how (with what capital) the Farmers' coffee Union plant was established.

Migration

Out-migration for work and remittances

As explained earlier, in Adado migration is mainly a male phenomenon, apart from a recent trend of a few young women migrating in towns. Men migrate for agricultural work in different places in Oromia Region, in towns, and to the gold mines in Shakiso, in Oromia Region. All forms of migration are important. However, the main destination of male outmigration in Adado is to Shakiso – which is described in a separate section below.

Agricultural

The kebele officials explained that there are a few cases of migration to Taro and other areas in Oromia, to get employed in farming activities. In these places, there is fertile land sufficient to accommodate new comers. Therefore, a few adults interested to work in farming migrate to these places. This is usually not short or seasonal migration as it takes more than a year to harvest one's farm products and make some money. Those men often sharecrop. This migration is increasing but not comparable to the pace of increase in migration to Shakiso. The reason, among others, is that it depends upon the interest of individuals to work on farming, the availability of land, and the negotiation of two parties to engage into contractual agreements.

Migrants to agricultural areas take a longer time before returning. However, the benefit is that they involve in sharecropping for a few years. They get their income through producing and selling the farm products from the land that they sharecrop. Mostly, migrants involving in farming activities form their independent life there if not yet married. Those married may shift to those places (longer-term or permanent) since there is no land shortage in the area when compared to Adado. Some of them might even end up buying their own land over there.

Some of these migrants may have land in Adado, which they give to keep to trustworthy relatives or friends, and which they may visit once or several times a year. In case they get (better/larger) land in their migration place they may decide to (informally) sell their land in Adado.

Urban

There is some urban migration in Bule (wereda capital) and Dilla (zonal capital) for daily labour or getting work in hospitality services. This is comparatively smaller scale than migration to Shakiso for young men. The general sense is that people in the community prefers to migrate to Shakiso for gold mining because this is better return. However, women do not migrate there whereas approximately 15 young women in a year move to urban areas for domestic work. They go to Bule, Dilla or any other area where there is domestic work. Usually they do not tell anyone and just move to seek a job. In the past this was very uncommon but these days it is changing. Often they follow someone they know in these places, who can connect them with people who seek labour. The girls and young women interviewed still all said that it is uncommon for young women to migrate.

The Research Officers could not find a returned urban migrant, male or female.

Skilled

There was no mention of skilled migration but as noted above there are an estimated 200 people working in various public offices away from the community, mostly in Bule and not commuting but staying over there.

International

Two men from Adado have migrated to South Africa and are now back. People in the community know very little about it. They migrated in 2000 EC and came back with improvement in their life. It is not known whether their migration had anything to do with politics around the 2000 EC elections. Other respondents said that it is in 2002 EC that they migrated.

Other migration

The largest migration is to Shakiso, in Oromia, for gold mining. Shakiso is located 350 km away from Adado and the journey takes 6 hours and costs 60 birr. These days up to 300-400 men of all ages migrate annually to Shakiso for gold mining. (Other respondents mention 100 young people in a year). Usually they return for the coffee harvest.

Nowadays young people go as young as ten, following their senior. People from Adado have migrated to Shakiso since 1980 EC but the trend of young boys going is recent. This is a challenge for the school administration and their families as they may do this during school breaks but also drop-out from school. They tend to go back but not always. In some cases this is to help themselves finance their education expenditures. For instance one of the sons of the middle-wealth farmer went to Shakiso and with the income he bought clothes and exercise books. The poor farmer also went in 2012 GC. He did not work in gold mining but worked for rich farmers. He worked 43 days and earned just 700 birr so this was not much beneficial. One of the sons of the successful businessman also migrated to Shakiso, following other migrants going there, and is earning a good income.

No women go. Men do not send remittances but may bring cash back. In the past people used to stay there and buy land. Some 15 to 20 people from Adado settled in Shakiso in this way. But this is not possible anymore as land has become expensive. It may also be related to jealousy: some years ago there was some tension as local people in Shakiso were seeing people from Adado improving their lives. These days, people who migrate mostly stay for a few months.

They work there either as wage labourers for the gold mining companies (formal) or looking for gold in more remote areas where the companies are not established and selling gold directly (informal). The latter may be more lucrative if you are lucky e.g. someone can make 100,000 birr in a trip. Daily labour in the mines can vary from 20 to 50 birr/day depending on labour availability. When everyone is back for coffee labour is scarce and better paid. The Aba Gada son has been to Shakiso more than 20 times and he is now running a business in the kebele. The youth leader also migrated.

The push factors include land scarcity and lack of employment outside of the coffee harvest season, especially for the youth who do not have access to land or do not want to engage in farming after failing in GR10 or Gr12, or do not or cannot engage in trade as they lack capital.

The pull factors include the attractiveness of earning a good income rapidly as they see that those who went come back with money, and the ability to get money to carry out a specific project upon return. For instance when migrants return from Shakiso, the successful ones may build a tin-roof house for themselves or their family, form their own family with a better wedding ceremony, support their parents or their own household in building assets, get capital to launch a business of their choice such as starting a shop or engaging in coffee trade or buying a motorbike or a bajaj to offer transport services.

The work can be dangerous and a few of the male youth interviewed heard of landslides and people dying. However, the trend is increasing year after year as it is a significant employment prospect for the youth male of the community. One knowledgeable person said that these days migration represents around 6% of the community's total income.

The box below presents the migration experience of one young man now living in Adado town.

Box 5: Migrating to Shakiso

This young man is the son of the late Aba Gada in Gedeo zone. He used to go to Shakiso for gold mining business. He hated the job but went there because he wanted to earn an income and establish my own business. He migrated to Shakiso fifteen times. In 2001 GC he followed a friend who was working in the gold mining business for a long time and had improved his lifestyle. He went to Shakiso by vehicle transport and walking. It took him 3 days to reach the mining site. The travel was very difficult and the work by itself was full of hardship and risks since it was his first

time to travel to the place. But since he was with that friend, he felt happy when they arrived at the place. They stayed for two days in a relative's home. He also met 6 friends from his neighbourhood working in the mining business. As he was new for the job and the area he could not do much. He was paid 14 birr per day. Over time this increased and he started earning up to 50-100 birr per day or 500 to 600 birr per week. They were living for a week in the jungle while mining. He stayed for a year and came back to see his parents. He used to send some money to his family, at least 200 birr. He brought another 1,000 birr at the end when he returned home. He constructed a house and bought land after having migrated six times. Then he bought farm land for 14,000 birr and planted coffee and enset in the year 2010 GC. The most recent migration was also the same. It was just to earn an income through gold mining activities. He went there to bring some money for launching his business, as he was facing money shortage after constructing this business centre and buying farm land. So he went, earned some income and started this tea and biscuit selling business.

He is sure that seasonal migration for those working hard is changing their life. He personally improved his life due to migration. He helped his family and also formed his own family. He created assets after migrating to the place. Of course there are also bad events for migrants. There were deaths due to land sliding. It is a risky job and skill is needed when mining. Some migrants waste money even though they earn much. A person should be wise enough when he decides to migrate. He should also share experience with the senior migrants at the work place. In general, the gold mining business is also most of the time a matter of chance. You win in thousands if you are lucky. Those using traditional magic (that makes you more successful in your tasks) can earn more 100,000 birr in a year. Most of those using magic are coming from Wolayita area. They usually are very successful.

In November 2013 one new development was the migration of 3 young men and 2 young women to Afar, to collect sugarcane for a sugar factory. The job was for 4-5 months. One of them came back after a few days saying that the climate was harsh and the payment very low.

In-migration for work

There is no in-migration in Adado. As explained earlier, people coming from outside to work for coffee harvesting do not stay overnight.

Savings, credit and debt

Community-organised savings and credit

In Adado there are various ways in which people save and get credit. Some of the more established institutions can deal with quite large sums, depending on their members' wealth, but it is likely that not everyone in the community is covered by these community-organised mechanisms. Generally the poor cannot easily borrow money as lenders fear that they might fail to repay. And at the same time they are likely to find it harder to save, and to need most some bridge to meet their consumption needs.

The most popular ways of saving individually are to invest in livestock fattening. Rich usually fatten bulls, middle-income fatten sheep and poor can share-rear. Several respondents mentioned the possibility of doubling one's money fairly quickly; and the flexibility in that, one can sell an animal when one needs money. Storing dried coffee to sell at high price is also profitable. Coffee growers who do not need all the coffee money immediately do this; some people like the successful businessman buy dried coffee in January/February when it is cheap, and sell it in May/June sometimes at double the price.

Equb and their local variations called *idil* and *axion* are also popular. In *equb* people contribute weekly or once or twice a month, an amount decided when the *equb* is established. Every member takes her or his turn, getting the savings of all members. Every *equb* also has savings to lend money to members. Interest rates vary and were said to range from 20% to 40% for 6 months. For instance, the 13-year old middle-wealth boy doing shoe-shining and daily labour works participates to an *equb*

with 20 other people.

Axion and *idil* are important traditional financial institutions. They resemble to *equb* (e.g. with an established leadership and members fixing contributions and other rules like interest rate for loans) but with a yearly frequency for the turns. They resemble to each other but *axion* work with larger sums of money. People go round members' houses drinking coffee and eating food for their meetings, and the leaders are compensated for their work (how much is also decided by the members; in the livestock trader's *axion* they gave them 150 to 400 birr a year). Membership can vary from 5 to 50.

Axion have two wings. First, members save every week an amount that they decide (it can differ for different members). That is the wing from which members can borrow. The interest rate is usually between 10 and 30% and the repayment is due within 6 months maximum. Lending money requires a meeting of the leaders' committee. The second wing is the big money saved yearly by all at the same rate and taken by one of the members. A common rate seems to be 1,000 birr/year and member, like the successful businessman. The rich 19-year old man is member of a 10-member *axion* with an annual contribution of 1,000 birr. So far 6 members got their turn. Members use this money for construction a house, buying a coffee farm or bull fattening.

Many people in Adado need loans to mitigate consumption constraints or finance economic activities. For consumption June to September is the peak borrowing season. Many people have debts of 400 to 1,000 birr just before the coffee harvest.

To finance economic activities various people mentioned that they borrow "in-kind". E.g. the female small-scale coffee trader takes the coffee from the people for whom she sells it and pays them after she sold it; similarly the woman preparing areke gets the *gesho* from her neighbours first, and pays them when she has sold her areke.

Many coffee growers use an 'in-kind' mechanism as well to take (usually small) loans often to ease up consumption constraints, from traders. The way it works is that the coffee grower who needs a loan calls a trader he knows, the trader comes and assesses the likely product of coffee trees and the loan is given against agreement that the trader takes the product of an agreed number of trees. The benefit the trader gets therefore depends on his ability to assess correctly the coffee trees' production. There are also people borrowing from traders with an interest of 50% per annum.

Generally, loans from *equb* and *axion* (described above) are one possibility but relatives, neighbours and colleagues are an important source of credit. For instance, the businessman can borrow from other skin and hide traders when he finds a good supply and does not have cash at hand. Many people borrow from relatives and neighbours for consumption purposes. The interest rates mentioned varied widely. Some relatives do not require any interest; at the other end of the scale neighbours can ask 70% interest for a repayment within 6 months. Usually these transactions require the borrower to provide a guarantor and are signed before witnesses. Even so, this makes it a less cumbersome mechanism than *equb* and *axion*, which require a meeting of the leadership committee to lend money to their members. People also borrow from shops, for a week with no interest or for a few months with quite high interest rates – e.g. the poor female household head said she would take a loan of 10 birr in the summer and repay 20 birr in the dry season.

Iddirs also lend money, usually for maximum 6 months and interest rate between 10 and 20%. One is expected to repay immediately after selling coffee.

Government, donor and NGO credit and savings

There is no other source of credit than the OMO microfinance institution in the wereda. There are no village savings and credit schemes, no RUSACCO, no credit through service cooperative and no NGO-based credit scheme. There is no credit service for agricultural inputs. There used to be what people called 'Rural Finance' that is, government credit given to farmers for fertiliser through OMO

but this has now stopped. Inputs must be bought cash which is affordable for very few farmers. There is also no credit service supporting coffee growing or trading activities.

There were attempts at establishing savings and credit cooperatives, initiated in 2006 GC by the wereda cooperative office, but they were inconclusive and the few cooperatives that were established or on the way, have now disbanded. In one case, a 23-member cooperative had members saving 20 birr a month. Started in 2006 with the ambition of trading grain in the area, establishing a grain mill in Adado and giving loans for people to start bull fattening, in 2010 it had 25,000 birr in an account at the CBE in Dilla. The cooperative had its legal document. It withdrew 14,000 birr for the treasurer to locally manage a lending scheme for the members. However at some point the wereda decided that this cooperative and all the others being formed in the area should transfer their funds into the zonal cooperative desk account so that the zonal officials would organise one cooperative union. Having no longer any means to respond to members' needs for loans, the cooperative finally stopped its activities. Members (whose money has gone) have no news of when the union might start its services in spite of having asked the question to the wereda. Hearing the fate of that cooperative, another one which did not have its legal certificate decided to disband as well, to avoid the money being taken away.

OMO functions in all 30 kebele but it has currently stopped providing loans in Adado because of the kebele outstanding bad debt (see next section). According to the OMO branch head, normally OMO provides credit in a kebele when 70 to 100 people are identified and membership-based groups are formed by the kebele administration in collaboration with the OMO kebele agent and OMO wereda branch, to engage in economic activities such as ox fattening or hen or sheep production. The group commitment is the collateral. Kebele officials describe a different process whereby there is an OMO committee comprising of community members which assesses the ability of anyone asking for credit to repay and recommends credit to be given or not. Those who are granted credit are those who can work and repay. Landless people also cannot borrow. People borrow to use the money for fattening, rearing sheep and trading. People also borrow in group.

The OMO branch head explained that the current ceiling for a loan is 5,000 birr. The initial interest rate is 12% (including service charges) and 8% and 5% for beneficiaries that get a second and third loan respectively. Community members in Adado mentioned loans of 1,000 to 4,000 birr.

There is a new idea that households should be made to save. The OMO branch has arranged for every household to get a saving box. The OMO agents regularly collect the money saved and register it in households' ledger accounts. The OMO branch head explained that they expect each household to be able to save 3,000 birr in a year. Kebele officials mentioned the saving scheme too and explained that this is further developing the saving culture already in place in the community, with neighbouring and religion-based networks. However, other respondents highlighted that the community does not have a good saving culture. So for instance, most coffee growers spend the money they get with their harvest in consumption and leisure instead of saving to reinvest. In their view the younger generation is more attentive to wisely use money.

The few community members who are saving in OMO (78 households) save small amounts that they give monthly to the OMO agent visiting Adado. They had not heard of a saving box. As explained earlier, the new scheme creating opportunities for educated youth also requires them to save (20% of the starting capital required for their activity) at OMO. OMO manages the credit scheme but the capital is from the wereda, not OMO.

The OMO branch head highlighted that there is a significant unmet demand for credit in the wereda, and women are only 20% of the 6,000 beneficiaries for the wereda as a whole. The saving scheme just mentioned (all households supposed to save) seems to be linked to the need to raise lending capital to expand OMO's operations to address this issue of unmet demand. The head mentioned that they expect the households of the wereda to save 76 million birr this year, which would represent 20% and the government would contribute the other 80%, presumably as lending capital.

The 20/80 is also the way the new youth opportunity scheme is working.

In Adado there were indeed quite a few people who said that the lack of access to credit is a constraint to expand or do better with their current economic activities or to engage in one (including the successful businessman, most of the coffee traders, several of the women involved in e.g. areke production). In April 2013, many also raised it as a big constraint on youth employment and women's economic empowerment, including several of the young men and women interviewed. The new scheme for educated youth was therefore well received even though people said that it was too early to know how it would work. It also is more difficult to access for young women, because they do not have the same means as young men to raise the saving money required.

The successful businessman said he took a credit for his skin and hide trade but this is now not possible (and the AGP scheme does not meet his interest); his wife took a loan of 2,000 birr to start her business of alcoholic drink. The woman head of a relatively successful household took a loan of 3,000 birr to start a shop but this was not successful. Her debt became 4,000 birr with interest as she was late to repay. She now has repaid 2,000 birr. The wife of the middle-wealth farmer took 500 birr eight years ago to buy an ox. But her husband said that he does not like credit.

A new credit source is the AGP programme, which in April 2013 was said to just start working in Adado. This was expected to get farmers to take credit in groups. There was training of kebele officials at the wereda level then the kebele officials sensitised the community. Their information then was that loans would be 1,000 birr/person. People would have to form groups, e.g. they could get 13,000 birr for 13 people to buy an ox for fattening. The AGP money could be for different things but officials promoted fattening quite heavily. The programme was said to be open to anyone interested and able to get involved in a group-based business activity. There should be at least 40% women (including wives of male-headed households) among the beneficiaries.

At the time, many in the community said that the size of the loans would not be sufficient and/or they would prefer using it for something else than ox fattening. Businessmen especially wanted bigger loans (e.g. the livestock trader said he needed at least a capital of 50,000 birr to seriously trade livestock). The Research Officers explained that one of the issues is the long delay between when an intervention is designed and when it is implemented and in the meantime with inflation everything is more costly.

In November 2013 the information that people had about the AGP was quite different and nobody mentioned it any longer as a source of credit. It also was said that it would not focus on livestock fattening in Adado; activities mentioned in relation to the AGP were about honey making and fishery.

Banks

There is one commercial government bank in Bule but it lends money only to people who can bring a guarantee/collateral. A few rich farmers and traders save in Bule Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE). These are the people who regularly go to urban areas to buy materials for their teashops or other businesses.

Debt in the community

The head of the OMO branch of Bule mentioned a total bad debt of 1 million birr in the wereda. In Adado the bad debt is not large (various amounts were given, from 20,000 to 24,000 birr) but it is said to be the reason why OMO does not work at the moment in the kebele. The wereda has agreed on a number of strategies to help recover this debt. First, kebele administrations are given the responsibility. Second, they try to convince the bad debtors to save whatever they can to start repaying, after which they would get another loan to engage in an economic activity so that they could repay the bad debt (and the new loan). OMO has also changed its way of recovering loan repayments and there are now OMO agents working at kebele level and no longer only at wereda

level as in the past. In Adado the OMO agent has been hired in 2004 EC.

The total bad debt of Adado is small in the absolute (20,000 or 24,000 birr depending on the source of information) but there are several stories about it. In April 2013 respondents said that the bad loans are all with poor people and therefore it is difficult to recover the money. It was said that the kebele had formed a committee, and elders were on the committee to convince people to repay. In November 2013 the story was that the bad loans were with the then (2006 GC) kebele chairman and other kebele officials. There was a kebele meeting deciding that anyone with a debt had to repay before 15 October and the OMO agent went door-to-door telling people to pay back and spoke to meetings to sensitise people. People generally said that they would return the money after having sold their coffee.

Insurance

There is no insurance of any kind.

Harmful Traditional Practices affecting livelihoods

This was not investigated. Several adult household members and young men and women highlighted the high costs of ceremonies like weddings, funerals and religious festivals, explaining that this was due to inflation and not to bigger ceremonies than in the past. There does not seem to be any activity to promote smaller ceremonies or fewer holidays. As the community is predominantly Protestant there are few holidays anyway and people work every day except for Sunday though they can even trade on Sunday. There is no expectation that even very religious people should spend a lot of time on religious activities.

Theft

According to community respondents most types of incident such as thefts of crop, robberies from people or house burglaries have drastically reduced in the past five years thanks to the actions of the militia and community policing and the community participating to the actions to catch the criminals. In the past there used to be thefts of coffee crop at harvest time. People noted that known punishments are prison and/or punishment fees decided by the elders or the social courts, and a few added that the Aba Gada decisions are also an important deterrent.

Human re/pro/duction domain

Houses and household assets

Houses

In Adado town most houses are tin-roofed and some are painted. A number of houses are tin-roofed in the rural parts as well. Adults and youth talking about change in the community note that at present, the standard for housing is a house with corrugated iron sheet roof and at least a separate family bed room from the rooms for cattle and chicken. One of the young women explained that many people had been able to build better houses thanks to the increase in the coffee price of the past few years (before last year). Other respondents explained that building one's house or improving it or improving one's family's house was also a frequent use of the money earned by those migrating to Shakiso for gold mining (like the son of the Aba Gada, see above).

The housing conditions of the six households interviewed varies quite a lot, ranging from a small one-room deteriorated hut covered with enset stems and leaves, livestock kept in the house and no separate kitchen for the poor woman head of household, to a seven-room house plus separate kitchen, tin roof and livestock kept separately for the woman head of a more successful household, who also has a house in town which is rented. The poor farmer and his wife live in a four-room house with a roof in plastic sheets. Their housing conditions are better than five years ago as they added two rooms and have now a separate kitchen and livestock room. The other households too have separate rooms for kitchen and livestock, walls in wood and clay and tin roofs. The successful

businessman has covered his clay ceiling with cloth, which his wife appreciates. The middle-wealth farmer and his wife live in a two-room, zinc-roofed government house – presumably this is linked to their status as salaried employee at the nursery. They keep their livestock somewhere else and gave their rural house to a destitute woman.

Household assets

Talking about change in the community, the respondents explained that nowadays the household goods used in Adado are like those of urban people. People are following urban life style whenever they buy clothes and household materials. They are using curtains, mattresses, beds, pillows and chairs. There are also a few people who have a sofa. People are using glasses to drink water. They are using plastic *rekebot* (the stand to put coffee cups during coffee ceremony). People are using plastic basins for washing clothes. People started to use thermos and dishes to put stew in 2000 EC.

Utensils made from plastic, aluminium and metal were introduced to the community a decade ago, first by people engaged in trade who saw and bought them in Bule, followed by many others. *Jerricans* were used even earlier than other items. At present, it is almost not possible to find a household not owning at least some items made from plastic, aluminium or metal in their home. Many people have started using thermos to keep tea and coffee warm. This started in 2003 GC.

However among the households interviewed, the poor woman head of household do not have any such items and is using clay pots for cooking. She also has no furniture at all. The poor and middle-wealth farmers have no bed; the other households have one, and in the case of the successful businessman this is not a traditional bed in wood but a bed made of metal and wire. Even the poor farmer's household has some chairs. The others also have a table and benches. The successful farmer's wife has both metal and clay pots but likes cooking with clay pots. The poor female head and the poor and middle-wealth farmers' families have no kitchen cupboard. The successful businessman's family owns a weighing balance with an estimated value of 4,000 birr, which they bought in the past five years.

The first TVs came to the community in 2000 EC, when the electricity was connected. It was introduced by businesspeople first. People have TV because they have capacity and because there is electricity. Now there are 30 people who have a TV; 20 of them are in Adado town, the others in different areas. DVD came to the community in 2002 EC and now 40 people have a DVD. Out of these 20 are in town, the others in rural areas. There are also DVD players within tape recorders. Satellite receiver dishes came to the community in 2003 EC and 6 people have satellite receiver dishes. The rich people buy this when they get money and when they see it in urban places. Tape recorders were introduced in 2000 EC and now there are about 200 people who have one. For all these electronics equipment people buy them when they have financial capacity but mainly they are influenced by the fact that these items are now available in urban areas. Among the households interviewed only the woman head of the successful household had a TV, DVD and a tape recorder (she runs a tea house). The poor female head of household does not have any electronics equipment. The other four households all had a radio (which had been bought in the past five years in the poor farmer's case). The successful businessman also had a tape recorder.

There are about 10 households who bought bed nets from the market and use them as curtains to prevent fleas and mosquitoes. People bought bed nets when they saw them on the market and after the health workers started distributing bed nets too. Normally there is no malaria in Adado but malaria has started due to climate change and maize in 2004 EC. There are also a few people who got malaria from other places.

Domestic technologies

At the wereda level the official from the Water, Mineral and Energy office explained that the office is working on installing solar energy, the construction of micro-hydropower stations and the introduction of fuel saving stoves. None of this was mentioned in Adado.

In the community, there are no grain mills, improved cooking fuel or improved stoves. Grain mills are not needed because the staple food is *kocho* which does not need grinding to be processed. People use fuel wood for cooking and there is no use of improved ovens. Health workers introduced kitchen cupboards made of wood to the community, in 2000 EC. But almost all people in Adado have kitchen cupboards locally made of dung or mud.

There are new ways of processing kocho. First, in the past women used to prepare kocho by sitting and these days they prepare it by standing which is better. Second, they used to squeeze it manually just with their hands, while now they are using sacks made from plastic threads.

Fuel and light

Wood to cook and bake is most common and there has been no change in that. A number of households are connected to electricity and use it for light. This was the case for five of the six households interviewed. The poor female head used kerosene for lamps.

Drinking water

At the wereda level the proportion of persons who have access to safe water increased from 18.1% in 2002 EC to reach 36.1% at the end of 2004 EC and it is planned to reach 51.1% at the end of 2005 EC. The wereda Water, Mineral and Energy office estimated the needs and coverage as follows:

Table 7: Safe water access in the wereda

Type	Required	Available
Spot spring	126	48
Shallow wells	80	0
Hand pump	51	4
Borehole	7	4

One borehole is under construction with funds from the federal MDG Goal programme. It is planned to serve 4,000 to 5,000 people in Repi town which for the moment does not have access to drinking water. This is part of a regional programme but it has been late to start in Bule wereda. There is another borehole under construction for joint use by Basura and Sokicha kebeles (near Adado).

The office is trying to expand coverage using various sources of funds. The MDG Goal programme is new. In 2000 and 2001 EC the Norwegian Church Aid worked in the construction of hand pumps. The wereda is also benefitting from the WASH programme with African Development Bank funding. This programme finances new water points. Costs used to be shared with 78% covered by the Region with AfDB money, 17% by the wereda and 5% by the community. But apparently recently this has changed and the wereda should cover 51.1% of the costs. Yet this year there was no budget allocated for water point construction so one AfDB-funded project stalled.

For maintenance, normally they mobilise the community to contribute money and deposit it at the bank and to form water management committee; and they train community members in water point management. When there is a technical problem the community reports to the wereda; a technical person goes and assesses what should be done; if it needs a spare part the community is told to buy it with the money they put aside; when they report that they have done this the wereda sends a plumber to fix the problem. This system has many weaknesses. Sometimes when community members try to repair or maintain the water points they damage them. The policy is that the wereda should not buy spare parts unless it is a critical problem – and there are indeed parts that are beyond the communities' capacity. But the wereda lacks budget to buy them and space to store them. The wereda also lacks qualified personnel: there is no plumber in the office and not enough plumbers in the wereda; only one of three electro-mechanical experts foreseen in the wereda structure is actually in post.

The head of office believes that there should be serious studies taking into account the geology and

population and factoring in population increase and urbanisation, to avoid problems of water shortage – like in Bule where the construction of water points was done without considering the possible increase in population.

In Adado, people are using water from various sources (piped water, springs and river). They consider the water from the river as potable as it does not cause them any serious illness. Five years ago there were 3 hand pump water points but two of the three stopped functioning one year ago. A water diversion scheme was constructed and started functioning very recently (in 2013 GC). Water is diverted from a source in the mountain and there are six new piped water points. They are not yet inaugurated but people are using them. So thanks to these new water points the number of people using drinking water from springs and streams has decreased a lot compared to five years ago. Still, those people who live near streams and the river use water from these.

There is no use of private wells as source of potable water. Now the number of wells is increasing as DAs advise people to grow vegetables but this water is not used for drinking. There are no communal wells in the community and this did not change since five years. There is one new reservoir to keep water from a spring, constructed with cement. People use roof catchment during the raining season, which they were already doing five years ago. Nobody is using bottled water.

Acute watery diarrhoea is not common in the wereda. There was one outbreak in 2001 EC. The cases were limited to places bordering with Yirgacheffe and Dilla Zuria weredas, including Adado. At the wereda office the head did not have the statistics related to the incident because he was not in the position and there is no documented data available in the office. People in Adado mentioned the incident but that nobody died and health workers put up tents to admit sick people. But since then some people have started using *wuha agar* (chemical product) to treat their water, following the government lessons about drinking river water.

Except the poor female head of household all other households had recently started using water from the newly installed piped water points. She did not because the spring that she is using is closer to her house; it takes her 5 minutes to go there, it is open throughout, and the queuing time is only 1 to 2 minutes. In the other households the wife of the successful businessman explained that she continues to mainly use water from a spring because that is open all the time whereas the new tap is not opened all the time as it has not yet been inaugurated. The women reported walking times ranging from two and five minutes to half an hour. They all said that the taps are not open all the time but periods of an hour or two once or twice in a day. They reported queuing times ranging from two minutes to an hour. They all explained that there is no payment for water from any source.

In November 2013 the pipe bringing drinking water to Adado's water points had been washed away by a big landslide in September 2013, and there was no sign that this would be addressed anytime soon. There was no drinking water at all in Adado and even the health centre had had to revert to using water from the rivers.

Sanitation

Generally people explained that sanitation has greatly improved in the community with the use of latrine in all households and households restraining from disposing of waste in open spaces. This used to be an issue as waste was being washed in the river and contaminated the water.

They mentioned the role of the extension programme in bringing these changes about. Some of the respondents, like the successful businessman, said that there continues to be some use of open spaces to discharge human wastes. Five of the households have and use their own latrine, including the poor female-headed household. The middle-wealth farmer's family do not have a latrine and use the health centre's one. In the poor female-headed household one of the children had acute diarrhoea; in the other households there was no case.

Domestic work

Knowledgeable respondents said that there is some change in domestic work in that men are contributing in tasks like preparing coffee and splitting wood. They may also buy grains on the market. In the households interviewed children contribute to domestic chores and in most cases male members contribute too. In the poor farmer's family there are only daughters and the husband does not participate to domestic chores. In the poor female-headed household the only son migrated for work.

The successful farmer's wife said that male members of the family split wood and wash clothes, which used to be done by their daughters but three of them got married and left the house. In the successful businessman's family their son is doing a lot (fetching water and wood, washing clothes and cleaning the house) and her husband is splitting wood. In the middle-wealth farmer's family male members wash clothes, fetch water and wood, clean the house, wash dishes and prepare coffee. It is the same in the successful female-headed household and in addition her children, male and female, help baking bread for the tea house. When her husband was alive he used to fetch wood and water and transport kocho.

Tasks that seem to be reserved to the wives/female heads and older daughters are cooking and shopping. In particular, the adult women are the ones who shop outside of the community. Childcare also seems reserved to female members of households.

The time that the adult women (wives and female heads) spend on domestic tasks in a week varies from 21 hours in the case of the poor female head with four daughters at home and three of them contributing to the tasks and the family living in a very small hut, to 70 hours in the case of the successful female head with seven children and her mother-in-law living with them, only one daughter among the children and a large house (she may include the time spent running the teashop). The wife of successful farmer, who has only sons at home, spends 48 hours and she does not work on Sundays. The wife of the middle-wealth farmer spends 37 hours; she has four sons and one seven-year old daughter. The wife of the successful businessman spends 35 hours; she has her son and daughter-in-law at home and they do a lot. The wife of the poor farmer, who has five daughters and two of them assist a lot, spends 28 hours.

Food and nutrition

Regular diet of households

Kocho and cabbage is still staple food in Adado but injera is becoming common on holidays and for weddings. Injera is eaten with meat stew on holidays. On other days injera is eaten with cabbage stew. Since 2003 EC the well-to-do people started to consume macaroni and pasta. Before 2008 GC bread was not common; now it has become common and it is baked in the community. Tea houses are preparing a type of bread roasted with oil which is called *koker*. People are also consuming more vegetable because they are growing them in their garden. Diet is also changing under the influence of urban ways of doing. People in rural areas used to consume only farm products, but these days the rural community use commodities such as sugar, powder, tea, bread, injera and others. Young people explained that thanks to the increase in the price of coffee the people in Adado are eating better food like pasta, rice, macaroni, lentil, oil and wheat flour.

The food regularly eaten by all households is kocho and cabbage. In the middle farmer's family they sometimes also consume maize and barley. The poor farmer's family sometimes eat maize, barley and beans. In the successful farmer's household they consume barley and beans for breakfast and they eat meat regularly because the head likes meat and he is sick. There is no seasonal variation in eating kocho. Households consume less cabbage in the dry season because it is not as easily available and is more expensive. Barley and beans are also not consumed the whole year. Households eat three times a day but in the poor female-headed household sometimes they skip a meal if there is no food and no money at home. In the successful farmer's household they add a

snack between lunch and dinner. In both the poor female-headed household and the successful businessman's household one change compared to five years ago is that nowadays the family members are eating together – in the case of the poor household because there is not enough and in the family of the successful businessman this was a response to increasing living costs.

The households' diet has changed under the combined influence of several factors including greater diversity in the types of food stuff grown locally, easier availability of consumables in shops and on markets, and increasing costs. This is summarised in the box below.

None of the households' members suffered from malnutrition.

Box 6: Diet of different types of household in Adado

Poor female-headed household – Compared to five years ago they are consuming less grain because they are producing less maize and grain got expensive; less enset because the land is less productive; less vegetables because of the increasing price; less avocado because they are producing less. The household sometimes eat pulses but less than five years ago. They do not consume oil seed, milk and butter and this has not changed. They no longer consume eggs because of the family's decreasing income and they no longer have egg-laying hens. They sometimes used to eat meat but not anymore because of increase in the price of meat and their decreasing income.

Successful female-headed household - There is no change in eating grains and consuming oil and vegetables but they are eating less pulse because of decreasing income and pulses became expensive especially in the dry season and less fruit, milk and butter because this got expensive. They are eating less meat, and less varied except for chicken which they keep, while other meat types are expensive for them to buy. They also eat less spice because life got expensive.

Poor farmer - The household is eating less grain, enset and pulses because the prices increased. Because of high prices these days they do not eat vegetable other than cabbage, unlike five years ago when they sometimes bought other vegetables. The household was also using more fruit five years ago and less now. When they get money they prefer avocado. In the same way the household is using less milk, butter, eggs, meat and spices. The general explanation for reducing consumption of food items is the increase of price for each item and increase in living costs in general.

Middle-wealth farmer – They consume less grain because of the increase in their price and they cannot afford buying grains for that many family members. For the same reason (high price) they consume less pulse, milk, butter, egg and meat. They eat beetroot and cabbage and buy avocado, mango and banana and this has not changed in the last five years. She continues to use spice for special occasions like holidays.

Successful businessman - They have always used small amounts of grain, usually as porridge. They did not change the amount of pulses and enset consumed in the household. They eat more vegetables than in the past (beetroots, caulis and cabbage) because they are growing them in their garden, but less banana because of a disease that struck the banana and also they are now selling fruits on the market to compensate for increased living costs. They consume as much milk and butter as five years ago but fewer eggs, less meat and less spices because of increased prices.

Successful farmer – They eat grain, no longer roasted but as *kita* and *besso* because this is easier to eat and do not cause difficulty to the teeth. They are consuming less enset because the production is smaller because enset does not grow as fast as before; and less pulses because beans and haricot beans gave a smaller yield. In general they are using more vegetable because of the lessons on balanced diet but this varies depending on their availability on the market. They eat more fruits because their trees (avocado and kazmir) produce well and they buy gishta and banana from the market, to follow the lessons on balanced diet. They have started eating banana with kocho instead of cabbage when cabbage is not available. They are eating fewer eggs because they have fewer chicken and eggs became expensive, but more meat because her husband needs that to treat his illness. They are eating less spice because of lesser income.

Child malnutrition

According to wereda officials child malnutrition is not a problem in the wereda, with only 143 malnourished children in the last six months. There is no regular Community-Based Nutrition Programme but there is regular screening every six months and malnourished children are identified and given nutritional support. Nutritional screening service is also given when children come to health facilities for other health problems. When children get moderately malnourished there is outpatient therapeutic programme (OTP) in health posts and health centres. When children get severely malnourished there is a stabilisation centre (SC) at the wereda (this is the same as TFU or TFC). It was established in 2000 EC.

Supplements of Vitamin A and iodine are given for under-five children. Iodine is given every 6 months and to treat malnourishment. There is no school feeding programme in the wereda. Health extension workers are given training on breast and child feeding. HEWs also got integrated training at the wereda level, including on nourishing diet. The training, including theory and practice, lasted 15 days and it included 15 packages of the health extension programme (excluding malaria as it does not exist in the wereda). It was effective because it is helping the HEWs to better teach the community. The community is also improving its diet intake.

In collaboration with the agriculture and health offices Save the Children has just started working on the prevention of child malnutrition (since 2005 EC). In the wereda most malnutrition is caused not because of food shortage but due to lack of awareness. Save the Children advises farmers to grow different varieties of food stuff including vegetables, and feed their children instead of selling every product. The AGP is also working on making farmers to produce varieties.

In November 2013 the HEW mentioned that there had been a recent screening of pregnant mothers, lactating mothers and under-fives for malnutrition in Adado. Showing that malnutrition is not an issue in the kebele, they found only 10 children needing attention. There also was a campaign of provision of vitamin A for 6-59 months, and de-worming campaign in September 2013 for the 2-3 year old children. There was no problem with these.

Health extension

The Health Post

There is no health post in Adado. There is a health centre that serves five kebeles.

Health extension

Health Extension Workers

At the time of the fieldwork there was only one health extension worker in Adado because the other was on maternity leave. She said that while previously the focus was on hygiene and sanitation, since one year there has been a shift to ante-natal care, delivery at health centre, post-natal care and infant care.

Her views on what works and works less well are reflected in the sections below, focusing on the different aspects of the health extension programme and services that she is supposed to give to the community. Overall, she explained that the most popular health extension packages in the community are latrine, family planning, antenatal care, immunisation and hygiene and sanitation. She highlighted some resistance to avoiding traditional harmful practices (cutting uvula and pulling milk teeth). Her main success was with vaccination thanks to the strong follow-up of the 1-5s and development teams. The least popular package is delivery at the health centre.

The main problem that she is facing while doing her job is that people do not easily accept and implement the health extension programme packages. There are more than 1,000 households and she is the only HEW who works in Adado kebele. She started to work in Adado in 2002 EC and she already was working alone. The other health extension worker was absent due to illness and now

she is on maternity leave. There is high workload to make the house-to-house visits, which she is supposed to do 3 days a week, and compile reports for the health centre. When she is engaged in report compiling the main work of implementing health extension packages lags behind. There is usually regular supply of vaccine (but there was a case of shortage of polio vaccines in a recent campaign, see below). There is no malaria in Adado.

Most men in the kebele management are supportive of all her activities. They assist her in giving health information to the community in general meetings. The kebele manager assists the health extension work in everything which is expected from him. He once made an unwilling pregnant woman to deliver at the health centre by going to her house. But there is a problem with the kebele chairperson. When she gives awareness-raising sessions and training to the community he is invited but he does not come. Of course he is busy but he has to support activities that help the community. The vice-chair person of the kebele only comes once or twice in a month. On the whole the health extension worker has a good relationship with the community and is well accepted. She only convinces them to do things in a friendly way; she does not use harsh words to make them implement what she teaches them.

In November 2013 she was still alone. She was pregnant and ill with pneumonia and seemed overworked and stressed.

Community health volunteers

The wereda administrator explained that the current policy for the organisation of preventive health services is to build a structure called development army. The work is facilitated by the health extension workers and the development army. This is because more than 85% of the illnesses that affect the community are preventable so doing prevention is critical and this, which is government policy, requires the active participation of the community and other stakeholders.

The development army are those community members who took training on the health extension packages. Below them there are 1-5 groups led by one person – this started in 2003 EC. The leaders of the 1-5s are people who took training and who have better performance in implementing the health extension packages. The role of the health extension is to implement the 15 packages (excluding malaria) by going house to house. They also use 1-5 leaders to implement the health extension packages. The HEW makes communication with the leaders of 1-5s. They give them training and make weekly meetings and discussions with them. Health extension workers compile reports and send them to the health centre and the health centre sends them to the wereda. The health volunteers are 1-5 leaders. They train those who are not trained and make follow-up on what their members do. The 1-5 teams work on all the health extension packages. This includes hygiene and sanitation, improvement of maternal and child health, maternal health and improving nutrition. They work in the control and prevention of communicable diseases. So, health volunteers and leaders of 1-5 are one and the same. There are 3,061 health volunteers/1-5 leaders for the wereda as a whole. Leaders of 1-5s and the group they lead form the development army.

In Adado, kebele officials confirmed that the health extension service uses the same structures as the agricultural DAs. There are volunteers assisting the HEW. They are involved in disseminating information in campaigns, making women to use family planning services, convincing pregnant women to make ANC and deliver at the health centre. The health extension programme started in 1999 EC. At that time there was no structure like now. Health extension workers used to pass messages through door to door visits. In 2000 EC there was a structure called *mengistawi budin* and *debo*. Then the new structures were gradually implemented and as this is much improved, the service delivery is much better. The use of these structures is very efficient. The health extension workers teach in both male and female development teams. Women development teams and 1-5s are organised and implement the health extension programme packages. The health extension worker discusses with the teams and the leaders of the teams follow up on implementation. The team members learn from one another in the development teams and in the 1-5 groups under the

teams. What the kebele calls health army is all the 1-5 groups.

The HEW of Adado explained that in her view, targeting women is the best way to deliver the programme because the health extension worker is a woman and the women feel freer to communicate with her rather than a man. Sometimes women do not feel free to talk to male nurses at the health centre and they ask information to the health extension worker. The other reason why targeting women makes best sense is that women are more willing to implement what they are told to do. The HEP packages are designed to use women as a means to deliver the programme.

She explained that there are no meetings of any women's organisation in Adado. So, she uses large meetings and other health-specific meetings called by the kebele health workers in order to teach the community and women. She uses the development army, that is, the 1-5 groups. She also uses the development teams to implement the health extension packages. She said that there are no health volunteers. She uses church leaders, the customary *Aba Gada shengo* leaders and elders to teach the community on health, and the *equb* and *iddir* to pass information. She uses gatherings on market and at church to pass information when there is a campaign. She uses model families to demonstrate the implementation of the health extension packages. And she goes house to house to teach about the health extension programme and to see how households are implementing.

In her opinion the best approach is the 1-5. She explains that she trains the leaders of 1-5s and in turn they teach their group by demonstration. The leaders are those who have better awareness and good acceptance of family planning and latrine use. The leaders of 1-5 are told to fulfil what they miss from the packages; they get lessons. Health education given at large meetings is also good because it is easy to reach many people at a time. House to house teaching is very effective but tiresome and it takes a long time to reach a few households. In the HEW's view the different methods to reach out to the community can be ranked from most to least effective as follows: the 1-5 teams are most effective, followed by large meetings, then house to house visits, followed by passing information through *equb* and *iddir* then working with elders and the least effective is using model families.

The health extension worker uses the women development teams to increase the awareness of the community on delivery at the health centre, attending antenatal care, using family planning service, hygiene and sanitation, nutritional screening of children, polio campaign and latrine construction. She is targeting all women but giving priority to those who easily accept new things and teachings and these are usually below 35 years old.

The story told by community members is quite different. Most women – including the women affairs' cabinet member - said that the HEW does not work with DTs and 1-5s and some added that there are no such things (one of them added that she only knew the '*hiwas*'/political cells; another knew only the '*got*'; another knew nothing about a health army). Informally, the HEW told the Research Officer that she was very confused about how she should be working. She said that the DTs and 1-5s supposed to assist are very weak; the 17 new separate female 1-5s are not functional and; she has no organised manner to reach out to their leaders, other than her regular house-to-house visits.

In November 2013 the successful female household head explained that she and nine other participants were recently trained by the HEW and other workers from the HC about family planning, pregnancy follow-up, infant care, hygiene and delivery at the HC. The training was given at the kebele hall on Wednesdays and Fridays for 2 hours and lasted one month. She did not know why she had been selected for this training.

Preventive health services

Hygiene and environmental sanitation

Generally

The HEW believes that among the most popular packages are the use of latrines and hygiene and sanitation generally. A number of respondents agreed that hygiene and sanitation has generally improved in the community and mentioned people's better hygiene and better hygiene for babies and children as a positive change in the way the community is thinking and behaving. Quite a number of them highlighted the influence of the urban areas in the way people in Adado have adopted better hygiene practices, alongside the teachings by the government workers.

Generally the women in the households interviewed said that they had been made aware of all packages – some of them within the past one year, others earlier than that. Pest control was not known by the poor woman head of household and the wife of the poor farmer was aware but could not use pest killers because of the cost. The same two women also could not use water purifying tablets – even though the poor woman head of household is using spring water.

In November 2013 some respondents noted that in the past few months, the HEW had cleaned some of Adado's public places. For the school compound she had done this with teachers and students. For the market some people said that she did this by herself; others highlighted that other health workers and the people living around the market had participated and the latter were 'very cooperative'.

Latrines

The HEW believes that latrine use is popular because people became aware that the use of latrine prevents people from catching communicable diseases. This is expressed by the households' wives and female heads who also said that all household members are using the latrine at all times. The six households have their own latrine except the middle-wealth farmer's family living in a government house and sharing the latrine of the health centre. In the successful female-headed household they were at their third latrines as the previous two were full. The woman explained that the customers of her teashop also use the latrine.

The kebele public buildings have a latrine – but not the Farmers' Union office. At the time of the fieldwork some children were working as daily labourers and collecting stones to construct a public latrine in the kebele.

Waste disposal

All women mentioned awareness of the methods for disposing waste and said that there is no problem with implementation. Talking about pollution in the community, men said that waste disposal in open spaces has decreased but it has not yet completely disappeared.

Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

This was said to be well implemented by all the households interviewed. The wife of the successful farmer said that her household's members are using more soap than five years ago to wash clothes and their bodies. Soap is now available in the local shops. Young women buy themselves soap and shampoo with the income they raise – like one of the 19-year old young woman making dantel and hairdressing. And people talking about changes in the community mentioned the fact that people are now buying soap to wash the bodies of their children. But buying soap is problematic for the poorer members of the community. For instance, the poor farmer's wife explained that she could not easily buy soap to wash the clothes. The 19-year old poor young woman explained that when they have their menstruation many girls get in trouble because they use cloth and not sanitary napkins, and they lack soap.

Kitchen cupboards

The HEW introduced kitchen cupboards made of wood but this does not seem to be widespread. Households make cupboards with clay or mud.

Livestock in the house

The practice of keeping livestock outside of the house seemed to go together with the trend in having more modern houses. Among the six households interviewed, only the poor female-headed household kept the family's livestock in the small hut but they only had two sheep.

Smoke-free houses

The trend is the same as for keeping the livestock outside of the house. Again only the poor female-headed household did not have a separate kitchen.

Pest control

This seems to be less emphasised than some other packages. None of the women said that she was actually using pest killers. Some people use bed nets as curtains to avoid flees as well as mosquitoes.

Other

Several members of the community said that better environmental hygiene and especially the use of latrines and avoidance of disposing of waste in open spaces led to less pollution in the community's environment and in particular, helped avoiding water contamination.

Disease prevention and control

Immunisations

Households were aware of the importance of immunisation. The HEW said that vaccination is one of her great success in the community thanks to strong follow-up by the 1-5s and development teams. She said that there is regular supply of vaccines. The fact that babies and children are vaccinated was mentioned as a positive change in relation to child rearing practices by all six women household heads or wives.

One respondent said that still, in the local culture mothers do not go out of their house before the 3rd month after delivery, so those who respect this practice do not come to the health centre with their babies for several months. Those who live far away may even not come for six months.

In November 2013 the HEW explained that since April there had been a measles and polio vaccination campaign in the kebele, targeting children between 9 and 59 months and with the HEW going door-to-door. The polio campaign was organised as an emergency as polio cases had been reported elsewhere in Ethiopia. There was no resistance but there was not enough vaccine as they were more children than planned. In one got she could not vaccinate the children. She reported it to the wereda but they said they had no more product.

Bed nets

Generally the information concerning malaria and malaria prevention measures is quite confusing. The wereda officials said that there is no malaria in Adado and in the wereda as a whole and therefore it is not part of the HEP implementation in the wereda. But in Adado there are cases. The HEW reckons that this is due to people who brought malaria from other places. But others believe that it is linked to climate change and yet others that it was introduced because of the maize in 2004 EC (one of the years in which the improved seeds failed).

The wife of the successful farmer was given a bed net at the wereda health centre. In Adado the health workers taught her to use a bed net. She was also told that she should come for diagnostic if symptoms of malaria were seen. The household got no information on spraying houses and removing stagnant water. In the other households the women all said that they had not been told

anything about malaria. Yet one family member in the successful female-headed household and the successful businessman's household had suffered from malaria.

House spraying

See above.

Removing stagnant water

See above.

TB prevention

There is little information on TB prevention but four of the women members of the households interviewed explained that they are aware of it and how to prevent it. They know that people coughing for a long time should go to the health centre and get diagnosed; that people infected with TB should cover their mouth when they cough; and that people should avoid sharing cups and glasses with anyone infected with TB. One of them heard about it indirectly by people who attended meetings.

HIV/AIDS prevention

The wereda women affairs' officer talked about HIV as a possible cause of mortality among women so prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV (PMTCT) service is given to HIV positive women. Women get PMTCT services by health workers from health centres who go to kebeles in their catchment area to give it.

In Adado, three of the households' wives/female heads had not been made aware about HIV/AIDS in the last twelve months: the poor woman head of household, the successful businessman's wife but she had been made aware earlier on, and the wife of the poor farmer because she did not attend the meeting at which information was given. The young people interviewed were all aware of it and could describe generally well the transmission risks and prevention methods. But only a few had information on HIV/AIDS prevalence in the community and this was always based on rumors. Two of them said that there are about ten cases in the community.

More generally it does not seem that HIV/AIDS cases are known. Most adult members of the households interviewed thought that there are no risks for youth to get infected. Only the successful businessman and farmer raised the risks associated to youth migrating and going to urban areas for education, work or migration. Their wives like the other women thought that there is no problem. Different respondents mentioned some awareness-raising at school through clubs and that churches sometimes pass messages about HIV/AIDS. People also learned about it by watching ETV.

Nobody in the community talked spontaneously about HIV/AIDS testing. When asked whether this was practised before marriage different respondents gave different responses, suggesting that while some young people might do so, especially young women educated to Gr10, it is far from universal.

First Aid at the Health Post

Like for TB this does not seem to be a very high priority. Three of the women had not heard about it, one had heard about the importance of bringing injured people to seek first aid at her church, and two simply mentioned that they had heard about it.

HTPs affecting health

There is resistance in avoiding traditional harmful practices. The community members are continuing to practice cutting uvula and pulling milk teeth. These two HTPs are still widely practised among the community even though lessons are given against it. The reason for the community not stopping cutting of uvula and pulling milk teeth is because it is deeply rooted in the culture.

Reproductive health & services

Infertility

The HEW said that there is no infertility service given in the kebele. The wife of the successful businessman (who said she is 45) explained that she has only two children and would like more but she cannot conceive.

Contraception

The wereda policy is to give family planning services after delivery because frequent childbirth without spacing puts the life of the mother in danger. But women take family planning services of their own choice.

The HEW explained that the family planning service is popular in the community and there is a big demand in the community to reduce family sizes. In the past women used to face food shortages and bleeding during delivery, and they could not engage in economic activities like trading because they had many children and frequent pregnancies and child births. Nowadays they space and limit their children and they can engage in trading and get their own income.

She said that most married women use contraceptives that she gives them. Girls who are single take contraceptives from the health centre. 60% of women in the community are using contraceptives. Most of them are married women in the 15-35 age group. Some do not use contraceptives because of side effects they think are caused by them. They say that contraceptive pills cause serious illness so they do not accept it. They say that *depo* (an implant) causes too much or no menstruation or makes some women to get thinner and others to get fatter. Some say *depo* causes headache. But on the whole, the widespread use of contraceptives has reduced the local birth rate by a lot. In the past mothers used to bear 12 children; now this has reduced to 8 and young adults even further as they have up to 5 children maximum. The lessons given to the community include giving birth to fewer than 4 children because life is getting expensive. The health centre also gives contraceptive pills to women who suffer from fluctuation in their menstruations.

All six women in the households interviewed said that the use of contraceptives is generally well accepted and widespread in the community. Most said that husbands and wives reach an agreement about using contraceptives. The woman head of the more successful household said that information is given to both men and women. But the wife of the successful farmer said that sometimes there is disagreement between husband and wife. Most often, the husband wants a child and the wife does not, in which case she hides to take contraceptives. The wife of the poor farmer who has five daughters does not take any contraception because she wants to have a son. In the other households nobody was taking contraceptives – in several cases the explanation was that nobody needs it as wives have reached menopause and the girls at home are single.

The young people interviewed and who had a view about this generally wanted four children and the maximum mentioned was six. However, the interviews of the girls and young women suggest that it is not easy for unmarried young women to get access to contraceptives because they fear to be seen and that having sexual relations before marriage is culturally not acceptable and also not in line with the Protestant doctrine.

Abortion

The HEW explained that there is no abortion service given in the kebele. The girls and young women interviewed said that there are no abortions in the community, including by young women, or that it is not common and they did not know where young women aborting are going. The wife of the middle-wealth farmer said that there are some cases of pregnancies before marriage in Adado. This is not a big problem because it is not traditionally accepted and women restrain themselves from this type of practice. If it happens they go to other places and deliver the child or abort. The wife of the successful businessman said that in case of pregnancy before marriage most of the time the girl

is getting married. There is a problem only if the man refuses to do so.

Fistula

The only information about fistula was given by the HEW who explained that women do not have access to fistula services anywhere near. They have to go to Yirgalem which is very far. It must be noted that there is no issue of female circumcision in Adado as this never was practised. However, early marriages used to be the norm.

Other reproductive health problems

Only in one household did the wife say that she had been made aware of adolescent reproductive health. The young women interviewed did not mention any activity in this regard such as school club etc. They all said that the school does not give any special support to girls menstruating.

Pregnancy and childbirth & services

At wereda level the policy of reducing maternal mortality is taken seriously. The wereda administrator explained that current policy is making women to attend anti-natal care and deliver at the health centre. House-to-house visits allow identifying pregnant women and they are advised accordingly. When there are delivery complications pregnant women are taken to higher health institutions using ambulance free of charge. The other strategies are to advise about childbirth spacing and give PMTCT services to HIV positive women.

At the wereda level 75% of the pregnant women attend antenatal care. Taking the data from last month there was one death out of 358 deliveries. There are four health centres in the wereda. Five years ago deliveries at the health centre were 5 in a month while this has now reached 20 per month. This improvement came from the intensive teachings and efforts made by the wereda health office through HEWs and other health workers. The other factor that played a role is the start of ambulance service in the wereda. This started in July 2004 EC and it gives service free of charge. Also since 2004 EC delivery and related costs are covered by the health centres.

Currently there is also delivery at health posts by health extension workers. This is new as five years ago there was no trained personnel at the health posts; the HEWs had not yet been given training on clean and safe delivery. Now there are 27 health posts in the wereda and there is an average of 4 deliveries per month in each health post. 21 out of the 57 HEWs took a 15-day training on clean and safe delivery. Priority was given to those working in remote areas far from health centres, and one health extension worker participated from each of the health posts. The proportion of health posts that have clean water and electricity is 4 out of 27. But all have suitable place for deliveries and all necessary materials such as delivery couches and sterilised materials.

On the whole, the majority of pregnant women deliver at health centres and health posts. As for TBAs, it is not acceptable as per the policy that they assist deliveries. Still, they are assisting in very remote areas of the wereda. In Adado there is one TBA. There is no training for TBAs but they are given clean delivery kits because they use them in assisting delivery in the absence of skilled health personnel. The kits are provided from the government budget. The health centres buy them and distribute them to health posts under their catchment area then the TBAs take them from there, based on their request.

The negative attitude in relation to delivery is hindering the efforts made to reduce maternal mortality. Going to the health centre for delivery is not accepted in the culture. Women who go are considered as weak. Those women who deliver without screaming during labour are appreciated. Now this attitude is changing but it still demands a lot of work to change it. What needs to happen is for wereda political leaders, community elders and religious leaders to work to increase the community awareness to change their attitude towards delivery at the health centre. A hospital is being constructed so it will play an important role in reducing maternal mortality.

Pregnancy

The HEW explained that antenatal care is popular in the community. Awareness raising lessons are given to the community and they have accepted that. Women want to know the position of their baby and they get information and education at the health centre. They are informed about signs of risk of complications. They are also told about this during house visits and meetings.

Delivery

The HEW explained that the least popular health extension package is delivery at health centre. Women are good in making follow-ups before delivery and they have enough information about where to deliver but there is problem in practice. The majority of the pregnant women deliver at their house. There are teachings, and good services are given to pregnant women who go to health centres. But there is a difficulty to accept the idea of delivery in a health institution. The 1-5 teams and nurses also teach the community but there is no satisfactory change. Younger women usually are more willing to use the ANC and institutional delivery services.

There was a problem with some 1-5 leaders who were not making good follow-up with pregnant mothers. Now they are doing better. But still, the main reason is that women stick to tradition. Sometimes there is disagreement between the husband and wife as to where the wife would deliver. Sometimes when the wife is willing to deliver at the health centre her husband refuses; sometimes both refuse. They justify this saying that in the past their mothers were safe when they delivered at home. The HEW is involved in delivery. This year she assisted 5 women.

She believes that to increase institutional delivery it would be good to provide clothes for the new born baby. Also, it is better if the midwifery workforce is female because some women feel ashamed and intimidated when the health worker is male.

Several women of Adado mentioned as a change that pregnant women are made to attend ANC and are advised to deliver at the health centre. The kebele officials mentioned that there is one TBA and she is giving good help for women who do not want to go to the health centre. When women want to go to the health centre she takes them there. She has high acceptance in the community.

Women from the community and the HEW contradicted each other in relation to the proportion of deliveries at the health centre. The women said that most deliveries are still at home and people may call the TBA if the labour becomes hard; they generally added that the HEW did not assist women delivering, and one of them said that HEW could not do this as she does not have the skills. The HEW said that more deliveries were taking place at the health centre and mentioned the figure of three out of seven. She also said that she herself assisted 17 women to deliver at their home in the past few years. Some women had allegedly not heard about the government trying to stop TBA from practising. One man knew but he said that women continue to do so secretly.

Several women and even the HEW also explained a 'twist' of the ANC policy – saying that women like the ANC follow-up as it gives them information on their and the embryo and when they know that the embryo and mother are healthy, they feel safe that there is no need to go to the health centre. Several women added that women do not like the HC, finding it problematic and not comfortable.

Women referred to hospital have to pay for the service. The HEW did not have full information about how much and for what. There are iddirs providing financial assistance when this happens.

At the same time as these efforts are being made to reduce maternal mortality, kebele officials reported that there were three cases of miscarriage by pregnant women participating in public works to improve the road. This was heavy work, transporting sandstone and wire. They had reached 2 and ½, 3 and 4 months pregnancy, respectively.

Mother and infant care

The success that the HEW has is vaccination. There is strong follow-up through 1-5s and development teams. All the adult women mentioned that close follow-up of infant health at the health centre is a big positive change compared to ten years ago. They get vaccination and health check-up. There is post-natal care and health workers tell mothers to take their children for vaccination.

The services for mothers and infants is free of charge but according to the HEW there still are cultural barriers, and for instance some women given iron supplements do not take it because they say that it is a drug and will kill the infant. As explained earlier the cultural practice of mothers not going out for months after the delivery is another obstacle. So, there should be more awareness-raising.

Illnesses and curative health services

Government

Health Post

There is no health post in Adado so people directly go to the health centre.

Health Centre

There are four health centres in the wereda. The health centre in Adado has been constructed in the last five years and serves five kebeles. It has one new block built with modern materials and one old block in traditional materials and used as office for the staff. It has electricity and a latrine but no water. The compound is not fenced.

There is little information on the health centre functioning; the middle-wealth farmer's wife (which must live nearby as she said her family shares the health centre's latrine) explains that it is open 24 hours. The health extension worker presumably operates from there and she reports to the health centre. People go to the health centre for first aid as there is no health post.

The four wives all highlighted better and nearby health services as one important positive change in the community and all adult women mentioned the health centre in relation to improved maternal and child care. The presence of the health centre in the kebele reduces costs and people do not need to travel far away for simple illnesses. In the past people had to go to Bule or even Dilla and sometimes died on the way. With the health centre also came better access to medicine.

But the successful farmer (who is chronically ill) commented that while there is progress it still is far from standards available in other places; the community does not complain about it because there is nobody who is in charge and to whom they could complain. Most of the households' men noted the poor infrastructure standards. One elder who is a supporter of the opposition Gedeo People Democratic Front used this and the poor infrastructure development of the area in general as an example of poor performance of the current government.

In August 2013 the HC laboratory was organised with materials and manpower, and started examining blood, stools and urine of patients, for better medication. Four new health workers were added to the staff. But since the landslide in September 2013, the health centre had no water when the Research Officers returned in November.

As noted above, the one thing that is not accepted in the community and in the wereda as a whole is the policy of institutional delivery at the health centre – although it is slowly progressing according to the wereda administrator.

Transportation of sick people has also improved with the works on the roads and paths. People still have to use mules and horses (and rent them for those who do not own one) on the internal roads and paths but at least this is more feasible than in the past; and the wereda ambulance can come to

the kebele. The ambulance service has started recently as also explained by the wereda administrator. But there are still sick people transported on motorbikes when they have to go to Bule or Dilla.

The presence of the health centre in Adado also led to increased linkages with other kebeles as people from there come to Adado to seek treatment. There was no comment on possible effects of these increased linkages.

There are not that many experiences with the health centre in the fieldwork data. In the large successful female-headed household there were six incidents or illnesses and most of them (abdominal pain, colds, typhoid, injury) were treated at the health centre in Adado. But one child who had malaria and was first taken at the health centre in Adado was not cured and was taken to Bule health centre. Another child with a cold was also taken to Bule. Costs ranged from 35 birr for an injection for the abdominal pain to 100 birr for injections and tablets for a cold. One daughter of the poor farmer had typhoid too and she was taken successively to the Adado health centre then to Bule. It took her two months to recover and the total cost was 150 birr. In the household of the successful businessman one child was sick with malaria. She was first taken to the Adado health centre then had to be admitted for 18 days in Dilla. It took her one month to recover. Including transportation the total costs to the family amounted to 1,000 birr.

Hospitals

There is little information about hospital services – except that they charge something for deliveries referred to them.

The household of the successful farmer is affected by the head's ill health. He has kidney problems and undertook surgery two years ago. The household's expenses amounted to 10,000 birr which his wife said, is a lot of money. Now he also has problems with one leg.

NGOs

There is no NGO working on health issue in Adado.

Private clinics and pharmacies

There are no private clinics and pharmacies in Adado.

Traditional practitioners

Men in Adado said that there are no traditional practitioners. Women said that there are eleven of them, involved in bone-setting and herb-based medical treatment for skin diseases.

Child-rearing

Kebele officials noted that there is change in Adado with regard to child-rearing practices. They highlighted better care in relation to children's hygiene and feeding and attention to sending them to school and buy school materials. Expenditures made on children are increasing as parents buy soap, notebooks, pen, shoes and school materials. Children are even given pocket money to buy tea so that they will not feel bad when their peer drink tea.

On the other hand, the above suggests that children continue to be expected to help the family with domestic chores and contributing to farming or the family's economic activities. Several adult respondents noted that nowadays children of both sexes start doing some of the tasks expected from them earlier than before because they are smarter and more active, thanks to their education. There is a sense that it is also more frequent for relatively young children to work for an income that they partly use for themselves, partly add to the household's income. This is clearly the case in poor families but even children from richer families start some activity as young as 13 because they want to raise an income.

The wives and female heads of households gave further detail on what they saw as major changes in the way children of different age-groups are raised in the community. As noted earlier (see section 5) there is likely to be a wide range of variations with regard to how much families are adhering in practice to the ideal described below – especially with regard to infants, babies and young children.

For **newborn infants and babies** the most noted changes are about vaccination and check-ups at the health centre, as well as better food and hygiene. Babies are no longer given solid food before 6 months. Then they are given porridge (muk) and eggs. Mothers frequently wash their bodies and clothes. They have more clothes than in the past. The community is better aware of the importance of these things, thanks to government teachings and also people hear this information on the radio. There is no difference between male and female infants and babies.

The same attention to better hygiene, clothing and feeding continues for **knee-children**. Breast-feeding continues up to two or three years instead of four like in the past, but knee-children are given other food. They may be given biscuits, bread and tea, eggs etc. They eat like adults. There is no difference between male and female knee-children.

There continues to be little difference between girls and boys in the way **pre-school children** and 7-12 year old children are raised. There is also better hygiene and clothes and food at these ages compared to ten years ago. From 5 and above children are no longer protected from fire and other possible accidents, they take care of themselves. They also start eating kocho like adults. Two of the women noted that these days children aged 6 go to pre-school before starting the formal school. The wife of the poor farmer explained that parents no longer beat their children as they used to do ten years ago.

The wife of the middle-wealth farmer highlighted that the changes in terms of care, feeding etc. are not applied by most in the community; most of the time it is the educated and well-to-do families that apply them. The woman head of a poor household indeed explained that parents try to buy what their children need if they have the money.

Schooling is also the norm for **7-12 children** and one change is that most parents now send their children at the right age. The middle-wealth farmer's wife noted that ten years ago children started school later, around 10 but now parents send them on time and make strong follow-up, asking their children about their education when they come back from school. Children get school materials in a better way than ten years ago. They are no longer beaten – unlike in the past when they were beaten for just dropping a pen or an exercise book. Children are informed that they should not be beaten. At this age children accept parents' and old people's advice but at the same time they start taking care of themselves and parental control starts to get loosened. However, the wife of the successful farmer believes that children of that age nowadays do no longer fear their parents and are not willing to accept their parents' advice – they openly disagree and do things their own way and spend their time watching TV...

Girls of this age-group are expected to start carrying out various domestic chores like preparing coffee, cleaning the house and washing cups; they also are washing themselves and their clothes. This does not seem to be expected from boys of the same age-group.

When it comes to **12-16ish children** the main changes are about greater freedom, less pressure from parents in whatever they do. Girls can stay outside with their friends. The wife of the successful farmer worries that children of that age do no longer obey their parents. On the positive side, the middle-wealth farmer's wife noted that at that age children start to take responsibility to go to school on their own. Ten years ago children did not know the benefit of education so they used to be told by parents to go to school in the mornings. Now both the family and the children themselves know the benefit of education. Parents are ready to ensure that both their male and female children continue their education as far as they can. Children of that age are also expected to contribute labour to their household's activities. Boys start splitting wood, hoeing and planting. Girls

start processing kocho. When they are 15, boys start going to the market by themselves and girls start doing some shopping.

The trend of change toward greater freedom and less parental control continues for the **young adults (17-20ish)**. They can now have friends of the opposite sex openly. They decide about the life in terms of economic activities and marriage. They are informed that parents should not get angry at them. Young women can wear what they want, do their hair as frequently as they want, have a boyfriend and chose who they marry. They are encouraged to continue their education and get a job instead of marrying. The wife of the successful farmer again sees things less positively, saying that these young people do not obey their parents. Most of the 17-20 male stay outside watching TV against their parents' advice; parents accept their children's choice for marriage because they have no choice.

Interestingly, these descriptions fit quite well with the realities described by the young people interviewed from the 13, 16 and 19 age-groups in relation to schooling. But it seems that parents keep a quite strong eye on what their children are doing and in addition, the protestant churches play a quite strong normative role as well. Other respondents talking about cultural changes and new ideas also generally stressed that young people are now the ones to choose their marriage partner. But they pointed that fashion clothes are often a subject of disagreement between young people, girls in particular, and the adult generation.

Education

Education overview

There is no KG in Adado but a child-to-child education programme has recently started. There is one Gr1-8 school. To attend Gr9 and Gr10 students have to go to Bule. Preparatory and TVET education are available in Dilla. Like everywhere in the country, students from Adado are posted anywhere in the country if they reach university.

There seems to be a tension between on the one hand, quite high expectations arising from the fact that unlike in other areas of the country, students graduating from college or university are reportedly easily employed and the demand for educated people at these levels is not met; but on the other hand it is hard for most children to reach these levels of education as they fail at one of the exams and when this happens, there are very few options enabling them to use whatever education they have.

There is also a tension between attending school with these expectations in mind and raising an income, which an increasing number of young people seem keen to do. For the children from poor families this may not be optional. Two additional factors challenging regular attendance are the high demand for labour during the coffee harvest season which provides easy opportunities for young people to get some income but is hard to combine with enough time to attend school; and, for boys, the increasing temptation of migration to Shakiso for gold-mining. As noted earlier this is not new but it seems that the trend is growing and increasingly young boys are dropping out to migrate.

Education costs are hard to meet for poor families and are the reason for some of the dropouts – for both boys and girls. Sometimes they return to school when the economic situation of their family allows it. It also seems that girls are stopped earlier than boys in their education trajectory (e.g. most failing in Gr8 or parents not agreeing for them to go to Bule).

Knowledgeable respondents believe that while adult literacy is no more than 10%, among the young people it is as high as 90%. They estimated that no more than 5% of the (primary?) school age children are not at school. No enrolment statistics was obtained in the fieldwork. The young people interviewed gave very diverse indications about the proportions of boys and girls of their age no longer at school (e.g. ranging from 5% to 15% of the 13-year old girls who would no longer be at school; and from 25% to half of the 19-year old girls).

Pre-school

As noted earlier, some adult members of the households interviewed mentioned male and female children going to pre-school and learning in their own Gedeo language as a good change because it will be easier for them when they join formal school. In the poor farmer's household there is a four year-old child attending pre-school in her neighbourhood. The teachers are Gr5 students. The child attends regularly and she likes it. She is learning new things and for instance, she can tell the names of the days in a week. The mother also likes the pre-school education.

The 16-year old rich boy is one of the pre-school teachers. He teaches five kids in his neighbourhood, in his spare time. This is "child by child" education and is supposed to prepare the kids for formal education. The teachers were selected by the wereda and told to do this. They are given books for teaching the kids. He did not mention any role of the primary school of Adado in this activity and the head teacher also did not mention pre-school.

Alternative basic education

There was no mention of alternative basic education by anyone.

Primary education

The primary schools

There is one primary school in Adado. It was built with community labour and new classrooms have been added compared to ten years ago, also with community labour. In total there are three traditionally built and quite poor blocks of classrooms, staff offices, and an old staff residence. The poor state of the school is a source of unhappiness with the government for most adult people in the community. They compare with neighbouring areas where schools are well built and wonder why this cannot be done in Adado. Young people are unhappy too and they and their parents complain about the low education quality which prevents them from reaching higher education levels.

In November 2013 it was reported that the Adado coffee Union had decided to build two cement-block classrooms for the school.

There are students from Waesa and Hago *gots* in Adado attending school in Basura kebele and students from Kisaha and Lejemo *gots* attending in Wochemba kebele as it is nearer their home. Some Gr8 students from Adado who fail the Gr8 exam register as new student in Wochemba as they cannot repeat Gr8 in Adado.

School management and staff

The head teacher explained that the school has a good relationship with the wereda education office. There is one wereda education officer/cabinet member who is assigned to follow up the school. The supervisor is responsible to report to the wereda office about shortages and required interventions to the school when the wereda cabinet members conduct a *gimgema* session. When there are material and manpower shortages, the wereda decide to allocate resources based on the reports from the school director as well as the supervisor.

In the past, there was a problem to find manpower, but there is no problem at present. The wereda allocates sufficient manpower at the beginning of the budget year. There is no problem to get equipment because the school is generating its own revenue from the farming activities. The wereda education office supplies books when there is distribution from the zone/region. The school had also received a supply of new good quality books for the school year 2013/4. However, there is a problem with the library in the school. It is not sufficient because the number of students is increasing over time.

The head teacher is Cabinet member at the kebele level and in principle the kebele chairman is also the chair of the kebele education and training board. There is an education committee at the kebele

and it is one of the best functioning committee. Kebele officials explained that it is very effective. They meet once or twice every fortnight. They control school dropouts, buy stationery materials for the school, control the school income and expenditure and evaluate its activities in a good way. There is also a school committee working on reducing the dropouts, which are a big issue in the school (see below). They communicate with the family whose child has dropped out. They assign cell members to deal with the case. The head teacher believes that these days, it is easier since the school staff are working jointly with the families of the students.

Experiences of primary school

Although many respondents mentioned that parents are now more attentive to send their children to school at the right age, currently there are still quite a few over-aged students. This is clear from the interviews of the 16 and 19-year old young people. The head teacher explained that in Adado's school there are indeed nearly 250 age 7 students in grade 1. But around 5% of the students are not in the grade which they should be for their age. There are students as old as 20-25 year old at the primary school.

The head teacher reckons that there is a general issue of low numeracy and literacy of the students from rural schools and rural schools are weaker than urban ones in respect to this, because of a big difference in the quality of delivery of education. There are big differences in infrastructure, in labour burden (rural students have a double burden, schooling and supporting their family in farming or other income earning activities) and in attitude towards education from both the families and the students, which is weaker in rural areas. An additional issue is that at college level (Gr9-10) rural students use English for course works but they do not use it for communication. There is not much practice, and teachers are also less likely to enforce the students to use the language in classes. There should be a special intervention that promotes literacy, and special attention should be given to rural students because they lack access to other means to develop literacy. There is no extra exposure to literacy trainings. Schools are not well equipped in rural areas.

The level of literacy and numeracy is poor in Adado's school. The head teacher recognised that they have not worked much on it. It depends on the resources and the teachers but also the students' interest. In Adado children are firmly involving in supporting their family in farming activities. They also involve in income-generating activities. The children themselves want to earn an income to finance their exercise books, clothes and sometimes consumables. The trend is increasing, with children starting to work at the age of 10. This is mostly common for the poor families. There are more than 30 children trading on market places to earn an income for themselves and their families.

The school tries to address this through regular meetings with parents and the kebele administrators regarding students' attendance. There is some progress and attendance is increasing due to active participation of parents and households' better awareness. But more should be done to improve the children's attitude to education. In addition to the problem of child work, there is also the issue of dropouts. The male students drop out when they want to go to Shakiso for gold mining; a number of girls also drop out during the coffee season to trade coffee. In his formal interview the head teacher seemed to say that this is not a huge number and that most students (95%) never drop out (maybe 5-6 students in a year). But in an informal chat with the male Research Officer the head teacher said that migration and dropout of youth below 15 are an increasing challenge. This was also mentioned as a serious concern by other kebele officials and several of the male heads of households, as well as most of the 13, 16 and 19-year old boys and young men interviewed.

Returning to the issue of child work, the head teacher does not believe that changing the school calendar or using a shift system would be the solution. The school already uses a shift system because there are not enough classrooms, so children attend school in one shift only and get spare time for other activities. But there are two shifts, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, and the issue is that all students prefer the morning shift so as to get the afternoon for other activities. Students who have to come in the afternoon shift see their business activities affected.

The coffee harvest is also an occasion for raising an income. Girls and boys combine coffee trade and education, but a few might dropout. Even when they do not drop out they miss classes and this according to the 16-year old middle-wealth boy, is one of the causes to fail because they lack some of the required knowledge. Boys may also dropout when their families do not support them (which is especially the case for poor families but not only) or do let them involve in other activities, they lack motivation or they have too much workload. For girls, dropouts to marry still occur too. It certainly is common for young women failing Gr8, which in contrast to what the head teacher says seems to be a big issue according to the girls and young women interviewed. The young women also explained that it is not common for girls to dropout and then return to education. They did not know anyone in the case. Whereas the boys and young men explained that this happens quite regularly but after usually short dropout periods – more like being absent for a month or two.

Among the 13, 16 and 19-year old young people interviewed the 13-year old poor girl who has completed Gr5 and was 15th in her class had to dropout this year because of financial problems in her family. She plans to start again next year. The 16-year old poor young woman is learning in Gr7, she had to borrow money from a relative to buy notebooks and pens and is now paying back by retailing maize flour but this makes her miss classes sometimes. Her plan for next year is to only study because she should not miss classes in Gr8 to avoid failing at the Gr8 exam. The 19-year old poor young woman is still in Gr6. She had to dropout when she was Gr4, for one year, due to economic problems in her family. The 13-year old poor boy stresses that he is very happy with his family's support for his education. The 16-year old poor boy is in Gr8; he too had to drop out one year because the family could not afford buying exercise books then he started again. Two of the 19-year old young men are in Gr8. The rich one has stopped after failing the Gr10 exam and is now running his shop.

In the **poor female-headed household** not all eligible children are attending primary school due to the financial problems she has. She has only one daughter attending primary school. She did not pay any registration fee. She spent 15 birr on school materials. It takes the child 10 minutes to arrive at the school. In addition to school the child spends 2 hours a day on household work but she does not do any other work. She sometimes is absent to assist her mother when her mother gets busy. But she has never dropped out. She is a clever student and performs well. Her mother believes that the quality of her education is good and does not have suggestion to make.

In the **richer female-headed household** also, not all eligible children are attending primary school. Daniel dropped out this year due to illness and he will continue now that he has recovered. It takes five minutes to get to the primary school. Four children are attending primary school and she paid 15 birr registration fee for each, and 200 birr for exercise books and pen, that she covered by selling coffee. The children spend maximum an hour each in doing household work and the youngest one does not work. The three older ones also assist her in selling bread and tea in the tea house, and the Gr4 child also sells sugar cane. In total these three children spend between two and four hours a day on these income-generating activities. They sometimes get absent because of illness but apart from Daniel there is no one currently attending who became a dropout. Sisay who is learning in Gr5 is clever and he got a prize for being an outstanding student. The others are medium performance students. She thinks the quality of education is good because there are enough books and teachers teach well. But the school can be improved by adding more rooms and making strong follow-up and advice for students. This is currently not done but it is necessary. The problems that young men and women face with education is they fail at Gr8 or Gr10 and cannot continue after that. The government should enable students to reach higher education by teaching them in a good way.

In the **middle-wealth farmer's** family all eligible children are attending primary school: Gr1, Gr4, Gr6 and Gr8. There is no registration fee to attend primary school. The expenditure made for these children's education is 150 birr. The cost was covered by the household, not by the children. It takes them two minutes to get to the school. The Gr6 student works as a shoeshine boy and he spends 2 hours in housework and another 3 hours in shoe-shining. The Gr8 student spends 2 hours in farm

work but does not have an additional activity. The Gr4 student fetches water, cleans the house and prepares coffee and spends 2 hours per day on these tasks and the Gr1 student does not spend time on housework. These two younger ones also do not work on income-generating activities. All the children attend regularly and have never dropped out. Their performance is good and the parents believe that the quality of education is good. But they would like the school to have a better library so that students would spend time reading.

In the **poor farmer's** household one child is not going to school because she got sick from typhoid and quitted. She will continue schooling in the next year. One child is going to school and there was no registration fee. The expenditure made was 10 birr which was covered by the profit she makes from her business, not by the student. It takes 5 minutes to walk to the school. The child spends 5 hours per day in helping the family in the house and other activities. Sometimes she gets absent for no reason because she does not want to go to school. But she has never dropped out of school for a while. She is not a smart student.

In the **successful businessman's** family the one primary school age child is attending primary school. There is no registration fee. They spent 10 birr for school materials, which was covered by the household income from the sale of coffee. It takes 5 minutes to walk to the school. The child spends one hour in supporting the family in its work but not on income-generating activities. She is not absent and never dropped out. She is clever. The parents believe that the quality of education is good. But the school and classrooms should be cleaner.

The **successful farmer** has four children at school, he says. One is attending Gr10. The others are Gr8, Gr7 and Gr5 students. Curiously his wife only talks about one primary school age child, who she says is attending and started this year – but in the roster she mentioned two sons attending Gr7 and Gr8. It takes 15 minutes to walk to the school. The mother does not know about the quality of education at school as she has not been there and did not hear her husband saying anything about it. There is no registration fee. They bought four exercise books and one pen for 9.50 birr, which was covered by the household income. The one child she is talking about is small so she does not spend time on farm or domestic chores or any other work, apart sometimes fetching some water. She has never been absent from school. Her performance is medium.

Secondary education

There is now a general secondary school in Bule. Ten years ago students had to go to Dilla. They still have to go to Dilla to join preparatory classes (Gr11-12).

The head teacher explained that there is no problem with students passing from one grade to the other in primary school or even from Gr8 to Gr9. The problem is in Gr10, which Adado's students attend in Bule Wereda School. Many of those sitting for the Gr10 exam fail to pass to preparatory class. It is a matter of offering quality education to students and preparing them for examination. If there is no sufficient preparation failure will be the result. This creates a problem because while there is no unemployment problem for the community's graduates from colleges and universities there is a problem with finding a job for those who only completed Gr10. They have options such as involving in business activities or pursuing private college education. Those in Adado expect that government will help in creating small and medium businesses. Others are involved in farming activities. A few went to college studies in private colleges.

There are a number of other respondents who disagree with the head teacher. The wives and heads of households all said either that most girls fail to pass the Gr8 exam (and when this happens they get married) or that students of both sexes have difficulties in either Gr8 or Gr10. They wanted the government to ensure better teaching so that students would reach higher education – which is necessary to get a job. A few people also said that attending Gr9 and Gr10 in Bule is not easy because of the costs and they would like the government to open a Gr9-10 school in Adado.

The successful farmer has one son attending Gr10 in Bule. It takes him one and a half hour to walk to

the school. Most of the time he stays at home and walks to school daily but sometimes he stays at Bule when it rains. He does not have to assist the household in farming activities but sometimes when he gets time he plants enset. He is not working on anything else and has never dropped out from school. He is a clever student. The mother believes that the quality of education is good as her son tells her that it is.

There is also one daughter who is attending Gr10 in Bule. It takes an hour to walk to the school so she usually stays in Bule during the week and returns home at weekends. She sometimes is absent when she is tired walking to the school. She is not spending any time on anything else than her studies and she is a clever student. The mother believes that the quality of education is good and the teachers teach very well, but education is hard.

Post-secondary education and adult education

There is a TVET college in Dilla, and also a full-fledged university which was established in 2004 through gradual transformation of the previous Dilla College for teachers' education and health sciences.

Among the households interviewed there are few direct experiences of post-secondary education. The two post-secondary students in those families are both in a government agricultural TVET. (See below).

But many of the young people interviewed want to join university if they can and/or have friends who also want this. Except the 19-year old middle-wealth young man who did not mention it and the 19-year old rich young man who is a Gr10 completer having failed to join preparatory, all the other 13, 16 and 19-year old boys or men want to join university. Most also said that all or many of their friends want to do so too. They worry that they might fail because of financial constraints or failing to pass the exams, but they generally said that graduates do not have employment problems whereas Gr10 and Gr12 completers failing to go further generally 'do not go anywhere'; they come back and help their families in farming, a few lucky ones are engaging in trading, or they migrate.

Among the girls and young women, most also mentioned that they want to 'complete their education' and that many or most of their friends want to do so too; but they did not make specific reference to university or college. However, several of them had role models who had studied higher than Gr10. They had similar worries to the boys and young men: failing exams, financial constraints, and added the fear of being married before completing education. They too said that Gr10 completers usually come back and sit idle or help their family or are getting married. There seems to be no girl who recently completed Gr12 and lives in the community. The young women also said that college and university graduates have no problems finding a job. The thirteen-year old middle wealth girl said that *"It is immediate to be employed if you are graduated with diploma or degree"*.

The head teacher confirmed that

In our community, there is no unemployment problem for graduates from colleges and universities. We have unmet demand for educated persons at college and university levels. There is some problem with finding a job for those who only completed Gr10. In the community, those who complete college diploma can join government work with no challenge.

Approximately 200 individuals from Adado are estimated to be civil servants. Most of them work as experts in Bule wereda office such agriculture, health, and finance offices.

Government TVET

The 19-year old middle-wealth young woman interviewed, Gr10 completer, is currently attending the education programme to become DA. She stood 15th rank from 50 students in her class. She has never dropped out of school. At the time of the fieldwork she was in apprenticeship with the DAs in Adado in the agriculture office.

One son of the middle-wealth farmer is attending the diploma programme in plant sciences at the Alage TVET College near Shashemene. He joined the college in 2003 EC. He learned there for two years and this year he is in practice in Adado. He spent about 15,000 birr during his stay in the school, including transportation, clothing and food as the food at the college it is not good.

Government universities

There was nobody among the respondents who had direct experience of government university education.

Private colleges

There is no private college in Adado. Kebele officials mentioned that a few people who completed school or diploma attend further studies through distance education, and a few rich families send their children to private colleges in Dilla or even Hawassa. They gave no other detail.

Adult education

There is nothing called adult education in Adado.

Attitudes to education

Knowledgeable people in Adado reported that families' attitude towards education of children has changed. There is no KG but people would send their children to KG if it was available. Boys and girls have to attend primary as well as secondary school; families not sending their children to school are questioned by the school administration and committee, be it a temporary absence or long-term dropout. However, as mentioned earlier many in the community, including the head teacher, are becoming worried about the trend of increasing migration to Shakiso with increasingly young boys dropping out from school to follow their seniors.

On the positive side, the same knowledgeable people highlighted that there is progress with girls' education. Both male and female children in a household are given equal chance to attend education. A decade ago there was less attention to girls' education. But there has been awareness creation by the wereda passing the message that "teaching a girl is teaching a whole family". The wereda women affairs' officer explained that educating girls is a major priority for the wereda and they are trying to give girls role models. For instance in the last rainy season they convened together 40 girls from the wereda attending preparatory education, some college students and the three best performing Gr7-10 students from each of the 30 kebele to discuss and share their experience. However, in Adado dropping out of school early for various reasons including marriage still happens. The 19-year old rich young woman also explained that some young women do not get support from their family especially when they have to go to Bule to attend Gr9 and Gr10.

Another issue affecting people's attitude to education is the cost. These days, exercise books for a student attending primary school costs a family about 80-100 birr. This is very expensive - a decade ago this could buy all stationary items for at least two pupils attending primary school. Five years ago there was no school fee and now there is 20 birr school fee. In addition the head teacher raised the issue of child work and the difficulty arising from this (absenteeism during coffee harvest, difficulty to combine work and school attendance even with the 2-shift system as most economic activities are carried out in the afternoon).

For those students passing to college or university education, they said that their families are so happy to send them to higher education. The community is traditionally respectful of educated people and in addition, the families are highly motivated when they see those community students who graduated and are working as public employees. In Adado there is severe land shortage and children have few options if not educated. The head teacher concurred with this analysis, saying that there is no unemployment for those who graduate from colleges or universities and there is even unmet demand for educated people at these levels in the area. But he pointed at the various

obstacles making it more difficult for students from rural schools, including Adado's school, to pass exams and reach the education level required to easily find a job.

So on the one hand, the head teacher said, *"the traditional way of looking at the importance of education has now disappeared. Educated people think better, they are better in accepting new technologies, new ways of thinking and new lifestyles and are better at planning for future change in their livelihood. In the past, people aspired to enhance farming as the only economic opportunity. However, these days educated people are less concerned by farming which is a traditional sector. Illiteracy is becoming despised. The one who cannot speak Amharic is insulted by his friends. Youth exclude those less educated and illiterate. The youth generation accepted that education is the best means for living a modern life in future"*. On the other hand, there remains a divide and people's attitude to education is better in urban areas than in rural areas. People in urban areas know the returns of education better than the rural ones. There is no drop out of students in urban areas.

The household heads and wives also think that the community's attitude to education in general has improved, including with regard to girls' education. The poor woman head of family explains that she is not sending all her children to school but this is due to financial problems. The woman head of a richer household says that for her it is also hard to send the children to school as she is alone to earn an income but she does this and the children assist part-time, combining this with education. The middle-wealth farmer explains that when a family is rich the children may get a chance to be educated in an urban school, which students know are better. His wife also highlights parents' interest in educating their children. The poor wife's farmer was encouraged to see that educated people get a job after completing education. The wife of the successful businessman explained that these days, parents are willing to support their children to continue as far as they can go.

But as noted earlier, there is a general concern and unhappiness about the many failures at Gr8 or Gr10 as this is not enough to get a job. The young people interviewed also noted this. All nine girls and young women interviewed noted that there are no unemployed graduates from the community but in contrast, those girls who recently completed Gr10 are back and doing nothing with their education. Some are married, most are 'staying idle' and assisting their family in domestic tasks, a few are engaged in petty trade or hairdressing. But there is *'nothing else that they could do'*.

On the boys' side, they also all noted that unemployment is not a prospect for college/university graduates from the community. Many also noted that Gr12 completers have no problem. The problem is with Gr10 completers. They do not find jobs and are doing farming for their family, sometimes trade or petty trade, coffee trading but this is seasonal, and some of them migrate to Shakiso. Numbers vary but the youth talked about thirty, fifty or a hundred young men in this situation. Yet, expectations from education and getting a job are high, from the 13-year old middle-wealth boy who says that educated people get better incomes than illiterate ones to the 19-year old rich one who says that education and a government job is one of the two options for the youth. The difficulty is to score good enough points.

Social re/production domain

Social institutions and organisations

Local informal security regime

Usually in Adado households facing a crisis can rely on support from family and relatives, members of customary organisations like iddir, their church fellows and the church itself and the neighbours. There is also regular cooperation between neighbours for house construction and sometimes sharing tools and women may cooperate for tasks such as preparing food and drinks for ceremonies. It is also very common to borrow a mule or a horse or a donkey for local transportation. It is also common for households to borrow from each other with no interest. Or, as explained earlier, small-

scale traders can pay farmers for the products that they trade for them after having sold them.

This depends on the household's social network. For instance, the poor female household head did not get any assistance from anyone when her husband died or in the recent episode of sickness of the head (who is the only breadwinner), seems to get no support in its daily struggle, is not member of an *iddir*, and does not engage with other households to celebrate festivals. As noted earlier her husband's father and her husband quarrelled before her husband died. The only support she got was some money (70 birr) from her church when she was sick. In contrast in the richer female-headed household the woman got help from her brother and her mother (financial loan of 3,000 birr, gift of food) and assistance from the community when her husband died and still get some assistance from her mother when she asks for it. She also got some support from her church when her husband was sick (100 birr) then when he died (200 birr).

Support among relatives is very important. For instance even the poor farmer helped his brother when his brother's wife had a difficult delivery, by selling one of his sheep and giving the money to his brother for the medical services. This was not sufficient but it was the only thing he could do. The rich farmer explained that when he was sick he got some support from his church fellows.

The richer households may help others on a bilateral basis. For instance the middle-wealth farmer's family who are living in a government house gave their other house to a widow with no children and whose house burned. She is not a relative to them, just a poor person. They also support her with some money, food and materials and the Kalehiwot church support her too (7-10 birr every week). The family of the successful businessman supports a disabled woman who cannot walk properly: they give her food and gave her money when she delivered, three times in the past few years.

Richer households also employ daily labourers who are usually landless people or people with not enough land. The kebele officials suggested that even with the new 1-5 system, offering daily labour opportunities was an important means for the community to support poorer members.

Newly formed households usually stay a little with the man's family. The duration of the stay depends on whether the new couple has some independent livelihood means and the man can establish their household but also on the parents' financial capacity. Young couples from poor families may have to stay longer but at the same time if the parents cannot afford they have to move out and rent a place to live.

There is no government intervention that helps people in times of crisis or that helps poor and vulnerable people. The youth and women's organisations are not active so they also do not play any role in supporting their members.

Many mentioned that there is an increasing number of *iddir* and *equb* and other social linkages such as church membership in the community. Some respondents suggested that while on the one hand there is better cooperation in institutionalised forms like *iddirs*, on the other hand the cooperation between households and individuals is decreasing because people are developing individualism.

Community celebrations

The community celebrations that people mentioned were the religious Christian celebrations (Meskel, Christmas and Easter). Apart from the poor female-headed household the households interviewed all celebrated them with neighbours, usually contributing money to buy an ox or a sheep. The number of households sharing the meat depends on the financial capacity of those forming the group.

The amount that the households interviewed spent last year varies widely, from 900 birr for the three festivals in the middle-wealth farmer's family to 6,000 birr in the successful businessman's family. They all noted how expensive things had become. The middle-wealth farmer, who spends 300 birr for each festival, said

Things are very expensive when compared to the past. 300 birr was very big money in the past. Now we buy one sheep with 1,500 birr, an ox for 10,000 birr and other items are also so expensive.

In addition, as the successful businessman explained the festivals push the prices up. The seasonality of prices of livestock and meat and of availability of skins and hides was indeed commented upon by several members of the community talking about their economic activities.

There does not seem to have any government activity to try to reduce people's expenditures on celebrations, although the respondents talking about cultural change in the community mentioned improvement in relation to '*spending much on social occasions such as wedding ceremony, funeral ceremony or festival*'.

Holidays

Apart from Sundays and the three festivals just mentioned there are no holidays in Adado for most of the community. People work every day. There is also no government activity to try and reduce holidays.

Customary organisations

One elder explained that while there are **clans**, being an elder is not a matter of clan but of serving the community. There is no clan /lineage leader in the community. All the clans are independently living with no visible leadership role. There are more people in the Gobeya, Hademo and Burjaje clans in Adado but there is no difference between them. There are no mentions of a special role that clans would play in terms of organisation and/or support to their members. People from different clans intermarry, belong to the same iddir etc. and there is no clan more powerful than the others in relation to local politics and administrative positions.

The Gedeo used to have strong customary community management and religious institutions under the overarching authority of the **Aba Gada** for all Gedeo people. This has not disappeared but is seen by many as a part of the customary repertoire in contrast with more modern thinking. On the religious side the new religions seem to have gained the upper hand. More generally according to the youth leader, the youth do not believe any longer or do not pay much attention to the supernatural power that the Aba Gada is supposed to have. Other knowledgeable respondents highlighted that urban influences divert the youth away from local traditional values and beliefs such as the belief in the Aba Gada power.

But according to one of the sons of the late Aba Gada the elders have respect for this system and the system is still highly respected generally in the community, especially with regard to enforcing acceptable social norms and addressing conflicts. If elders given a case cannot handle it or find it difficult to establish the truth they send the case to the Aba Gada. The Aba Gada gives the final decision and individuals who are called to the Aba Gada home comply with the decision. The religious leaders do not challenge the Aba Gada's authority to solve any type of bad deeds in the community. Issues such as theft are handled through the customary shengo first and then the Aba Gada. The social court may give cases to the customary shengo and the Aba Gada – even family cases like divorces. The decision that the customary structures take is then approved by the formal structures. Even for crimes people prefer to go to customary structures. The middle-wealth farmer explains that life is very difficult for a person involved in a robbery if it is reported to the Aba Gada and so, people usually prefer to confess for any violence or bad deed committed if it is the Aba Gada who manages the conflict. An individual whose case is not managed well by the social court will threaten to report to the Aba Gada and this usually is highly effective.

The son of the late Aba Gada explained that the Aba Gada system is highly appreciated by the government because it is a better means to resolve social tensions and problems. The Aba Gada election is facilitated by the zonal Tourism Office. Elders in the community are invited to attend a meeting to elect the Aba Gada, who is then approved at the zonal level and serves for 8 years.

The son explained that his father was telling him about the duties of Aba Gada. He passed away while there remained 5 years out of the 8 of his rule and so the Aba Gada most senior position (for the Gedeo zone as a whole) now belongs to his family. They are therefore planning to appoint someone from the family for the remaining period.

There are **equbs** of various sizes and their local variants, called **axion** and **idil**; and **iddirs** which may be church-based. Among the households only the poor female-headed household was not member of any of these. In the other households either the husband or the wife or both belong to one or more iddirs. In several households people also are members of equb or axion or idil, and one of the 13-year old boys raising an income through shoe-shining is also part of an equb. It is not clear from the data if iddirs and equbs have been in place for a long time or if they are recent creations, but several respondents highlighted their existence or importance as a change compared to the past when such organisations were not effective or were not authorised under the Derg. The axion and idil institutions are said to be customary in the area.

The benefits mentioned are, for equb as well as axion and idil, that when one gets the turn it helps to do something significant (woman head of richer household); it increases one's financial capacity in trading activities but the time to get one's turn is not always suitable (successful businessman); it helps saving as otherwise it is not easy to get that amount of money (wife of the middle farmer), with which one can buy clothes and invest in one's business (wife of the poor farmer). According to the middle-wealth farmer (who describes something like an equb although he calls it an iddir) the money can be used if there is any social crisis among the members. The amounts and modalities for the contributions vary a lot, as summarised in the box below and explained in section 6.1.12 above.

Box 7: Contributing to equbs, axions or idils in Adado

The woman head of a richer household saves 20 birr weekly and there are 25 members.

The middle-wealth farmer saves 5 birr every two weeks and 1,400 birr annually, and they have a celebration with 200 birr spent when someone gets the turn. This seems to be an axion with the annual contribution of 1,400 birr and 5 birr saved for the other 'wing' of the axion, allowing the axion to lend to its members.

His wife is member of a different equb. She pays 2 birr every two weeks and 400 birr in the coffee season; there are 11 members and when they get the turn this is therefore 4,400 birr. This also looks like an axion or idil.

The successful businessman contributes 1,000 birr in a year to an axion.

One of the 19-year old young men is member of a 10-member axion for which the big money is 1,000 birr annually; six of the members have had their turn already and invested in housing, bull fattening or buying of a coffee farm.

The wife of the poor farmer is member of an equb in which 35 members save 10 birr twice a week.

There are male and female iddirs, and wedding iddirs. Some of the iddirs are linked to churches – there are 8 of those. Kalehiwot and Mekaneyesus congregations have each 2 churches, and 2 iddirs. Other iddirs are traditional, non-religious ones. Most people belong to more than one iddir.

Iddirs assist their members in times of death in a member's family by giving kocho and food to the affected family (woman head of richer household); the members bring beans, wheat and kocho to the affected family and provide food for the family and the members for three days up to the burial (wife of the poor farmer); they offer material, labour and financial support to iddir members during social crises or ceremonies (successful businessman); the members bring kocho, prepare coffee and generally host and serve the guests who come to mourn with the affected family. The iddir of the middle-wealth farmer's wife gives fixed amounts of money to the affected family depending on who died, and kocho. But the successful farmer explains that an iddir is not about money only - it requires active participation of the members in social occasions.

The successful businessman and the successful farmer both highlighted that while iddirs are

important their contribution is very small and insufficient to cover all the costs of the social occasions of their members. Again, contributions vary quite significantly.

Box 8: Contributing to iddirs in Adado

The woman head of the richer household is member of 2 iddirs and contributes a total of 20 birr/month.

The successful businessman is member of just one iddir and contributes 20 birr/month. His wife of the successful businessman belongs to 3 iddirs and contributes in total 25 birr/month. The burial services are given only by the most important one.

The wife of the middle wealth farmer is member of a church-organised iddir with 120 members and an annual contribution of 100 birr. There is no monthly contribution. The iddir gives 1,000 birr when the head of a family or his wife dies and 700 birr when a child dies.

The wife of the poor farmer pays 5 birr/week.

The successful farmer contributes 5 birr/week to his church-based iddir. His wife contributes 1 birr/week to an iddir of 20 members.

Apart from burials iddirs help members who are seriously sick to seek treatment at a hospital, and when a pregnant mother is referred to hospital for delivery. Some iddirs like Kalehiwot ones give money to members affected by events like house fire, car accident, theft, or livestock loss – as said earlier, the Kalehiwot church is the oldest and best established in terms of resources in the kebele. Wedding iddirs help members with tents and other labour support for the wedding ceremony.

Marriage, divorce, widowhood

It remains uncommon for craft workers to intermarry with other groups, except for the richer ones. There is no special institution or rule linked to intermarriage between clans.

Early marriage and marriages arranged through elders used to be the custom; abductions existed. Early marriage and abduction are said to have become much less common although they have not completely disappeared. But cases get solved locally through elders or they go under-reported. This is because if action was taken there would be nobody to marry the girl afterward (see section 5).

Most people also highlighted as a major change the fact that nowadays young people marry the partner of their choice and the interviews suggest that marriage may also happen later than used to be the case because of changed aspirations among the young people – as explained by women describing cultural change in the community:

There is change in young people's aspirations and practices. Five years ago most marriages were arranged by the family; young people used to marry without having money or an income; they used to live with parents and fathers were the ones to give money to buy clothes for his son's bride. Now marriage arises from the love that the partners have to one another; young people decide about marriage after they get money to make a living as they have to make their own independent household; now the son has to buy clothes and gifts for his wife-to-be himself. Young people want to attain higher education and get government work before they get married.

This is reflected in the interviews of male and female youth. Generally parents' consent to the choice of the partner seemed to be important. The young people also highlighted that indeed getting married is therefore not easy because it is not easy for most to establish an independent livelihood. This is also identified by almost all adult household members when asked what difficulties young people face these days in getting married. As a result, the youth leader explains, "there are many young women who have not married at the right age as there are few young men ready to marry".

The young women interviewed all note that the age of marriage these days depends on whether one continues one's education or not (presumably meaning pursuing onto secondary and higher up). The age of marriage for those girls who do not continue their education/get good grade is 16 to 18 while

it is 22 to 24 for the successful ones. Young women begin to worry that they will not find a good man to marry if they are not yet married when they reach 22 for most, 23, 24 or even 25 for a few. According to the wereda women affairs' officer education has yet another effect on marriage. She explained that when a girl or a boy who are engaged to a partner chosen by their parents go for education they often do no longer marry the one as they want to marry someone educated like them or someone they met while studying.

All the young people also stressed that getting married is harder for young people from poor families. In addition, quite a number of them said that poor people tend to marry among themselves because a rich young man will not marry a poor young woman as he has the choice to marry a rich one. In addition even though he will choose his partner, his (rich) parents will enquire about the girl's background and family wealth. There is no sense that wereda authorisation is required for young people to marry. Several respondents mentioned the prior authorisation of their church. Several young people also mentioned that marriage is a religiously blessed institution and allows you to have children.

The woman head of the richer household married one daughter in 2000 EC; the successful farmer married one son recently; and the successful businessman married one son in 2010 GC. The first two households spent 5,000 birr and received 2,000 birr worth of contributions from people in the community. The successful farmer's son also gave cultural gifts worth 2,500 birr to the bride's family, as per the tradition. Whereas the woman gave her daughter clothes and 500 birr and her uncle gave her 100 birr. The young woman had received land from her father when he was still alive. The successful businessman spent 21,000 birr in gifts and expenditures to host the celebrations; and he got 7,600 birr as contributions from others. They all highlighted that things had become much more expensive than in the past, which was the main reason for these 'huge costs' (successful farmer).

Divorce is not common in Adado. The woman interviewed as women's leader said that when a woman gets in trouble in her marriage she accuses her husband (presumably before the elders) to get a solution before getting to the point of divorcing. According to the Research Officer it also happens that when a divorce case is brought to the social court as the local formal structure, they ask the shengo and Aba Gada to mediate. Women's rights in case of divorce have been discussed in section 5 above; the data suggests that there remains a gap between what the law foresees and what happens in practice. There is no information about divorce as a social institution and on the social status of divorcees, male or female, in the fieldwork data, but the general attitude of the community towards women suggests that female divorcee probably have a hard time.

The rights of widows have been discussed in section 5. In practice a widow continues to dispose of the household's properties as long as she does not remarry. Widows with small landholdings are considered as a vulnerable group at the wereda level but there is no special intervention in their favour. The case of the poor female-headed household shows well the extent of vulnerability of such households, especially when the children are still small and for a reason or another, the household lacks social connection. The case of the successful female-headed household suggests that even when a widow starts from a quite good position if she has a large family it is difficult not to erode the household's previous assets and yet maintain the standards that the family was accustomed to. Lack of male labour is also an issue; she is using income from her tea house to hire daily labourers for her farm. Another woman who learned a lot of things from her husband before he died is a model farmer; she is hiring three labourers and spending 1,000 birr in a year on daily labour for her farm. There is no information about widowhood as a social institution and on the social status of widows or widowers in the fieldwork data.

Death ceremonies and inheritance

Inheritance rights are discussed in section 5. The shift away from the custom in which land and properties are inherited by sons exclusively seems to take place only very gradually, and when women have enough courage and resources to bring their case before the formal court system.

Death in a family, especially of the household head, is a serious shock. Iddirs and other network mechanisms provide some assistance though not all households belong to an iddir as in the case of the poor female-headed household. Funerals are costly and costs have risen with inflation. But there does not seem to be ceremonies equivalent to the 40 and 80-day memorial ceremonies of the Orthodox Christians (teskar). Funerals are usually held three days after the death, which is also not very long. During this period mourners come to join the family and are expected to be hosted by the family, with the support of iddirs if the deceased was an iddir member.

Among the households interviewed there had been recent death ceremonies in three families. The more successful female household head had lost her husband in 2003 EC. She followed all the traditions and the household spent 10,000 birr to buy meat, coffee, clothes, a coffin and a sculpture stand for her husband's grave. People brought kocho and coffee and the church gave her 200 birr. As explained earlier she had some assistance from her mother and her brother including a 3,000 birr loan. The middle-wealth farmer lost his sister in 2009 GC and the successful farmer lost his mother in 2008 GC. Their expenses were much smaller – around 1,000 birr and the successful farmer explained that he got 400 birr from people as contributions. Like for the weddings, people emphasised the much higher costs than in the past - not because the ceremonies are bigger but because of the much higher price of food.

Religion

The leaders of the Muslim congregation, the Kalehiwot church which is the largest in Adado and the shengo (traditional religion) were interviewed and all stressed that each religion works with the others for the community as a whole and to strengthen peace and security in the community.

The **Muslim leader** explained that there are 50 people following Islam in Adado. The leaders teach the usual religious messages from the Kuran and to avoid drinking and bad deeds or sins. Sometimes the young people do not respect this and drink. Members of the congregation support each other in times of social or family crises. They have their own mosque and there is no problem with the government. The Muslims in Adado work with others in development activities and they also are not discriminated in development interventions. Research Officers found that there are no Muslims in the kebele leadership.

The **Kalehiwot leader** explained that the five Protestant churches in the community all work together under one joint protestant leadership for the Gedeo zone. There was a time when there was some tension and some Kalehiwot members wanted to create a new church but this has now been solved. Other respondents explained that this is how the Muluwongel and Tsega churches emerged in the community. The churches work with other religions, the elders and the kebele leaders. They pass kebele messages to their followers to help in disseminating them (e.g. the HEW passes health-related messages at church), but their relationship with the government is secular and there is no interference of the government in church affairs.

The leader is of the view that the churches teach the community better than in the past, about marriage, family life etc. which are important topics for the young women and men. They introduce to their followers any message coming from the higher protestant leadership in the country. Several community respondents highlighted improvements in preaches, songs and management and even adults appreciated the use of new music instruments (poor farmer). They found the churches' doctrine relevant for the community in general, and for the youth in particular. E.g. the woman head of the richer household explained that violent fights among men reduced because people are getting more religious; the successful businessman said that *'the youth are constrained with rules and regulations of religious institutions and there is a good trend in improving their habits.'* The wife of the middle-wealth farmer advises her children according to what she learns from the bible.

In some of the households there are members of different churches and this causes no problem according to the respondents. Religious practice varies in intensity. The woman heading the more

successful household does not go to the church programme regularly because she is busy. Going on Sundays is the expected minimum but some like the middle-wealth farmer and sometimes his wife also go to the prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays.

Some of the young people do so too, like the 16-year old and 19-year old poor young women. Other youth explained that the most common is going to the longer church programme on Sundays but that some or many households also go these other days. On Wednesdays and Fridays these are short prayers from 6.00 to 7.00 am so it does not disturb people's work schedule. On Sundays the longer programme lasts from 8.00 am to 1.00 pm. All of the young people interviewed said that they are going at least on Sundays. Seven of the girls and young women are singers in their church choir and the three 19-year old young men are singers too. They all said that in the community no-one is uninterested in religious affairs. Several of them mentioned that they contribute by cleaning the church when they are asked. Two of the young men said that they contribute some money, the 19-year old rich one running a shop from his shop income.

The Kalehiwot leader explained that religious development and community development go together and they work on both at the same time. The government idea is that religious institutions should support marginalised people in the community, participate in development works and ensure their members are exemplary and models for others. This goes with the values that the churches promote too. Especially, supporting the poor and marginalised is blessed duty, and the churches also advise their members to be models in fulfilling their religious duties.

For many of the interviewed adult and young people, their participation to the churches' programmes on Sundays and some other days of the week for some of them seemed to be important both religiously and socially. The male heads of households in particular noted that churches are an important social cohesion mechanism; the followers '*share many social affairs and form strong social cohesion*'. Many of the young people highlighted that going to church together is one of the things which brings the adult and teenage/youth generations close to each other in the community.

A few respondents mentioned that they are very serious with religion because God had healed them or someone from the family. The 16-year old rich boy says that his mother was sick and she was healed by God. In the more successful female-headed household one of the sons has changed his religion and he is now a follower of the Tsega church because he was sick which was said to be related with the imposition of an evil spirit, and he was healed at that church. In the Tsega and Muluwongel churches people speak with *listan* that is, they speak with spirits to get their illness healed.

The **customary Gedeo religion**, linked to the Aba Gada system of community management, now has only ten active members in Adado (other respondents mention about 10% of the community). The leader, a 92-year old man, explains that they work with everyone else in the community for any affairs other than religious. They pray for who is asking them to do so. They involve in conflict resolution among households, receiving cases from the social court and sending those that are too difficult to the Aba Gada. He believes that the Gedeo religion, which has been inherited from their forefathers, will be continuing in the community as it is the oldest religion and it is specific to the community and therefore important for it.

One woman, the wife of the successful businessman, said that she does not follow any religion and does not believe in any supernatural power.

New community-initiated organisations

There are no new community-initiated organisations. Some respondents indicated that the community is now also using the 1-5s for social activities like weddings and mourning. But the Research Officers are of the view that 1-5s are not quite functioning like they have seen in other places so it is a little unclear how much they count socially.

Key social actors and their networks

Kebele cabinet

Table 8: Kebele Cabinet in Adado

Cabinet position	Livelihood	Other elite positions	Networks
Chair	Successful in farming and livestock.	Chair in education and training board	Health workers, school administration, community elders
Vice-chair	Successful in farming, livestock and trading meat.	Leader of Toyto development team Cell leader	Development team leaders, cell members
Secretary	Successful in farming and livestock. Also involved in small scale trading.	Cell leader Leader of Kasha development team	Development team leaders, cell members
Women affairs	Farming, small restaurant	Vice chairperson of the Farmers' Union	Kebele chair Union leaders
DA	Government employee Has small plot of land	none	Cabinet members
School director	Government employee Has no farm	none	Cabinet members
HEW	Government employee Her husband has farm land	None	Cabinet members School committee

The kebele chairperson has been in the office since 2000 EC. His predecessor left due to poor evaluation by the party and the community. Before him the previous chairperson was promoted to the wereda. He is said to be appreciated by most in the community and even to be the most popular of the kebele leaders by many – because, they said, *'he supports the community in what the government brings'; 'when people accuse each other in the justice he treats them equally'; 'he does not do bad things to people'; 'he advises and convinces people rather than forcing them'; 'he solves problems on time and is generous'; 'he is a churchman, fears God and respects all God's creatures and he serves the community equally and fairly'*. One respondent noted that he had some opponents among the youth who do not have jobs, and adults who do not like frequent meetings. Another noted that the few people who do not support the ruling party are against him as they are against anyone who has a position in government.

Work burden is the main challenge that the chairperson and the rest of the kebele cabinet face. The house-to-house visits and meetings with cells, 1-5s and development teams prevent them from working on their farmland and other economic activities. They get no payment for this work at the kebele while they are spending a lot of time. The plan that they should spend just 2 days and the manager would do most of the activities is not practical. Now they are busy even to the point of not having time on Sundays and to eat lunch. The developmental and political activities are carried out together, one task overlapping the other, which adds to the load.

The cabinet faces a shortage of stationery material because it has insufficient budget. So, the cabinet members are forced to get stationery materials from their own pocket.

There is no problem that cabinet members face in their relations with the wereda and the community, although sometimes the community members do not implement what they are told by the cabinet members. The cabinet members from the sector offices communicate with their respective committees and with the service delivery organisations that they oversee and they are accountable to the wereda. Twice a month cabinet members meet and discuss on all development issues. The committee members come when they are asked to come.

Among the male heads of households interviewed, none had a position in the current kebele administration. The successful businessman had served at kebele and wereda level between 1984

and 1988 EC, including as a kebele spokesperson and administrator and a regional MP. The successful farmer who now is an opposition supporter served as Shengo and finance officer under the Derg regime. This farmer has a fairly critical attitude towards kebele officials. He told Research Officers about gossips of corruption that involve the chairman and justice committee heads who, he said, have become even richer than the rich traders after coming to office – and this is spreading to other kebele officials such as the vice-chair and the kebele manager. He was the only person to mention this.

Elders

One of the elders, aged 55, is a farmer head of a 12-member household with Gr4 education. He said there are about 50 elders in the community, selected on the basis of their good services when there are some crises in households. He explains that it is not a matter of clan. It is a matter of their good services as witnessed directly by the community members themselves. He explains that while elders do not usually have formal positions in the kebele they have a chance to work with kebele officials. The officials require their counselling. He, for instance, has experience of working in the kebele office under the Derg regime. He has smooth linkage with both the community members and the kebele administrators and believes that he is much appreciated by the people of Adado.

Knowledgeable respondents asked about notable people in the kebele identified three other elders, all three involved in advising people who quarrel and solving conflicts. One of them also involves in marriage arrangements. And one of them is called when big decisions are to be made in the kebele. They network with other elders, the kebele leaders and religious leaders of the community. The successful farmer (73) serves the community as an elder. He does not have a position in the kebele administration but he is a deacon in the Kalehiwot church. None of the other male heads of households interviewed is an elder at present.

Religious leaders

The two Protestant religious leaders of the Kalehiwot and Mekaneyesus churches have other formal responsibilities in addition to their role in the church, while the Muslim leader does not. The Kalehiwot leader is one the executives at the Farmers' Union and secretary of the savings association in Adado (which must not be widely known as household members all said that there is no such association in Adado). The Mekaneyesus leader is also leader of one of the gots. They also both said that they network with the kebele leaders and one said with the elders, while the Muslim leader networks with the Muslim leadership (outside of the community?). However, as mentioned earlier when he was interviewed he explained that the Muslim followers participate equally to the community's development activities. The Protestant leaders interviewed also highlighted that they work together with other religious leaders, the kebele leaders and the elders and that this good partnership including in fighting against all threats to peace and security is very effective.

Other community respondents indeed indicated that while there are no new religious ideas and practice, the churches and leaders involve more in conflict resolution and teaching followers on the importance of peace and security. Theft and violations of religious rules are also regularly thought against in the churches and mosques. This has had a great role in preventing the younger population from undertaking illegal activities.

Clan leaders

There are no clan leaders in Adado.

The Aba Gada most senior position in the Gedeo customs belongs to one of Adado's family. The latest elected Aba Gada passed away before he served his full 8-year term and his family is planning to replace him. As explained earlier the Aba Gada elections are now facilitated by the government as they see it as an important local governance mechanism. By his role the Aba Gada has a wide network in and outside of the community. His son who was interviewed is a young man who has

migrated many times to Shakiso for gold mining and has been able to considerably improve his life in this way. Related to the Aba Gada system there are 6 elected people collectively called Roga, making prayers every Saturday and solving disagreements between individuals. One of them, called Jel-Aba Shengo leader, has no other position. His network is with the other elders in the shengo and the kebele administration.

Iddir leaders

No iddir leader was interviewed. One woman who is a leading businessperson, selling kocho and having a teashop where she is selling bread, tea, biscuits and soft drinks, is an iddir leader. Her network is focused on her business activities (other traders and other people selling kocho).

Successful farmers

Male

Successful farmers are not all model farmers. For instance the head of the successful farming household, with an annual income of 8,000 birr from the family's farm and who is one of the largest coffee suppliers of the kebele, explained that he was not selected as a model farmer and was not rewarded for his activities. The successful businessman who is also a very successful farmer with an even higher annual income from his farm products (20,000 birr according to his wife) is also not a model farmer. As noted earlier, currently none of them holds a government position.

Among the two successful farmers identified by knowledgeable respondents in the community one is treasurer of the water management committee. Their network revolves around their livelihood as farmers: other farmers, DAs and traders.

The successful farmer interviewed as such is one of the largest coffee and enset producers in Adado with 3 ha land, 3,500 coffee trees and 2,000 enset trees. He also grows maize on additional land that he sharecrops in and by intercropping it with coffee and enset. He has fruits and cabbage for home consumption. He hires daily labourers which he pays at least 30 birr to prepare a ½ ha piece of land. He interacts with the wereda agriculture office to get inputs and sometimes tools and the DAs for their advice which he appreciates for the coffee production especially; with the coffee Union where he is selling his coffee; with the daily labourers; and with the wider community as he is an elder. He does not have an official position in the kebele.

Female

The two women interviewed as heads of households, respectively poor and more successful, are not lead farmers. The more successful one has a farm but the activity she talks most about is her teashop business and her attempt at starting a shop. The knowledgeable respondents identified two women as successful farmers. One is the women association leader (but as mentioned elsewhere the association barely functions). The other is a 1-5 leader. They interact with the DAs and the 1-5 leader also interacts with the kebele leader.

The woman who was interviewed as a model farmer is a widow. Her husband passed away in 1999 EC. He was a hard worker and a model farmer and so she learned a lot from him. She works hard on her farm by hiring three labourers. She was selected as a model farmer because she applies the training given by the DAs. She is producing maize, haricot beans, boye, enset, coffee and vegetables like carrots, beetroots, cabbage and lettuce. She spends around 1,000 birr in a year on daily labour. Her main network about farming is with the DAs and her daily labourers.

Successful traders/businessmen

Male

The two men identified by knowledgeable respondents as successful traders/businesspeople do not have official positions in the kebele. One of them runs a shop where he sells consumption goods.

The other is baking bread, selling soft drinks and running a shop. Their networks focus on other traders, including in Dilla for the man who has the bakery. That man was interviewed and his story is summarised in the box below. He has a widely diversified livelihood portfolio.

Box 9: Successful businessman in Adado

He is also involved in farming with a very large number of coffee trees, and he has land in the rural areas for livestock fattening. He has a large landholding and sharecrops in addition. He uses his personal resources to run all his businesses; he does not want credit because he can use the income of one business when another business needs capital or lacks an income.

He has two big houses in Adado town, which he uses to run a shop, a restaurant and a bakery. He brings all shop items from Dilla with vehicle and sells it on retail price. He bakes bread every day which he sells in the bakery and to a network of retailers (500 breads/day, 2 birr/loaf). He is active on the livestock fattening and farm product market both inside and outside of the community.

His family as a whole is helping with the various businesses. He also hires daily workers as additional workforce to harvest coffee and prepare the farmland. He has permanent workers in his shop-restaurant-bakery business. He pays 250 birr for his business license and 300 birr as income tax. He does not face much competition for the business activities in the community. He has good communication and cooperation with other business people inside and outside the community.

Another person with significant business activity is trading skins and hides (in addition of being a farmer). This can be a good business as there is a good national market for the production of leather. His network for this activity includes the farmers and smaller skin-and-hide traders from whom he is buying the products, the boys he is hiring as daily labourers to help him transport and storing the hides, and the traders to whom he is selling his products. He also explains that there is not much competition between traders. Rather, they cooperate and lend money to each other when one has found a good supply but does not have cash at hand.

The successful businessman explains that he does not have any interaction with any government person or service in relation to his business (skins and hides) or his wife's business (selling drinks). As a (big) farmer and coffee grower he has interactions with the DAs, the Union etc. He is not a model farmer and has no official position in the kebele (he had in the past) and does not want any so as to have time for his business. But through his skin and hide trade he has strong connections with many of the households in the kebeles of the wereda, in the Oromia region and also with traders in Addis Ababa. His trade-related network has improved and links are also increasing through every new supplier's contact. He further explains:

"Trade by itself is a channel to contact many people and through it linkages increase and this leads to co-operation. People in the network are good to support each other. For instance, if I lack money to finance trade for a particular profitable product, there is an opportunity to contact one of the traders and get money. In social affairs, when there is frequent contact to each other the linkage improves and we start stronger friendship, which enforces one to co-operate with each other."

Female

There is no woman who is a big trader or businessperson. The two women identified as leading in trade or business, have medium-scale activities. One is selling flour and running a teashop where she sells soft drinks, tea and bread; the other is selling kocho and also tea, biscuits, bread and soft drinks. She is also an iddir leader but they do not have official positions and their main network is with other traders, and their customers. The woman who is selling kocho has connection with the farmers who sell her kocho, from Adado and the neighbouring kebeles. Neither of them has employees or hires daily labourers. Both of them sometimes borrow money from individuals but not from a formal institution. The woman who is only running a teashop explains that there is some competition and so, to attract the customers she sits and chats with the adults. She has good

relationships with her suppliers of beer and soft drinks from Dilla (who bring the goods to Adado) and can sometimes buy from them on credit.

Women's leaders

Knowledgeable respondents identified two women leaders as the women association leader and the women affairs' representative on the kebele Cabinet. In these positions they network with the kebele leaders. The woman association leader is also on the water committee of the kebele (which is not among those said to be really effective like the education, health and good governance committees). The woman affair's representative is farming and has a small restaurant and she is also the vice-chairperson of the Farmer's Union. She is attending the Union's meeting and her network includes individuals at the Union.

The leader of the women's association explained that in reality the association is not functional in the kebele. It has been more than a year since she participated in a meeting of the association, and she does not know the number of members. So far nothing has been done in relation to women's economic empowerment of women. She explained some of the change and lack of change for women (see section 5) and noted that now there is a plan that AGP is going to make women beneficiaries. She had nothing more to say about her activities and network.

A woman leader of a 1-5 was interviewed too. She explained that as leader her official role is to coordinate the 1-5 group meetings and report her group's activities. In principle she has meetings with her group members two times a month. They discuss about enset planting, coffee planting, maize sowing; and hygiene and sanitation, sending pregnant women at the health centre for antenatal care and delivery, child vaccination, and latrine digging. At coffee harvest time the team members cooperate to harvest coffee in groups. They also use the 1-5 for social activities like weddings and mourning, to contribute money and work together. She networks with her group but sometimes faces problems when team members do not implement what they are told and are shown through visits to others. She gets the support from the HEW and also reports to her. She was given a 15-day training on 1-5 leadership. As mentioned earlier, the November 2013 fieldwork revealed considerable confusion around the different sub-kebele structures that are supposed to be in place. Most women said that the female ones were in reality not functional.

Political activists

When asked to identify a political activist the group of knowledgeable respondents thought of the kebele manager, who started working in this position five years ago. He is a Gr10 completer from Adado and he got training on good governance for 2 months. He is said to be appreciated by the community; the health extension worker notes that he is really supportive of her work; the DA mentions that he and the kebele manager work closely together on party issues.

Two of the farmers interviewed were quite strong EPRDF supporters. Their views and experience with the party are summarised in the box below.

Box 10: Strong EPRDF supporters in Adado

KB is one of the middle-wealth farmers in Adado. He is engaged in both farming and government employment. He guards the Farmers' Union office; he and his wife work at the coffee seedling nursery in the Union's demonstration site. He is party member. He is not serving in a party position, but is of the view that party work is good at present. There is strong gimgema among cell members party. However, a few have no known-how about the politics and party issues and this should be improved. Five members of the household are party members and contribute party fees, although apart from him the others are not active in party affairs. Party members engage in developmental activities. They are also given government messages on politics or development issues to disseminate this information. In the party meetings, there is strong discussion and debate among the party members which advances the knowledge about party and politics for the members. Women benefit when they become party members, as they exercise politics and decision making.

The youth also know about their rights and obligations better when they involve in party and political issues. He personally likes party membership because he participates in appointing his representatives in kebele, wereda, zone, Region and federal political positions. It is the political party that leads politics and development starting from the locality to the federal level.

AB is a poor farmer, also working as daily labourer in the community. He is ex-soldier and demobilised in the year 1992. He has no government role but he is leading party member. He actively involves in development works. He believes that this would be improved if there was regular follow-up of those not attending the group work. Party work would be improved if all the members actively participated in all aspects. His wife and he are members of the party. Members are responsible to discuss, share and draw lessons from one another on any of the political assignment given by the wereda politics office. Contributing fees is another duty. Members benefit of gaining a good understanding of politics. Members are responsible to elect their representatives in kebele, wereda, region and federal councils. He said that *“It is very important if our representatives influence some changes in the community as what has been observed by ETV in other communities”*.

In the community there are a few opposition supporters, around ten and their number is said to have declined since the last election. But although many people are not fully happy with the performance of the current EPRDF-led government there is a sense that the opposition is not competent. Among respondents asked informally about the elections, EPRDF supporters explained:

“Every time we vote for the EPRDF; however it is not meeting our needs (referring to the poor infrastructure development and lack of attention to coffee even though it is a critical crop for the country’s earning of foreign currencies)... Our representatives have been weak to challenge the council at higher levels. There were promises to improve development during the campaigns for election. However, there is no performance in practice... But the community has no other best option.”

Others such as a group of elders, also EPRDF members, agreed with this lack of alternative. As noted earlier many in the community are also dissatisfied by the government lack of action regarding youth unemployment. A group of educated young people thought that they need a strong representative who would report on the community’s situation to the higher authorities.

While there was some opposition campaigning for the national election there was little campaigning altogether for the 2013 local election. Kebele officials explained that there was an awareness-raising meeting at the kebele level where people were told to *‘vote for anyone who can serve the community, and represent the community at kebele, wereda, regional and federal level’*. This took place in the school compound and was facilitated by wereda officials. Everyone was invited to attend without discrimination, including opposition members, but there was no opposition campaigning for these elections. They generally thought that there were improvements compared to previous elections: the sub-kebele structures allowed reaching down to household level to raise awareness, and candidates were selected more transparently and according to relevant criteria such as their better performance in farming, their education, their active participation in politics and in the kebele affairs. There was no election propaganda by any of the parties, with only one poster on the wall of the Farmers’ Union office.

An opposition supporter explained that the opposition abstained to participate because there was no level playing field and no transparency (which EPRDF supporters disagreed with). He agreed that households were better informed but he believed that anyone not voting for the EPRDF would be under attack by the kebele leaders. Separately the successful farmer who also supports the opposition, spoke about exclusion of those who are not members of the ruling party. They cannot hold a kebele position and are not invited to meetings and for trainings so they may miss information about important interventions of the government. He personally had a case which he believes was inadequately addressed even though he appealed up to the wereda level, because the

court was influenced by decisions taken locally, which are politically influenced. But the kebele manager explained informally to the Research Officer that opposition supporters themselves mix up politics and development when they show reluctance to contribute to the community development activities that are supposed to benefit them as well as the others.

Beyond the topic of the election, people in Adado mentioned meetings, gimgema, discussions and reading of newspapers in the 1-5 and cell meetings. They added that the party structures are important in relation to the government development messages and activities.

The young people all noted that there is no pressure on them to join the ruling party – which some linked to the fact that the youth organisations are not active in the kebele. Most of them explained that there is not much of a link between the youth and the government and they are generally much more concerned by their future livelihood and interested in religion than in politics, although many added that they are not interested in opposition politics and there generally is no interest in opposition in the community. One of the young men thought that all youth support the government agenda but another said that *‘those youth lacking a job hate the government.’*

In the household of the successful farmer who is an opposition supporter, all his children and his wife are EPRDF party members because it is needed to access job opportunities. He explained that

“All the children... became members in anticipation of some support. They are not active members beyond simple membership. They got an ID card and pay the fees. I saw that my sons and daughters working in public offices receive recommendation letters if they want to move from one place to another. This is less possible for those who are not party members”.

Social interactions within the community

Community-government relations

Appreciation of government interventions and meetings

The group of knowledgeable people interviewed on the community trajectory explained that people including themselves appreciate government services such as the school, the health centre and agricultural promotion. Schools were far away and children used to face difficulty while at present there is better access to first and second cycle. Material and human resources at the health centre are getting better though not yet sufficient. Farmers are served by agricultural extension service in training, fertiliser and improved seed supply. But they are not happy with some of this. In the year 2004 EC the farmers lost their maize harvest due to lack of rain and the fertiliser burned the seeds. This led to much decreased community willingness to participate in the fertiliser intervention.

People are also unhappy with the school poor construction and compare with the better standards of other schools in the neighbourhood. They think that government/community partnership is low in the area. Some community members are also not happy with the government saving approach. They do not want to first save but want to get credit with no pre-condition. They appreciate the door-to-door training by the HEW regarding sanitation and disease, the good access to drinking water and electricity and the proximity of the coffee processing plant which helps them market their coffee, but there is unhappiness with the road infrastructure.

According to the household heads and their wives, there is generally no resistance to government proposals or projects related to environment, education, the preventive health programme and governance. One woman mentioned that in relation to health there are some awareness issues but no resistance. But while the middle-wealth farmer expressed appreciation of the developments in these areas, the other men pointed that: the work done concerning the environment is not sufficient, which affects the roads; the health centre is of much poorer standards than in other kebeles and weredas; the government action is totally insufficient in relation to education, the school was built by the community and there has been no investment by the government and the quality is poor. The successful farmer (opposition supporter) added that the community does not

complain about the low quality of services because it is difficult and there is no one responsible. He added that in relation to governance, while conflicts and violence in Adado are very much reduced there continues to be discrimination between party members and non-members.

This is reflected in what they think about what government is doing and not doing and should be doing. Some of the women did not have much to say. But the woman head of the more successful household suggested that government should give credit to women to help them develop themselves and the community. The wife of the middle-wealth farmer wanted a separate office for women to organise them and make them generate an income. Usually the men wanted the government to do more about education, the roads and health services. The successful businessman also mentioned that government should address the issue of youth unemployment in the community. The successful farmer noted that the government is failing to send NGOs to the area whereas there are other kebeles with more than one NGO. Only one person mentioned something that the government should stop doing: the poor farmer explained that sometimes the agricultural inputs that the government distributes are not suitable and farmers lose the outputs and then they resist receiving inputs in the next farming season.

Generally women did not attend many meetings other than large kebele meetings. The woman head of a poor household attended one large kebele meeting in the past one year, the more successful female head attended five and two other women attended four of them. They found them useful as they got information on various issues (working hard, how to rear children in a good way, how to get an income, health and health extension packages, development and agriculture). The only other meetings attended were by the wife of the successful businessman who attended 12 development team meetings and 2 kebele council meetings. She also found them useful as source of information.

Among the men the most active is the middle-wealth farmer who in the past 12 months attended several large kebele meetings to discuss savings, working behaviour improvement, children's education, security in the community, and technical training on seedlings preparation and farming practices; two meetings of all party members at the kebele hall (peace and security issues); evaluation meetings of the development team/cell achievement mid-year and end of the year; and a special training on seedling soil preparation at the wereda agriculture office. They were all useful because the meetings passed strong decisions, people got new skills and they exercised checks and balances with regard to their own performance.

The poor farmer mentioned only four large kebele meetings and cell meetings which he said, are very usual and useful as it is about farm labour sharing with neighbours. The successful businessman attended one kebele Council meeting and two development team/cell meetings – and two meetings of the Farmers' Union cooperative which were the most important as they discussed coffee productivity and pricing issues. The successful farmer, as he is not a (ruling) party member, said that he does not attend any large meeting or meeting or training of any kind as he is not invited or not informed. As noted earlier, he believes that this puts him at a disadvantage as he does not get information that can be useful, on government interventions.

As explained in section 5 the youth relationship with the government is tenuous. Most said that there is no problem, they appreciate things like electricity and access to mobile phone network, but they are not much engaged in politics generally (see just above). And apart from hearing some message from government about group formation and credit or education, they have seen nothing practical done to help them establish sustainable livelihoods when – like many – they fail to reach education levels that so far have guaranteed jobs to local youth. As one youth said *"the youth need a government that support them in job creation"* and so, said another, youth who do not have a job *"hate this government"*. But the general sense is that like the adult generation the youth do not believe that an opposition-led government would do better.

Kebele officials talking about the general meetings sometimes held in the kebele to introduce new ideas said that while these are useful because *'it is better to aware the community before taking*

things to them' and attendance is generally good, there is a problem of punctuality and absenteeism. *'When some people get late for meetings those who came on time get bored to wait on others'*. One respondent, highlighting the popularity of the kebele leader among most community members, noted that those who do not support him include adults who do not like to be disturbed by officials calling them for numerous meetings.

Holding government to account

The group of knowledgeable people were of the view that the Adado community are now better in electing representatives, fulfilling their responsibilities such as taxpaying, questioning about the fair distribution of public service and about human, women, children and youth rights. They explained that *"good governance is participatory in the community. Elders and religious leaders take part in managing household conflicts and in leading negotiations for resource allocations for those vulnerable community members"*. They described regular meetings, newsletter reading in 1-5s/ cells, and active participation of community members in public *gimgema*. They added that all community members have equal opportunity to take part in political affairs through associations, federations, and leagues and that the recent building of the development army has led to better awareness on public rights, responsibilities and justice.

On the one hand they explained that while there was nothing special in the 2010 elections, the community had the opportunity to appoint their representatives and there were many good changes which ensued: people are better in household power relationship, women and human rights, land rights, claiming for improved public resources, tax paying and many other changes. The community is better at participating in public affairs such school construction, road improvement, watershed management and environment protection. One of the most positive changes are the improved agricultural extension services as they got advice on coffee (e.g. how to collect it carefully to protect quality), on seedlings preparation for coffee and enset and about diversification. Also, the DT and 1-5 system makes it easier to organise demonstrations and pass messages. The establishment of the Union (linked to the ECX start-up) is also generally seen as a positive development. The 2013 elections were uneventful and the same kebele leadership was in place afterwards.

On the other hand the same group said that *"officials selected by the public are not contributing what is expected from them"*, and they did not seem to have any suggestion to make to address this.

On the households' side, none of the respondents had used a suggestion box or citizen's report card or participated in budget monitoring or complained to an important figure. As noted earlier, the successful farmer said that there is no responsible person to complain to.

Gimgema activities were mentioned. The middle wealth farmer did not attend any but he knows that these are usually held by the kebele Council. The wife of the successful businessman attended five gimgema sessions about the militia performance and one about the kebele chairperson. The previous one was made to quit the job after he was negatively evaluated in a gimgema session and the current one improved his work after a 'warning' gimgema. The woman head of the more successful household also mentioned the militia gimgema and that this was because the militia did not work well, were biased and did not come on time. The successful businessman attended a gimgema session of the cooperative leaders, focusing on a 5 million birr loss by the previous management team. The successful farmer noted that *"there is public follow-up of the activities of the leaders. However, this is not sufficient to meet our interest."*

The youth had nothing to say on holding government to account.

During the second fieldwork in November, the successful farmer confidentially told the Research Officers that there is a gossip among some people of the community alleging that the kebele leader (said by most to be very popular) and the justice committee head are corrupt. People suspect them because they were poor when they came to their position, and have since then been able to build good houses and become richer than even the rich coffee traders. In his views corruption is

increasing in Adado and people who were previously not corrupt have become so, including the vice-chair and the manager. This may need to be taken with a pinch of salt as the successful farmer is an opposition supporter and as the kebele manager put it: *'Those who are against the leading party are against the kebele chairman. There are a very few members of GPDO who are against anyone in government positions.'*

Local elite-people relations

There does not seem to be anything salient about the relationship between 'lay people' and the local elite (kebele officials, religious leaders and elders). Elders and religious leaders seem to be influential through their role in conflict management for the former and their religious standing for the latter. See below about class relations.

Ethnic/clan relations

There are no issues around ethnic/clan relations in Adado. The community as a whole belongs to the Gedeo ethnic group which has come from one single family in the past. The seven brothers of that family created the seven clans of the Gedeo and the whole Gedeo people. There are more people in certain clans but there are no differences between them.

Relations among different religious groups

The three main religions, Protestantism, Islam and the traditional Gedeo belief system, generally coexist peacefully. In April 2013 nobody among the respondents said anything different. To the contrary, all the youth interviewed on the topic said that there are no conflicts between either religious leaders or their followers. Young women and a few others in the community mentioned that at some point there were tensions internally in the Kalehiwot church – which is the largest in Adado. This has been resolved and led to the emergence of the Muluwongel and Tsega churches.

However in November 2013 one respondent mentioned that there was a conflict between Muslims and Tsega followers in August 2013. The Tsega followers were telling the evil spirit in the name of Jesus, and the Muslims said that it was insulting them. There was verbal disagreement, the police intervened and the case was solved peacefully, following the legal due process.

Generally the differences between Protestants and Muslims are felt to be important by most respondents, although some of the girls and young women could not actually explain what they are. Others remarked that in principle neither Muslims nor Protestants are allowed to drink but in practice some hide themselves to drink and this happens in the two groups (usually adult men among the Protestants, according to one of the women preparing areke, and young people among the Muslims according to the Muslim leader).

Respondents generally noted that there cannot be members of the same family following Islam and Protestantism. Nobody mentioned conversions so presumably this means that intermarriage must be rare. The two groups also do not eat meat slaughtered by the other group and the Muslims do not celebrate Meskel, Christmas and Easter which are very important social events for the large Protestant majority in the community. But they mix for equb and dabo and in the non-religious iddirs.

In contrast, the Protestant churches are different but united in the main doctrine. Followers of one church go to events and conferences of other churches because there are no basic differences; and there are joint activities like annual prayer conferences at the community and broader levels. In one family there can be members following different churches.

There was no mention of tension between the small group still following the Gedeo traditional religion and others in the community. As their religious leader said, they pray for anyone who is asking them to do so. The youth are said to be uninterested in this religion while they are much involved in the Protestant churches.

Class relations

There is a slow trend towards diversification of economic activities in Adado as land is becoming too small to provide sustainable livelihood options for everyone and farming is also not the first choice of an increasing number of more educated young people. However, while there are people who call themselves traders they also are coffee growers.

The main difference is still maybe less about types of livelihoods than about wealth. People like the successful businessman earning 20,000 birr from his farm and running an apparently successful skin and hide trade while his wife runs a local drink business and the man owning the bakery in addition to other businesses and being one of the largest coffee growers do not belong to the same class than the poor woman head of households struggling with an income of 80 birr from her few coffee trees and relying on daily labour. There are economic relationships between these classes as the richer ones employ the poorer ones. Nobody among the respondents hinted at a sense of exploitation of one class by the other.

At an individual level, as noted above (see section on 'local informal security regime') rich or better-off households assist poor and vulnerable people or families who are not necessarily relatives – although it is not known how widespread this is.

Interactions affecting gender relations

See in section 5 about gender inequality and interventions to promote gender equality. At the discourse level most men appear to be sympathetic to the government promotion of and interventions towards strengthening women's rights, be they about decreasing violence against them, economic empowerment, girls' education, sharing of domestic chores, fair treatment in marriage, divorce and widowhood and political empowerment.

The practices lag behind in some of these areas. Notably, land rights remain a sensitive issue. For several of these issues some women said that educated families behave better. Although there is said to be good acceptance of contraception, the women leader noted that there are still cases of husbands wanting more children against their wife's wish and she has to hide to take contraceptives.

But the broader trends of urbanisation, education and women's participation in the more diversified economic activities found in the community have some visible effects. For instance in the past, in the area it was customary for a woman who gets married to take her husband's name, replacing her father's name; this is no longer practised in the young couples. Also in the past husband and wife were not going together anywhere and not sharing leisure time; now some of them are buying things together and they are drinking tea on market places or in tea houses together.

Interactions affecting inter-generational relations

As explained in section 5 children and youth are said to get generally more freedom from their parents in terms of friendship, education and their life in general when they become young adults. Parents are said to no longer beat or get angry at their children and children are taught that they have rights and should not be beaten. Most adults interviewed on the topics described these changes as a rather positive thing, with a few seeing a more negative side and explaining that youth do no longer obey their parents. Most adults also seemed quite trustful of the youth in general, reckoning that HIV/AIDS is not an issue as there is high awareness; and developing bad habits is not a common trend, notably because religion is a strong normative influence. Adults were not very concerned by the fact that youth do not have voice in the community's affairs, but shared the youth's anxiety with regard to their future. The lack of action on youth unemployment is one of the issues over which the community is unhappy with government. Several of them thought that young people are particularly active in bringing new ideas and appreciate the desire of many to work hard to change their life which their elders did not show to the same extent.

The youth in general spoke of a smooth relationship between generations in their own family and in

the community, based on respect of adults and elders by the young generation but also a new attitude of parents more ready to try to fulfil their children's needs and interests. However, the young women were a bit more explicit in identifying points of tension (around girls' clothing, parents and children's diverging expectations in relation to children's support to the family farming or domestic tasks, 'pocket money' and generally diverging 'thinking' – traditional vs. modern). For themselves in most cases the youth said that parents trust them but still control them quite closely as well, most particularly girls in relation to how long and with whom they stay out.

Several respondents identified land as a point of tension when '*fathers refuse to give land to their son*' in the words of one of the 19-year old young women. The youth leader also mentions that in the past asking the family to get land before marriage was not common but these days youth try to ask land earlier and when the family does not have enough land, there occur some quarrel. The women heads of households or wives all said that land scarcity is a major issue for the young generation and linked this to the suggestion that government should do something so that parents stop worrying about their children.

External relations

Relations with other communities

The wereda administrator and some respondents in Adado noted that conflict management between Bule Wereda and the Oromia/Guji zone has improved. There are longstanding market exchanges between people in Bule and the Guji. The Guji bring milk to the wereda markets as livestock activities are much more limited than in the Guji zone; and people from the wereda, including from Adado as the livestock trader explained, go there to buy livestock. But there also used to be recurrent conflict between individuals and people from Bule and the Guji. These days there is a joint committee of all concerned weredas, facilitated by the two Regions through the concerned zonal administrations, and which focuses on conflict management. There is an annual conference of the joint committee that discusses the yearly performance of conflict management in both zones. This mechanism has been effective in the views of all those who mentioned it.

The kebele has good relationships with its five neighbouring kebeles namely Kolisha, Dilla Zuria (Hoticha), Osolomnego, Basura and Doro. Historically there was some tension with Basura and it got solved by elders. This was a long time ago and is no longer there. The main relations are around markets and access to services. A group of knowledgeable respondents from Adado explained:

The stronger link is market link for many different items. Concerning Hoticha people from Hoticha bring sweet potatoes to Adado market and buy kerosene, oil, kocho, meat, peas and beans. People from Adado rarely go to Hoticha market. Kolisha has stronger market linkages with Adado. People from Kolisha bring cabbage, beans, peas, onion, barley and kocho to Adado. And they take meat, kerosene and oil from Adado to Kolisha. People from Adado also go to Kolisha market. From Sokicha people bring meat, clothes and mango fruits to Adado market. People from Adado take cattle and sheep to Sokicha market.

In addition, people from these kebeles come to Adado to get treatment at the health centre. The other way round, people from Adado go to Kolisha to get traditional healers, bone setters and those who treat swellings. Also, students from some of Adado gots go to schools in neighbouring kebeles because it is closer to their home. Gr8 students who fail in Adado register again at the Wochema school as new students as they cannot re-sit in Adado.

Some people from Adado were involved in a conflict that took place in Bule in 1998 EC, which arose first in a school between Amhara and Gedeo students. The respondent from Adado shied away from providing details but it seems to have been provoked by one ethnic group undermining the other. The conflict spread in the town and the community attacked Bule town by throwing stones. There were students from Adado. It was on Thursday which is market day so there were other people from Adado who were there for market and who joined the students. The Federal police intervened

to settle the conflict. There was no death but there were minor injuries, including about 10 people from Adado. The conflict was rapidly solved and things became peaceful.

Adado has strong links with Shakiso, quite far away in Oromia, as a migration destination for many in Adado. In the past there were some problems in Shakiso. People from Shakiso saw people from Adado improving their lives and felt jealous. These were simple conflicts and they have subsided. But people in Adado explained that nowadays getting land to settle in Shakiso, which used to be possible and which some people from Adado did in the past, is no longer possible.

The households interviewed were of two types. The female-headed households and the poor farmer's family did not have contact with households from other communities. The other households appeared to be a lot more outward-oriented, presumably related to their relative wealth and stronger inclusion in wider market linkages. The heads described customary cultural links through relatives, friends and membership of social institutions as well as participation in weddings, mourning, birth ceremonies etc. (middle wealth and successful farmers); religious links with neighbouring communities but also farther afield, for religious matters (e.g. joint religious conferences) and also broader social interests (e.g. Muslims across all kebeles of the wereda are interconnected) (the two farmers again); and business/trade links (the two farmers and the successful businessman).

They also mentioned that past threats of violence from/with other communities are no more, thanks to stronger commitment on the government's side and government-community partnership for security and peace issues. Also, there is better awareness among people about avoiding violence, and the laws and regulations are stronger than in the past (successful farmer).

Community-wereda relations

Kebele officials noted that there are good relations between the wereda and Adado. The wereda town Bule is close by, which makes contact easier between kebele and wereda. Government workers from the wereda come to oversee activities in the kebele and the kebele administrator and other government workers go to the wereda for trainings and meetings. The kebele easily gets new information and new ways of doing things in development interventions.

Community people mentioned the wereda town as a place they go to for markets and trading activities, education, health services, court services etc. and sometimes training. The regional OMO microfinance institution has a branch in Bule but this is separate from the wereda administration. In addition, at the moment OMO is not active in Adado because of a 24,000 birr outstanding bad debt.

The wereda administrator highlighted that Adado is known for its good coffee production, followed by *enset*, since a long time. He mentioned that the kebele has established its own coffee processing site owned by the farmers' union. This created better market opportunity for the community to sell their coffee in union coffee washing site or Union office. In his views there is no notable bad thing observed for this kebele. The kebele is in good relation with the wereda administration.

The wereda implements programmes such as the AGP, SLM and WASH which are supposed to help develop the community. In Adado there has indeed been new developments related to safe water drinking provision and public works on roads and terracing has been done through the SLM. But AGP is only starting; as explained earlier, most people in Adado appeared unconvinced that this programme has the potential to really help.

Community – NGO relations

There is no NGO active in Adado.

Social cohesion in the community and beyond

As explained earlier (see section on 'local informal security regime') people in Adado support each other through institutions such as iddirs and the churches and also at an individual level. Some

people feel that while institutionalised forms of support have strengthened, individual forms have reduced. More broadly, generally respondents of all categories agreed that Adado is a peaceful community and there is strong social cohesion, to which the same institutions contribute.

The young people all said that Adado is peaceful and a safe place to live in. They too spoke of cohesion, and explained that there are no special groupings in the community which is one and homogeneous. There are also no conflicts between young people.

Several respondents highlighted the important role of the churches and that people are generally more religious than in the past and therefore less likely to engage in violence.

Ideas domain

Community cultural repertoires

Major areas of contention

Major areas of contentment with change

When asked about change in Adado and what they thought of it in a number of areas, generally adult household members were appreciative of the changes in **infrastructure** – and so were other interviewees. Roads, electricity, communications/phone and drinking water were most often mentioned and people wanted this to further improve, especially roads. The same holds with regard to **livelihoods**. There is a sense that livelihoods are diversifying and this is seen as a good thing and even indispensable as land has become very scarce. Again, if anything some people thought that the trends are not strong enough. About **health** most people highlighted positive changes and wanted better standards. About **education** the sense of change was less pronounced. Similarly there was less of a sense of change in **social organisations** but those who thought that there is change (community organisations more present and active) thought that it is positive. People were more divided about the change in **government structures** – this is not to say that the change underway is not good but rather, that there are weaknesses (insufficiently educated or committed leaders etc.).

People were generally favourable to the change they noticed in **lifestyles** (urbanised, better clothing, diet and hygiene). They were overwhelmingly positive with regard to change in **attitudes and behaviours**. For the latter, while three of the household female adult members tended to focus on change in relation to family values (children's freedom, relationship between adults and children, choice in marriage etc.) or religion, most people highlighted the emergence of a new mindset about the value of hard work to change one's life. This was expressed in different ways as follows:

People have a mind which is ready to do something and generate an income to improve their lives (successful female-headed household head)

Saving, working, being educated and elite, independent, becoming rich... The youth are more business- and education-oriented... There is an understanding that hard workers can change and improve their livelihoods (middle-wealth farmer)

Working behaviour is improved (successful businessman, poor farmer)

There is an emerging work culture when compared to the past. People are happy to work and earn an income (successful farmer)

People want to do something and get an income out of it. They do not simply wait for farming like in the past (wife of the successful farmer).

The current repertoire in Adado seems therefore to feature general agreement on these changes and their value, at the discourse level.

It is noteworthy that quite a few people highlighted the large differences between rich and poor in terms of access to these changes, including almost all of the young people interviewed. The poor

woman head of household explained that the lifestyle changes are costly for the poor. The middle-wealth farmer said that in spite of the availability of better income earning opportunities there are *'many poor households lacking livelihood means'*. The poor farmer highlighted that in Adado livelihood opportunities hugely depend on one's size of landholding; and he added that *'there is no visible change for the poor in the community'* with regards to lifestyle.

Major areas of contention

From the range of interviews on all sorts of topics there emerge a few areas in which underneath this broadly converging thinking (there is change and it is good), there is contention between conservative and modern repertoires. These include: **intergenerational relationships** and how much freedom is good for young people; **gender relationships and women's rights**, including girls' education; some mixed feelings about **urban influences**; the status of the **traditional Gedeo religion and value and belief system**. The issues over which there is contention are highlighted in the descriptions of the conservative and modern repertoires below.

There are two areas of contention with government policies and practices. First, while people are convinced by much of the health prevention and maternal and child care agenda, the policy of **delivery at the health centre** is not widely accepted and this links back to the conservative repertoire (see below). Second, while farmers appreciate a number of things in the extension services they are unhappy with the way **agricultural inputs** of uncertain benefit are 'enforced' on them (this was especially linked to the improved seeds of maize).

Conservative repertoire

A small group of knowledgeable people interviewed to understand what type of conservative ideas and practices exist in Adado said that there is no known conservative group. They highlighted the general contentment with the change highlighted above and desire for more. The only thing they identified is the conservatism of those people following the **traditional religious ideas**, who do not accept any of the new religious ideas which have come in the community. These people, who are old, are not more than about 10 in number. However, the value of the traditional Gedeo shengo and Aba Gada system to handle conflicts and crimes and more broadly 'police' the society is appreciated by many in the community (part of the local modern repertoire?) and part of the government ideology.

The broader range of interviews of different kinds of people on different topics suggests that one contention point is about exactly **how much freedom should be granted to young people** and young women in particular in terms of time 'spent out', relations with the opposite sex, choice of marriage partner (though this was only very rarely raised as an issue rather than a good thing) and for girls and young women, what are acceptable clothes and hairdressing styles. Respect by the youth for adults and one's elders remains important for many people. In some way this and decent clothes are also in line with what the 'new religion' (Protestantism) promotes.

The other broad area in which there are tensions in practice is about **gender relationships and women's rights**. While there are progressives (married couples shopping or having tea together, sharing domestic chores etc.) several respondents highlighted that domestic violence is deeply rooted. There are still ambiguous attitudes vis-à-vis early marriage and abduction. Women still face a hard time when trying to enforce their rights in cases of divorce and inheritance from parents. The government structures that should ensure that women's rights are enforced (police, court and attorney) are not always helpful. In particular, women's right to land is a very sensitive issue and women are now offered to be compensated for their land share when they manage to claim for it in case of divorce. Only a few more progressive fathers give land to their daughters. Even with regard to education, it is harder for girls to convince their parents to let them go to Bule to attend secondary school. And there still are cases of husbands wanting children against their wife's wish.

There is little information about the **Protestant churches'** standing with regard to women's rights.

They preach against premarital sexual relationships and the value of founding a family. And they are against women wearing trousers.

The conservative repertoire is appreciative of strong women who are not heard screaming when they deliver. This and the argument that mothers and foremothers have delivered at home without problem are among the sources of resistance against the **government policy of delivery at the health centre**.

There are also a few people who highlighted some potentially negative sides of the **urban lifestyle** that has gained much influence in Adado. This includes greater individualism vs. rural communities' *'friendly and strong family relations'*. A few people, quite progressive in other ways, highlight that urban areas are also sources of risks for young people (HIV/AIDS and bad habits).

Modern repertoire

The same group of knowledgeable people explained that young people are particularly active to bring new ideas to the community, like transportation by motorbike and new clothing and haircut styles coming from urban areas. Kids watching TV are also very active in introducing new things to their peer group. Government workers promote and teach about development in general, savings, HIV/AIDS, sanitation, election etc., all new in the community. Some other respondents highlighted a trend of people frequently talking about rights.

The respondents highlighted that while the elders' **attitude towards hardworking** is not changed much the young and adult generations are very active in seeking as well as involving in different kinds of jobs. Compared to two decades ago the young people spend more of their time on education or income-generating activities, including farming. They summed up saying that *"today's generation, not like elders, are highly motivated to finance their livelihood by earning income through alternative means"*.

In addition, people's appreciation of changes in various areas highlighted above suggests that **infrastructure development, livelihood diversification, better health and education services, stronger social organisations, better local governance**, more effective government structures and people's duty of respecting laws and regulations are all part of the modern repertoire. The modern repertoire agrees with a **more urban lifestyle** (in diet, clothing, housing, household goods, hygiene) and with **greater freedom for children and youth**. The modern repertoire also values **gender equity** and women's greater engagement in all spheres of life (domestic, economic and political).

The importance of **children's education** is mostly not controversial and adults and young people alike see education and getting a suitable job (often government job) as an attractive option. But as discussed in other parts of the report people are unhappy about the fact that many fail 'on the way'.

The Research Officers added the following insights from their informal discussions and their reading of the formal interviews. While livelihood diversification is acceptable for adult and young generations alike, the young people are less likely to be interested in **farming** as an option. If they fail to get a government job, trade is the second best option. **Migration** where there is work is seen as a good thing (e.g. middle-wealth farmer), or at least a better option than sitting idle (e.g. successful businessman), and for all the young people migrating as a way of changing their life. Conservative people on the contrary tend to see migration as a sign of poverty and failure.

Family size is also a point where there is a significant difference. Modern, educated people and generally the younger generation want smaller families than in the past and than conservative people, because they realise that raising well many children is beyond their likely economic capacity. In relation to **marriage**, conservative people pay a lot of attention to class. Young people disagreed with this and this may lead to conflict within a family (this is because it is related to resource sharing). There is also a definite shift in relation to **religious beliefs**. Protestants i.e. people who have embraced the 'new religion' do no longer believe that if they do not follow the rules of the

traditional Gedeo religion they will be harmed.

Cultural entrepreneurs

Government ideology

Means

Everything in government ideology is introduced by wereda officials and implemented through the kebele officials and government employees working in the kebele and teaching the community. The main routes through which developmental and political messages are delivered to the community are development teams (the 'development army') and cells with new messages passed to leaders by the kebele officials. Although quite rare, general meetings are also held, according to kebele officials with a view to avoiding people to get confused when new things are taken down (e.g. land measurement, development teams). See more in section 6.5 below (kebele structures).

There are also frequent trainings for models in development teams (e.g. in April 2013 recent training for men and women active in development activities, with good motivation and acceptance in the community, on watershed preparation work, coffee and enset seedling preparation and compost preparation; in November 2013 recent training of 10 women on health extension, although the one interviewed did not know why she was selected). Models speak at meetings and share their experience with others to make others do like them in health and development.

Community members also listen to government messages on radio; many of them listen to the Gedeo language programme (e.g. on farming, health and savings).

Content

According to the wereda health office, as 85% of the illnesses affecting communities are preventable doing **prevention** is critical and requires the full participation of the community. This is therefore an important agenda in government programme. The wereda is also strongly pushing the **institutional delivery** policy. **Girls' education** and **women's economic empowerment** and **broader rights agenda** are also very important. There is also much awareness-raising on **creation of SMEs in rural areas**.

In Adado the group of knowledgeable respondents mentioned teachings by government workers on **savings, development, HIV/AIDS, sanitation, elections** etc.; **watershed management** as a mass approach; the **Millennium Dam** campaign; the wereda agricultural office's help to establish **individual households' nursery site for coffee seedlings**; and the new ideas of the **AGP** (credit for ox fattening in group). They explained that the works done on **roads improvement, watershed management and tree planting** in the community was part of the movement of '*Continuing development initiatives undertaken by late PM Meles Zenawi*' that had come from the wereda shortly after the untimely death of the PM.

Among the community members, wives and female household heads either said that there is no new ideas from wereda officials or 'the usual thing' (poor woman head of household) which is to work hard, produce more and improve one's life. Male heads had a bit more to say. The successful businessman cited the "*education for my children and trees for my compound*" recent slogan but not much more ("*the wereda send us usual activities*"). The successful farmer talked about farming and good governance but nothing new – but he added that he has less information than others as he does usually not participate to meetings given his status as opposition supporter.

The middle wealth farmer listed the main topics in government messages as follows:

Educating children, protecting women and the marginalised, environment, family planning for betterment of the household economy, saving habit, working culture, farming technology, tolerance among the community members, democracy and human rights are all emerging in the form of ideas, proposals, plans and coming from the higher government systems outside the kebele and localities.

The young people heard some messages from government, about girls' education and against under-age marriage, about HIV/AIDS including through school club, about 1-5 formation and earning an income for women and about group formation and credit for SMEs. But they added that they have seen no material or financial support for any livelihood-related activities.

In preparation to the local elections wereda officials came to Adado to inform people to “*vote for anyone who can serve the community, represent the community in the kebele, wereda, region and federal level*”.

Target audience

Kebele officials insist that there is no discrimination, e.g. everyone is called for general meetings and others like the election preparation meeting. The successful farmer who is one of the few opposition supporters disagree about this. In his opinion opposition supporters are discriminated and less well informed than other community members. Women, especially wives in male-headed households, also seem less well informed although this varies and for instance, the wives of the successful businessman (running her own business) and of the middle-wealth farmer (working on the Union's demonstration nursery site) seemed better informed on a number of topics.

Ethnic ideologies

There are no ethnic ideologies in Adado although as mentioned above, there was an incident with violence between ethnic groups in a school in Bule five years ago. Many people from Adado were involved, students and others who were there for markets as the conflict spiralled out of the school in the town. It did not repeat itself.

Religious ideologies

Talking about the ‘new religions’ (in contrast with the traditional Gedeo religion held by at most 10 conservative people as said earlier), the group of knowledgeable respondents thought that religious institutions are mostly focusing on peace and support to people in crises. They sometimes pass messages from the government (like on HIV/AIDS and HTP, given as examples by the successful businessman), but their religious commitment is ‘humanitarian’. Theft and violations of religious rules are taught against in churches and mosques and this has contributed much to preventing the young generation from adopting bad behaviours. As the successful farmer put it:

The most important thing arising from the religious institutions is their teaching about a trustworthy religious life for every follower. Indeed, they are very effective in shaping followers when compared to other formal institutions. The followers have faith in their religion and respect the rules and regulations. For example, in protestant religion drinking alcohol is not allowed for the followers. This is respected. Supporting everyone in crisis is better through the religious institution than other forms of co-operation.

Among the households interviewed, women and the households and also the successful businessman thought that there are no new ideas coming from religious institutions. Some of the male heads disagreed with this. The middle farmer said that religious institutions are becoming an important development agent, through religious visitors coming to Adado from other more modern communities and teaching new approaches to the followers in Adado. The poor farmer also highlighted the role of religious teachers from elsewhere in telling the people of Adado about actions undertaken by others – in relation to religion.

The young people interviewed were divided as to whether religious rules had become stricter or young people had become more interested in religion than in the past or not; some who thought this is not the case said that rules had always been strict and young people had always been interested. Most of them had heard that one young man had been in Dilla to learn on religious issues and he is now back and preaching in one of the churches. The young women and girls said that there are no missionaries coming from outside to preach in Adado, but the young men and boys all

mentioned preachers from Dilla, Wolayita, Sidama, Hawassa and even Addis Ababa. A few of them also stressed the churches' role in enforcing social norms in Adado.

The Muslim leader explained that they mainly teach *'the usual religious issues from the Kuran... and the youth not to drink and not to do bad things/sins'*. While the Protestant leader believed that they teach more relevant things than in the past, regarding marriage, family, life etc. which are all *'important topics filling the knowledge and skill gaps of the youth'*.

Other ideologies

There are no other ideologies in Adado.

Urban connections and ideas

One knowledgeable respondent in Adado explained how he thought that:

"Urban linkages are changing the local community culture. The local community perceives that urban features are always better than the rural living style. People wish to live in urban style because they see the urban culture such as the way of clothing, cleanliness, alertness and lifestyle as better than the local one. People's aspirations for the betterment of their life are linked to the culture of the richer people in rural or urban areas. However, we clearly see that the richer are always living in urban areas. Many rural rich farmers are trying to buy urban land to go and live there. This is due to the fact that urban areas are perceived as the place to be for those who overcame life challenges".

He added that urban is associated to modern. He described the effects of urbanisation of neighbouring areas on rural areas like Adado, due to improved rural-urban linkages and rural people visiting more often urban areas for market and other reasons like meetings, and seeing how things are done there. People adopt urban types of household utensils and other urban-like lifestyles like better sanitation and personal and family hygiene, the use of electricity for home energy consumption, changing diet with people now consuming sugar, powder, tea, bread, injera and others and no longer exclusively farm products. Moreover nowadays farmers move to urban areas for leisure. They give time for leisure, staying in urban areas for some days, enjoying and eating and drinking urban-produced items.

Other respondents in the community confirmed the influence of urban connections and ideas in relation to clothing, hairstyles, neatness and better personal hygiene, using better household materials and keeping them clean. The wife of the successful businessman also thought that the idea of working hard and saving money is an important idea imported from cities. Her husband noted that in towns and cities rural people see new things like people's working and trading culture and *'communication skills'*. The successful farmer noted how people in Adado respect those moving to urban areas as they are perceived as modern people. Someone coming from urban areas is perceived as *'rich, educating or knowing everything modern'*. The middle-wealth farmer added that one modern idea coming from towns is about boys and girls forming friendship and openly enjoying time together. Also, students visiting urban areas can see the huge difference in the quality of education and if the family is rich they may convince their family to send them there.

Diaspora connections and ideas

Apart from two men who sometime back went to South Africa (around 2000 or 2002 EC) and came back *'with improvement in their life'* but respondents did not know a lot about them, international migration does not seem to be frequent. There is therefore no international diaspora.

There are about 200 educated people from Adado working as government employees outside of the community. No one mentioned any influence that they might have on ideas in Adado.

Young people moving to urban areas for education or work contribute to the spread of urban ideas as just explained.

The most distinct influence in terms of ideas is from the migrants to Shakiso who return 'in a better condition' and pass to others in the community the messages that they have changed their life and are able to improve their livelihoods thanks to their hard work and income earned in the mining job. They share their idea that by going there for one season you can earn much and then invest in forming your family, trade or wearing better clothes etc. Many in the community said that this message is very influential especially among young men, even pushing an increasingly large number of them to dropout from school.

Modern media and ideas

As explained by the kebele officials the radio is an important information channel for government message. This was confirmed by many community members who also highlighted the role of ETV. Again, the wives were less connected and several of them said that there were no new ideas coming from TV and radio.

Other people mentioned kids picking up ideas and sharing them with their peers. Male heads of households stressed the difference with the past, with '*much richer sources of ideas at present*' and the importance of TV and radio as such sources (middle-wealth farmer). FM radio and ETV were said to be very important sources of local, regional and national information and issues related to market, politics and government activities.

The middle-wealth farmer insisted on the value of seeing how things are done and what happens in other communities because '*if you attend some events you are exposed to grasping an idea, good or bad*' and it is useful to see the hardworking culture in other areas. The successful businessman was less convinced and thought that the various farm-improving activities seen elsewhere on ETV are not picked up in Adado. But he agreed that ETV is an important media for new ideas and news about market. This is how he started his trade activity when he heard about the demand for quality skins and hides at the central market in Addis Ababa. Others mentioned the importance of ETV for information on the coffee market. The successful businessman added that on TV they hear about corruption.

People mentioned TV and radio programmes on model farmers' awards, households' better performance in health and agriculture and technology adoption, seedling sites, farming in general, savings, family planning, HIV/AIDS, the importance of family discussions (rather than beating one's children or getting angry), development activities in general, HTPs like underage marriage, hygiene and children care practices, women's access to economic opportunities, better justice etc. They thought it is important to see examples of how local representatives were influential to bring change to their community in other areas. Young people mentioned seeing programmes on groups organising and getting credit for small and micro enterprises and drama about HIV/AIDS.

Watching TV programmes, football matches and drama on TV has become a means of entertainment for people of all ages, and pretty much the only leisure activity for young people. People watch TV when they go to market or to town in and outside of Adado – except the few who have their own. Most of the young people interviewed highlighted the availability of ETV as one of the changes in the community, and time spent watching it and socialising with their friends in TV watching places.

Community management domain

Public Works

Environment

Main issues and activities

The wereda administrator explained that environment protection through watershed management and the SLM programme are among the campaigns in the wereda. Watershed management activities have been ranked best among the weredas in the zone thanks to good public participation

and strong follow-up by the wereda.

In April 2013 the kebele officials in Adado explained that with regard to environmental public works, as land is occupied by permanent plants of coffee and enset there is not much problem due to erosion. There also are no problems due to floods or deforestation. There is also no communal grazing land in Adado, just some individuals keeping some small plots for grazing. The main issues are diseases of the coffee and enset trees which reduce the farmers' products. There is no public works regularly conducted in the community to solve environmental problems. Instead, the community works when there are some damages in the neighbourhood. There are no resources given from wereda. In this account, kebele officials do not seem to consider that the works done under the SLM programme are related to environmental protection, unlike the wereda officials and indeed households from Adado (see below).

As the landslide of September 2013 showed, erosion can be a significant issue. In November 2013 all respondents mentioned that public works had been carried out in the kebele in the previous months. Most mentioned watershed management work including road improvement, the construction of public latrines along the road, and huts for dispute resolution meetings at sub-kebele level. The main work was about road improvement.

Watershed management, trees and grazing land

The activities mentioned above (terracing, ditch digging, check dam construction) are done under the watershed management approach which considers the mountainous topography of the kebele. Some people who mentioned them were appreciative and some even said that in fact, more should be done. In November 2013 others were less convinced, highlighting that except minor road and canal repairs there had not been any serious watershed management work and works were not organised and not sustainable.

There is no intervention to plant trees on communal land as there is no such land in Adado. People plant trees on their own land. The DAs explained how to plant trees to protect coffee and many people follow this advice. The DAs also gave seedlings of trees that are suitable to be mixed with coffee and grow well. Trees are also in this way helping to maintain the soil fertility by providing leaf residues. Moreover, they provide a source of income. There are a few local carpenters using mature trees that are then replaced, to make logs and furniture. The successful businessman explained that tree planting has also been a strong message from kebele and wereda officials and cited the slogan "*Education for my children and trees for my compound*" that they used.

Some people said that the DAs also advise against planting eucalyptus because it dries the soil, and that there are people refusing that their neighbours plant them. Others said that seedlings were distributed and the successful farmer's wife explained that she has planted a lot of them.

There is no intervention on grazing land, fencing or others, as there is no such land in Adado.

NRM interventions

Heads of households and wives mention that the community has been working on terracing/check dam and canal construction, including ditches along the roads. This is quite recent (last one or two years). It was done at the initiative of the wereda agriculture office through the DAs, with a view to protecting the soil from erosion caused by heavy rains, which occurs in some parts of Adado. Most people who mentioned this said that those households living where the works were done benefit. The successful businessman and the successful farmer explained that all in the community benefit because these works also improved the internal roads and paths which used to be eroded. As said above, a number of people questioned the sustainability of the works done.

Animal protection

Several respondents said that there is no intervention to protect animals; others said that anyway there are few or no animals left as the land is so crowded; yet others mentioned that the

government or the wereda or the DAs tell them not to kill wildlife but they are not all convinced that this is a good idea. The poor farmer explained that wildlife is harmful for their farm products and a risk for children and animals. The successful businessman said that when wildlife attacks the crops people kill them and protecting wildlife could work if there was “sufficient jungle outside the community” but this is not the case.

Soil fertility

Although quite a few people in Adado are concerned that the soil fertility is decreasing, there is no mention of activities that directly address the issues underpinning this decrease. They linked this decline to population pressure, intensive quasi mono-cropping (no fallow) and, some added, the interdiction of using inorganic fertiliser on land planted with coffee which takes up most of the land in Adado. A few highlighted that farmers skilled in preparing and using compost should manage to maintain soil fertility. Others also explained that in the areas that are more prone to erosion because of the amount of rain in the area, terracing has been effective in reducing it as it keeps soil in place.

Infrastructure

Roads and transport

Kebele officials explained that the public works recently done by the community was to maintain the main road. The road was done by the community and it is repaired by community labour. It has been widened with community support and the community brought wood for bridges, hence contributing both labour and materials as expected. In 2004 EC a bridge was constructed by the community which gave three big trees. There was no input from the wereda. They suggested that support from the wereda would be critical to improve the quality of the roads and bridges (and buildings) in the community. The poor state of infrastructure in the wereda as a whole was also raised as a big issue by the wereda administrator, suggesting that the wereda sees this as a problem ‘beyond its capacity’.

Household heads and wives all mentioned the works on the internal and main roads and highlighted the benefits for the community, especially in terms of easier access to markets. The poor farmer said that this was done under the SLM programme. The successful farmer said, for instance:

The road connecting Adado to Basura is better and has improved with intensive public works. Road improvements have helped the community to transport their coffee to Dilla market with vehicle transportation, which was not possible in the past. In the coffee season, the Union usually uses the road to transport coffee, which is the households’ main asset. My wife and my children easily move to market places and schools with less challenge. Many of my children living outside Adado commonly visit us by using these roads. It is true for all the community members. All the community members use the external road to go to market places, send children to schools, meet relatives and friends outside the community and the likes. Community members better recognise the importance of roads when the rainy season begins. There are public works trying to improve roads in watershed management programmes underway in the community. There is no resistance to the proposals from the government, but the works are not sufficient. The quality is also very poor.

The middle-wealth farmer noted that kebeles emulate each other. But the successful businessman concurred that the works were not sufficient and he also found the timing inconvenient for his trading activities.

Respondents interviewed during the second fieldwork explained that there had again been works carried out on roads, to repair roads that had been eroded by rainwater. Contrarily to works done on roads in some previous years this was not done under the Sustainable Land Management Programme (SLMP) and therefore was not paid (see more below on this).

Electricity

There is no public works related to electricity.

Communications

There is no public works related to communications.

Water infrastructure

There were public works to install the new water pipe system in Adado. This is in line with the principles of the WASH programme, funded by AfDB in the wereda, as explained by the wereda office in charge and discussed above. According to the WASH programme the community is also expected to contribute money for the maintenance but in Adado people did not pay for water from any source so far. However, the piped system is new and the system might not have been put in place yet.

In November 2013 some people mentioned that spring cleaning works had taken place. The pipe bringing safe water to the new piped water system had been washed away by a big landslide in September 2013 and while wereda officials and councillors had come to assess the damage, there was no sign of activity to repair the pipe.

Public buildings

The school was built with community labour and upgraded to Gr8 with community labour as well but this was done more than five years ago. As noted earlier, people are unhappy about the complete lack of government support in relation to the school building, and also complain about the poor standards of the health centre.

The only thing that people mentioned in reference to public buildings is the fencing of the school and kebele offices. The health centre is not fenced. Recently there was also some public latrine going on but this seems to have been done through hiring daily labourers – like the 13-year old boy raising an income in this way in complement of his regular shoe-shining activity. In November 2013 people mentioned that the community had constructed a number of public latrines along the road, contributing grass, wood and labour. They had also constructing huts for dispute resolution in each sub-keeled.

Urban development

There is no public works related to urban development.

Organising Public Works

As said above according to the kebele officials public works is not done systematically every year for instance, in Adado. Apparently it is more like campaigns for specific purposes, and in the recent past there were at least two such purposes: the SLM-facilitated works done to stop erosion and improve the roads and the WASH-related works to install the water piped system. They added that there is enough labour to cover all the needs of the community. The works are not that intensive so it does not require making priorities.

The officials added that there is no given number of days for public works in a year. It varies based on public works that needs to be done in that year. When public works start men and women all participate, although some people do not contribute due to awareness problem and the opposition supporters are reluctant to participate as they mix up politics and development works. There is no punishment for those who do not come because according to the good governance people should not be forced or punished, it is a matter of convincing them. Generally they thought that the participation of the community is good. For the construction of the new water point and pipes the community worked for six months daily in the mornings, from 6 am to 9 am.

The account of the development team leader interviewed is quite different. He reported that

participation to development activities is compulsory for all development team members, which they hate when it is during the farming season. He mentioned that when people are absent the kebele administration send the militia to bring absentees to prison.

The wife of the successful businessman said that there is no need for a system of exemption as the works are voluntary. However the other wives talked about exemption rules. The middle-wealth farmer's wife said that sick and old people and pregnant women are exempted; the wife of the successful farmer explained that these are women at more than 7 month pregnancy; the poor farmer's wife added that women having recently delivered are also exempted. Kebele officials explained that people had to transport sandstone and wire to the top of a hill. It was intensive work and three women who were 4 month, 3 month and 2 and ½ month pregnant faced miscarriage.

Several people in the community remarked on the lack of investment and support of any type from the wereda/the government and the effects in terms of poor quality of the works done. The middle-wealth farmer – who is a strong EPRDF and government supporter – thought that this is not proper but also not efficient. As a development team member, he said, he is suggesting that the government should upgrade the work done by the development teams and in particular, ensure that the road can be used in all seasons. The community on its own cannot do this because the mountainous topography and the rivers require qualified works and the construction of bridges.

In November 2013 respondents explained that at least once in the past (2011 GC), works were carried out through the SLMP. Kebele leaders and DAs would decide the activities to be done. They made canals and paved small portions of roads with stones. However, this was not done with care and some of the improvements did not last – in particular, canals were destroyed. The paved portions had lasted but they were small. This year the community was mobilised to repair portions of the road. People worked Wednesdays and Fridays for one month, making pavements and terraces with bamboo and soil, to make the water pass into paved canals. People came from the wereda to help organise the work. At first people were told that they would be paid, but finally nothing was given as this was not under the SLMP. No works was done under the SLMP in 2013.

The women affairs' cabinet member explained that the main objective of the SLMP is to protect land and ensure its use in a sustainable way. It started through the wereda in 2011-12. The main focus of the SLMP is about protecting land from erosion and seedlings preparation and distribution. The programme established the nursery and they regularly distribute seedlings for planting on individual farmland; e.g. it distributed 31 beds of seedlings in July 2013. In 2011 there was a big push to improve the road. 150 people worked for 2 months. They were paid 30 birr/day, which some were complaining about saying that as this was an NGO programme it should be better paid. According to the women there was no wereda support for SLMP activities. They should have monitored but did not. As a result works were done carelessly as explained earlier. The works in 2013 were not done under the SLMP. There was no SLMP activity other than seedlings distribution.

In terms of organisation, different respondents gave different responses, from which it seems that while there is some confusion with regard to which level is involved, the sub-kebele structures were used to mobilise and somewhat organise people to carry out the PWs that were done since April 2013. There was no information on whether PWs were compulsory or not.

Doing Public Works

The household heads and wives told about their involvement in doing public works as summarised in the box below.

Box 11: Doing public works in Adado

In the **poor female-headed household** nobody participated to public works because she is busy with her daily labour and has to do it otherwise she cannot feed her family, and the children at home are too small.

In the **more successful female-headed household** the head participated in the construction of the road from Adado to Basura. She was digging and transporting soil. She worked there for 3 days. The work is useful for the community but it negatively affected her farming activities. However, she was able to do domestic works after she was coming back from the public works. Her children did not participate.

The **poor farmer** said that no one in his household participated to voluntary community works. But his wife said that she worked six days and that while the work is useful it disrupted her business and domestic activities.

The **middle-wealth farmer** said like the poor farmer, no participation from anyone. But his wife worked four hours for two days in digging when the road was improved. It had no effects on her other activities.

In the **successful businessman's household**, the head spent six days working on the road. He said no one else in the family participated. He found the timing inconvenient for his trading activities. His wife contradicted him as she explained that she was involved in both the road improvement and the installation of tap water. On the road she worked 10 days and for the water 15 days. She had no problem with the works and it is useful for the community.

The **successful farmer** (who is an opposition supporter) was not involved, but his wife worked 2 hours a day for 10 days, transporting sand and concrete for the construction of the piped water system. It is useful works and there was no effect on her other activities but it was difficult as she had to climb hilly places.

In November 2013 as mentioned earlier, PWs were organised for one month, 2 days a week, on road improvement, construction of public latrines and construction of huts for dispute resolution meetings in each sub-kebele. Most respondents interviewed said that they had participated.

Taxes and contributions

Kebele officials explained that the land tax is the only tax paid in the kebele. According to them there is no market tax, no one who pays an income tax as government employees pay directly to the wereda, and only one person who has a license but he pays directly to the wereda.

In fact the man who has the bakery and multiple other businesses pays an income tax in addition to a business license that he has to renew annually but he presumably pays to the wereda and not at kebele level. The successful businessman who has a license for hides and skin trade does not pay for it at the wereda as this is an Oromia license. Several respondents also mentioned market taxes in relation to their activities but for activities outside of Adado hence these are not taxes paid to the kebele. Apart from the skin and hide trader and that one businessman (bakery etc.) the other shops, tearooms etc. do not pay taxes. Local food and drink processing and selling (e.g. trade of kocho, production and sale of areke) and the coffee trade are also not taxed or subject to licensing. Small-scale petty trade etc. is also not taxed.

Land tax

Kebele officials explained that the total amount of land tax that the kebele collects per year is 40,000 birr. The kebele takes the collected land tax to the wereda. The rate is calculated based on land holding regardless of the land's fertility. The minimum land tax paid is 25 birr for 0.5 hectare and below; the maximum land tax paid in Adado is 400 birr for 17 hectares of landholding, owned by a model farmer. There were some contradictory data on taxpayers in Adado but according to kebele

officials and after verification, all households in Adado pay land tax as there are no landless households, although some households have very small land plots. Land registration has not been completed in Adado as mentioned earlier and so, land ownership is still attached to taxpaying.

Kebele officials mentioned that some people lack awareness and do not know well their duties and responsibility so they are reluctant to pay the land tax. Some of them even go to other places without paying tax and this becomes unpaid money for the kebele. Most people wait until they are asked to pay tax. People are given information to pay land tax on time and if not they will be called by militia and made to pay.

The landless poor female-headed household did not pay any tax. The more successful female household head paid tax both in Adado (110 birr) and in Osolonamjo (80 birr), a neighbouring kebele where she has other land. The successful farmer paid 230 birr for everything at once and he explained that the kebele did not give him the detail of what this is for but he paid no separate contribution for anything. He said that this is not transparent and he is discriminated as other households know how much they pay for each thing. The poor and middle-wealth farmers paid 25 birr and 20 birr respectively, while they have 1/8 ha and 1/2 ha of land so this is not consistent with the principles given by the kebele officials. The successful businessman pays 105 birr for his land.

Market tax

As said above kebele officials said that the kebele does not collect market taxes. At household level, the successful businessman talked about 5 birr/sheep and 100 birr market tax and it is not clear where these are paid and for what as he is also paying for a license for his skin and hide trade. Related to livestock trade one man explained that he pays 10 birr per market day if he trades. This does not mean every market day because it depends whether he successfully buys or sells something. In a year he estimates that he pays around 200 birr.

Income tax

The man who owns the bakery, a shop and restaurant in addition to other activities pays 250 birr for a business license and 300 birr as income tax.

Licences

Two people mentioned that they pay for a license: the successful skin and hide trader and the businessman with the bakery. All the other small scale businesses (shops, tearooms etc.) do not have a license and explained that they are not expected to have one. As the skin and hide trader explained, one issue is that he faces competition from people who trade without a license. He thinks that the government should enforce those people to pay for a license.

Contributions in cash and kind

Kebele officials explained that the regular annual cash contributions are for the Gedeo Development Association (10 birr), Red Cross 5 birr and sport (2 birr) from all residents and these are flat rates, and by household. The contributions are collected from both landed and landless households. The annual school contribution is 10-20 birr depending on how much it is decided to collect in total. This is paid only by families having children going to school. The poor are exempted from contributions for the Gedeo Development Association and from the school contribution. For Red Cross people who are not members do not pay. The old and the poor are exempted from contributions for sport.

There was a one-off national cash contribution collected for the Renaissance Dam construction. For the kebele this was 2000 birr with contributions varying from 50-100 birr based on the wealth status of the community. They added that there was no one-off in-kind contribution – which is not correct as elsewhere they reported that the community contributed trees for bridges for the road improvement works. They also did not mention cash contributions for water development that some of the households mentioned.

At household level some people mentioned 5 birr for Red Cross and others 10 birr. Similarly some mentioned 10 birr and others 20 birr for school construction. It is also puzzling that most reported no school fees but the woman head of the more successful household said she is paying fees (15 birr per school-going child) in addition to the school construction contribution. The middle-wealth farmer said that he also paid 10 birr for kebele administration cost. The successful farmer mentioned this too but no amount as he said that he paid all taxes and contributions as a lump sum without knowing the details. The poor female-headed household did not pay any tax or any contribution.

A few people mentioned contributing cash for the water development works: the middle wealth farmer paid 50 birr and the successful businessman paid 110 birr. He explained that this was a voluntary contribution from people owning a business in the community and he paid happily because water is important for the community. The middle-wealth farmer does not have a business but both he and his wife earn a monthly salary at the nursery site which may have been the reason why they were asked to contribute.

The box below gives a snapshot of income and payments incurred for various activities and access to services by some of the households interviewed.

Box 12: Income and payments for services, taxes and contributions in Adado

Last year the **poor female-headed household** (landless, husband died 8 years ago and small children) earned 80 birr from selling 6 kg coffee and otherwise relies on the head's daily labour (processing kocho, 10 birr/day). She is not member of an equb or iddir. Only one of her school age children goes to school as she does not have enough money. She paid 15 birr for her child's school materials. She did not celebrate anything and did not pay tax or any contribution. She also did not contribute to public works as she has to earn an income to feed her family.

The **poor farmer** who has 1/8 ha land earns a living through daily labour as well as his wife. Some of his children are not at school due to financial constraints. Last year he sold coffee for 300 birr and worked for a rich farmer in Shakiso for 700 birr for 43 days. He had to sell one sheep to help his brother facing a crisis. He spent 1,000 birr for the three annual festivals. He paid birr 25 as land tax, 10 for the Gedeo Association, 6 for the party, 5 for the Red Cross and 10 for school construction.

The **successful businessman's** family had an income of 20,000 birr from their farm only, last year and this is less than 5 years ago. In addition he runs a successful skin and hide business and she runs a successful and profitable local drink selling business. He pays a license for this (210 birr). One business partner owes him 11,000 birr since two years. He owes a weighing balance worth 4,000 birr. In 2010 he spent 21,000 birr on his son's wedding. He is member of an equb (1,000 birr/year) and of an iddir (20 birr/month) and his wife is member of three (25 birr/month in total) and member of an equb (10 birr/week). One child was sick with malaria and had to go to hospital and they spent 1,000 birr. He paid 110 birr as land tax and contributions as follows: birr 5 for Red Cross, 5 for sports, 5 for the kebele, 20 for school construction, 10 for Gedeo Association and 110 for the water project.

Households with party members also pay the party fees. This varies. The poor farmer whose wife is also a member pays 6 birr and it is not clear whether this is for both he and his wife, or only for himself. The household of the middle-wealth farmer with 5 members including the wife pay 20 birr. The successful businessman pays 12 birr and both he and his wife are members. The successful farmer is not a member but all his children and his wife are. He does not mention paying fees and there is no information on what family members pay but he explained that they do pay fees and otherwise are not active members. There are no party members in the two female-headed households.

The wereda

Wereda policies and budget

On the wereda policies and budget the wereda administrator reported that poverty reducing sectors

(that he ordered in importance, mentioning agriculture, education, water, roads and SMEs) are given priority by the government and all weredas work in line with the given directions. The education sector has the largest work force and therefore the largest budget is allocated to it for the salaries. From the interview with the health officer it is clear that one of the policy priorities of the wereda is to have women delivering in health facilities.

There are also some campaigns to support the implementation of the government policies: the model households and health extension workers in health, environment protection such as watershed management, the SLM and AGP activities. The head of the water office also mentions funding from AfDB through WASH and recently funding from the regional MDG Fund.

Government also makes it compulsory for the wereda to use internal revenues to support the budget. Even so there are budget shortages in specific sectors; the wereda also does not have sufficient resources to undertake the required development activities. People's demand for public services is increasing in all sectors. The regional government supports the wereda in building health centres, some water infrastructure and expansion of education. As noted earlier, water is one of the sectors where the office head is facing budget shortages. He also explained that the budget process is always rushed and giving insufficient time for preparation and sound discussions of proposals of the different sectors.

Wereda progress

According to the administrator the wereda is the second in the zone in health sector performance and first in relation to watershed management activities due to good public participation and strong follow up system of wereda administration. The road network is very poor. None of the roads is all-weather, even the road from Bule to Dilla and even though the wereda connects SNNPR to the Oromia Region and is an important producer of coffee destined to the international market. The lack of investment in roads is due to budget shortage. Regarding water development, the WASH project implemented by the Region dug deep boreholes and upgraded spring waters in cost-sharing with wereda (17%) and the public (5%), thus meeting 78% of the costs. However, the water office head explained that this is now changed and the wereda is expected to contribute considerably more which is very problematic.

The administrator said that he expects the budget situation to be improved through various options such as partnership with supporting stakeholders and inviting private investors.

Working with NGOs

The wereda administrator reported that there is no NGO operating in the wereda at present. Usually what happens is that NGOs come and work in specific sectors for short periods of time. For instance one year ago a Mekane Yesus missionary-based NGO tried to launch a project to generate electricity from a river in the wereda. However, they could not continue. A few years ago Samaritans' Corps was operating in the wereda but not anymore. But he acknowledged that he was not sure about NGOs contacting specific sectors. For instance the wereda health and education sectors have links with NGOs coming from Hawassa.

The wereda health officer said that child malnutrition is not a problem in the wereda, as the small number of malnourished children shows. But, he explained, Save the Children has started working on child malnutrition with the health and agriculture offices. With SC they are raising awareness about varied diets as in many this is the problem due to lack of awareness, rather than lack of food. The AGP is also encouraging farmers to produce different varieties of food items.

Investors in the wereda

The wereda administrator mentioned that there is no investor who formally launched a project in the wereda. There have been requests from individuals from Dilla and Hawassa interested to start in the hotel business and realise farming investment but so far no one who actually invested. The

wereda prepared 175 hectares of land for investment. But the poor roads and remoteness of the area are major barriers making them miss investment opportunities.

Regarding land arrangement for investment, he said that there is free land around Bule town, which is suitable for investment. This is fenced and allotted for investment. But rural land belongs to smallholders and cannot be leased to investors by the wereda. It has to be through bilateral agreements between an investor and a farmer or farmers, with the wereda's approval. He did not mention actual cases of this happening and in Adado people said this is not practised; there is land sharecropping.

Regional and zonal plans for the wereda

The Regional government is constructing a hospital in Bule wereda. The zonal administration has no special plan except distributing the budget, following up and technically supporting the weredas. The zonal administration has no budget of its own except the budget allotted from the Region.

A new development is the Regional funding through the MDG Fund. This seems to be used for water development. No other use was mentioned.

Wereda relations with neighbours

As explained in section 2 the wereda is known for sharing borders with many weredas in Oromia region. Following a referendum a part of the Bule wereda neighbouring the Negele Borena area of Oromia region split off and joined the Oromia Region although people since then regretted their decision according to the wereda administrator. Generally the wereda has peaceful relationship with its neighbours and this has considerably improved in the past few years since the establishment of a joint annual conference between the concerned weredas in Oromia and Bule wereda regarding peace and security.

The kebele

Wereda report on the kebele

The kebele of Adado is known for its good coffee production, followed by *enset*, since a long time. It has established its own coffee processing site owned by the farmers' union, which created a better market opportunity for the community to sell their coffee. From the viewpoint of the wereda administrator there is no notable bad thing observed for Adado. The kebele is in good relation with the wereda administration – which officials from Adado confirmed too.

Wereda plan for the kebele

There did not seem to be a wereda plan specific for Adado. The wereda administrator talked about the poor road access but this is a wereda-wide issue as just noted. He also expects that with the relevant technology and using options such as ground water, harvesting of rain water and where possible pumping water from rivers, irrigation should expand – but this is also not specific to Adado. In the same way he highlighted the importance of small and medium enterprises in rural areas and that the wereda is working on awareness creation, but there is still none established and this is also not specific to Adado. The only recent developments in relation to Adado are the activities of the AGP and SLM programmes. As explained earlier the SLM programme is already active while the AGP is just starting in Adado which is part of the kebeles which only joined this year.

Kebele and party structures and activities

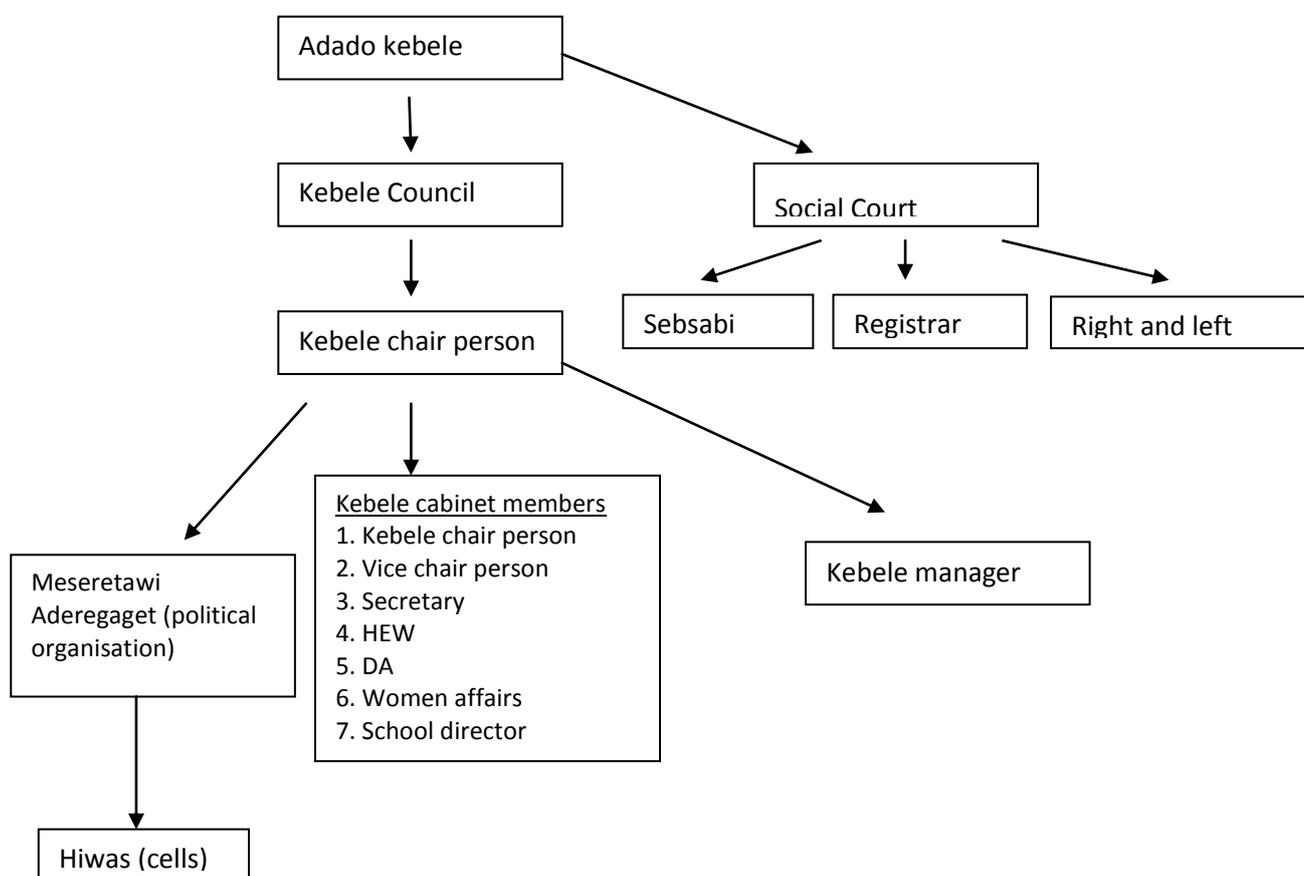
The wereda administrator outlined a kebele structure showing clearly that the Council and social court are separate and not under the kebele Cabinet. The kebele chair is to be in charge of agriculture and health extension while the vice-chair is in charge of education, the militia, information and political affairs. The kebele Council is supposed to be 200 people. In the government structure the kebele is the lowest level but there are gots and 1-5s. In the party

structure the cell, including many 1-5s, is the lowest structure. The difference is that in the government structures both members and non-members (of the ruling party) are included while in the party structures comprise only of party members. He further stressed that all kebele development activities start from the grassroots – including “*environmental protection and natural resources management public works, good governance, political activities through the 1-5s, elections of representatives and gimgema.*” He saw no problems with the kebele structure.

Kebele officials’ description

The kebele officials confirmed some points and diverged on other points. In Adado **kebele government structures** the kebele council and the social court are indeed not under the kebele chairperson; they are independent entities. But there is no information desk, and the kebele chairperson is also the kebele political leader (not the vice-chair). There is no secretary under the social court. The kebele manager is not included in the cabinet; he is accountable to the kebele chairperson. (See diagram below).

Figure 1: Kebele government structures in Adado



Then in Adado there are three *ketas* or sub-kebeles. Their role is to organise development works. In April 2013 kebele officials explained that under the ketenas there are 13 development teams with 25-40 members each (the kebele manager said 35-60). And under the development teams are the 1-5s. The ketenas are used only help to development activities; they do not organise political activities.

There are distinct structures for developmental and political activities and “*there is no link*” according to the kebele officials. For political activities the overarching structure at kebele level is the ‘basic political organisation’ called *meseretaw aderegaget*, and then there are the *hiwas* or cells. There are only two levels. So, the political organisation structure is not mixed with the cabinet and its sub-structures. Both discuss on development activities but through their own structure. Even

though there is no link between structures one can be member in both for instance a leader of a cell can be leader of a development group. Those who are members in cells can be members in development teams and this is very common.

Kebele officials said that in development groups men and women are separate but in cells (the political structures) they are mixed. These days there is no woman cell leader while in the past there used to be some. In November 2013 the story was a bit different. They explained that until recently DTs and 1-5s had been mixed but in August they received an instruction from the wereda to the effect of establishing separate DTs and 1-5s for men and women and had done so.

The development teams are used to deliver the government development interventions to the community. The health sector uses the women development teams to deliver the health extension programme. The agriculture DA uses both women and men teams. The DA works mainly with the male teams but the female 1-5s are used to implement agricultural interventions in addition to health interventions which they are mainly involved in. The development team leaders organise and facilitate the activities given by the DAs and the health extension worker.

The ketenas were introduced in 2002 EC, development teams were introduced in 2003 EC and the 1-5s in 2004 EC. In April 2013 according to the kebele officials the structures were working as planned. In their opinion, they are helping to deliver development interventions in an organised way. The building of the development army contributed to better awareness on public rights, responsibilities and justice. In November 2013 they explained how the sub-kebele – DTs – 1-5s form a command line or chain through which the kebele leadership passes messages and instructions down. Sub-kebeles are led by a three-person committee (chairman, secretary/DA and 1 member); DTs are led by a four-person committee (chair, vice-chair, secretary and 1 member); 1-5s have one leader.

The HEW ranked the 1-5s as the most effective way to reach out to households in relation to health while the DA ranked the development teams and 1-5 teams third after experience-sharing and demonstration on a farmer's land. Kebele officials also described regular meetings, newsletter reading in 1-5s/cells (see below) and active participation of the community in public gimgema.

The development structures are not involved at all in coffee-related processes. They focus on e.g. community public works, collection of data on health and on agricultural inputs needs, meeting organisation etc. The 1-5s are especially active in promoting group work on each other's farm (it should be 3 hours/day) and in conducting gimgema so that those underperforming are punished. The 1-5s report to development teams reporting to the ketenas reporting to the kebele. This system work for any farming activity, but as in the case of the poor farmer, poor people complain because they spend more time on this shared work than they would in handling alone their own (small) land.

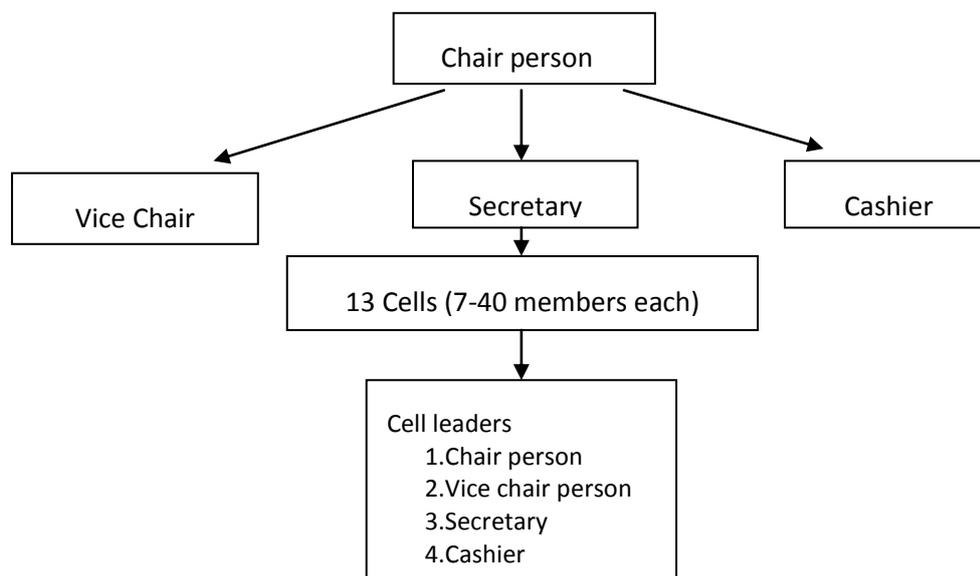
The 1-5 for women, focusing on especially on maternal health, are called the "health army"; health volunteers are supposed to be leaders of the 1-5s. But the female 1-5s are not recognised at kebele level and generally according to the female Research Officer this does not work very strongly.

There are also **general meetings of the kebele** although rarely held. People are called to hear about the performance of the kebele and '*to aware the community on new things and new development plans*'. They discuss evaluation of school performance and are useful when new things come, to raise awareness (e.g. about why land measurement or the development teams are needed). Before people got confused as new things were directly taken to the community. The attendance level is good with issues of punctuality and absenteeism. The kebele leadership uses the command line to call people to meetings, as well as a sound horn.

On the **political side**, while the structures are distinct (see diagram below), the kebele manager explained that the kebele chairperson is also the party leader in the kebele, by rule. Kebele officials explained that the 'basic organisation' meets every month and the cells meet every two weeks. The cells read the party newsletter which comes twice a month and includes information on development activities. The cell members discuss and plan how they will "*learn from what they*

read.” In total according to the manager, in April 2013 there were 480 party members in Adado, 393 male and 87 female; according to kebele officials the membership was 576 (522 male and 54 female).

Figure 2: Kebele party structures in Adado



The kebele officials further explained that

The main routes through which developmental and political messages are delivered to the community are development teams and cells. New messages are passed to the development teams through kebele cabinet members. Messages pass through general meetings and development team meetings. While development teams are usually concerned with development activities cells are mainly for political activities. But cells are also important to pass development messages. Women also participate in cells.

One **development team** leader who was interviewed in this capacity explained that the DT leaders meet the 1-5 leaders at the last Friday of every month for 3-5 hours. At that meeting the 1-5s leaders come up with reports of work, gimgema of the 1-5s attendance and ways of creating model farmers/ workers, etc. All leaders are working hard and the 1-5s and development teams are “forced to work by the kebele leaders... because there is serious gimgema by kebele higher officials with regard to their performance”.

There are women leaders of 1-5 but there is no woman development leader.

One 1-5 male leader explained how the 1-5 members work together for the members’ farming activities. The labour revolves to all members in a week. They work 3 hours a day for one member and this is done in the morning, revolving around members until the farming work is complete. He appreciated that this is an improved way of doing compared to the past when households worked on their farming activities on their own as this new approach helps to complete the job in a very short time. Moreover, everyone is forced to attend because there is gimgema among the members if there is any absenteeism. The woman leader of a female 1-5 explained that in the group they discuss about various health and agriculture development issues. The 1-5s also make members cooperate in coffee harvesting. They use them for social activities and obligations. She was given 15-day training on 1-5 leadership.

Community members’ perspectives

At the household level, as explained in section 6.3 generally women do not seem to attend many

meetings other than large kebele meetings, which were found to be useful to get information. The exception is the wife of the successful businessman who in the past year also attended 12 development team and 2 kebele council meetings and participated in several public gimgema (militia and kebele chairperson) which she said were effective with regard to the kebele chair. Men mentioned large kebele meetings, cell meetings for the active party members like the poor farmer, a few development team meetings and one Council meeting (successful businessman). There were no complaints that meetings of all kinds are too frequent or long or disruptive.

The November 2013 interviews revealed that most people are very confused about the 'command line'. Apart from kebele officials including the manager, no-one could outline clearly how the different structures are supposed to work. A large proportion of respondents said that they knew only the got or the hiwas, with a few knowing nothing about DTs or 1-5s. Even the kebele women affairs' cabinet member said that the ketene (zone) is the same thing as the hiwas. There was also a lot of confusion around the question of whether DTs and 1-5s are mixed or separate for men and women. Most people said that the structures were not separate (which is indeed supposed to be the case for the political hiwas). Only the kebele women affairs' cabinet member and the HEW said that there are separate structures but they also said that the female 1-5s are not functional.

One male respondent said that while at the beginning the community was reluctant to participate in the 1-5s most – but not all - came to like it: *'It helps to work collaboratively on activities such as harvesting maize and coffee, saving money in axion among members, labour pooling for construction of houses, taking sick to the health centre, borrowing money. One doesn't have to be a member if one doesn't like it. It is voluntary. It helps finishing jobs on time. Women, especially widows, like it as they get help and support from men'*. But he was the only one of this view. Other respondents, male and female, generally said that one or another structure mobilised them for PWs; several also mentioned the (party) newspaper reading. The successful businessman's wife said that people in her team, established in May, did not come to meetings and the team is not functional.

Even the sub-kebele structure leaders interviewed in November 2013 gave a fairly confused picture of the structures and their roles. They agreed that the structures had done nothing in relation to economic development or farming since April. The activities they mentioned were about public works, and one added that 1-5 leaders *'agitate members to work co-operatively in farming, house-building and other jobs'*.

The 13, 16 and 19-year old young people interviewed did not seem to be part of the 'mainstream' 1-5s and development teams. One respondent noted that the 1-5s and development teams are not well accepted by the youth. However, several of the older girls wanted the government to organise young women in 1-5s to make them earn an income. In November 2013 some respondents referred to the group of educated youth recently organised by the wereda Rural Youth Opportunity Creation sector as 1-5s; although some groups have fewer members than 5.

Kebele committees

The kebele officials and the manager made a list of ten committees active in the kebele.

1. Rural land committee
2. Health committee
3. Water committee
4. Good governance committee
5. Appeal hearing committee
6. Education committee
7. Justice committee
8. Inspection team committee
9. *Tesetita* peace committee
10. Development committee

According to the kebele officials all the committees are effective except for water. However, most of them are not well organised. The education committee is the most effective. They meet once or twice every two weeks, control school dropouts, buy stationery materials for the school, control the school income and expenditure and evaluate its activities in a good way. The health committee is effective. It follows the community's achievements in latrine use, informs the community about campaigns and teaches the community on hygiene and sanitation. The development committee is active seasonally. It works hard in the farm season, advising the community to work hard. The good governance committee works with the development teams and cells. It meets once or twice a month.

Cabinet sector members communicate with their respective committees. Committee members come to the Cabinet meetings when they are asked to. In practice, according to the kebele manager there is no regular meeting in most of the committees. He further explains that the committees' reports are organised by the kebele manager and go to the wereda as kebele reports. Some of the committees report directly to the wereda.

The household members, young people and other community members interviewed in their capacity of farmer, trader or businessperson did not mention any of the kebele committees.

Kebele chair

See above in section 6.3 for information on the kebele chairperson as a social actor. The kebele chair is by rule also the political leader according to the kebele manager. He is also the chair of the education and training board. The Research Officer noted that he does not have good local knowledge and had to ask others about the committees and the kebele structure. There were few spontaneous mentions of the kebele chairman in people's interviews in April 2013. In November 2013, most respondents asked to talk about the kebele leadership explained that the kebele chair is much liked and many said he is the most popular of the kebele leaders (see section 6.3). In contrast, the successful farmer (member of the Gedeo opposition party) told Research Officers about gossips in the community alleging that the chairman (and a few other kebele officials) was corrupt.

Kebele cabinet

As shown above, the kebele Cabinet in Adado counts 7 members: the chair, vice-chair and secretary are all three successful in their economic activities; the vice-chair and secretary are also leader of development teams and of political cells. The women affairs' representative is also the vice-person of the Farmers' Union. The other three members are government employees: one of the DAs, the school director and the health extension worker. The sector offices' Cabinet members (government employees) meet with concerned bodies in their sectors but they are accountable to the wereda. The cabinet sector members communicate with their respective committees. Twice a month cabinet members meet and discuss on all development issues. And the committee members come when they are asked to come.

The cabinet meet twice a month according to the kebele manager. The kebele chairman explained that the members who are not government employees face a big problem with the workload (house to house visits, meetings with cells, 1-5s and development teams, overlapping development and political tasks). This negatively affects their farm and other economic activities. They get no payment while spending a lot of time. The theory that they should work no more than 2 days per week and the manager would do most of the kebele activities does not work in practice. The kebele officials think that they should get a salary.

Moreover, the cabinet faces shortages of stationery materials as there is not enough budget in the kebele office so members are forced to get stationery materials from their own pocket.

Government employees

At the time of the fieldwork in April 2013 the government employees working in the kebele were the

manager who is from Adado; one HEW who is also from Adado (the second HEW has almost never been active, first on sick leave and now on maternity leave); two DAs (livestock and crop, who was attending training) both from Adado (there used to be an NRM DA but he was moved to another place and not replaced); the school director and the teachers, and; the health workers working at the health centre. The kebele manager, HEW and DAs live in the community. The head teacher is from Bule and spends time in the community from Monday to Friday. There is no vet posted in Adado.

Some members of the community have government salaries like the middle-wealth farmer and his wife both working at the coffee union nursery site, and one young woman working as cleaner for the health centre. There are also locally-paid guards for the school and various other public buildings.

Members of the community mentioned interactions with the DAs, the HEW and the health workers in relation to accessing their services or being taught various things. There is an issue around the supply of fertiliser and improved maize seeds but apart from this the relationships between the government employees and the community seem to be smooth. Several of the coffee growers even expressed appreciation for the services of the agriculture DA in relation to the good advice they get for their coffee.

The kebele chairman said that there is no problem in the relationships between the Cabinet members from the community like himself, and the government employees. As noted earlier, the kebele manager highlighted the lack of punctuality of the government volunteers on the Cabinet as an issue but explained that he is working daily with the kebele chairperson. The HEW is unhappy about the lack of support from the kebele chairperson. The DA interviewed did not seem to have any complaint. He is working with the kebele administration when he has a message to pass to the community. He said that he makes the kebele leaders to inform the community through calling the leaders of 1-5 and informing them about the new thing to be passed to the community. The DAs and the HEW also explained that they extensively use the new sub-kebele structures in their work and find them effective (very effective even in the case of the HEW). These structures seem to be less important in the education sector.

In addition, government workers from the wereda come to see some activities in the kebele and the kebele administrator and other government workers go to the wereda for trainings and meetings. In this way the kebele easily get new information and new ways of implementing development interventions.

Government volunteers

The government volunteers include the kebele chairperson and vice chairperson and the secretary; the members of the party organisation top structure; the development team leaders and 1-5 leaders and cell leaders; the members of the different committees; and the kebele Council members. In addition there are members of the community who serve on the Farmers' Union management.

The Cabinet members all face problems of workload as explained above. The Kebele chairperson believes that they should get a salary. He also said that they face no particular problem with the government employees and the kebele council – which does not fully fit with the suggestion by the wife of the successful businessman that he was subjected to a warning *gimgema* from the council, and had since then improved his performance.

The development team, 1-5 and cell leaders should be quite busy too as suggested by the interviews of some of them. E.g. the DT leader calls members for meetings, sees the 1-5 leaders three times a week, organises the public works etc. He believes that this is useful but during the farming season team members hate participating in activities, especially as there is no incentive. However, it is compulsory to attend and the kebele sends the militia to bring people who are absent to prison. Attendance is improving with counselling, but team coordination consumes his personal time and '*controlling the team members' absenteeism is boring*'. It is also difficult because there are people

who do not accept the development agenda very well; and those who accept it well feel bad when there is absenteeism by others.

Among the household members interviewed none was a 'government volunteer', although the successful businessman's wife is working voluntarily in the women's health groups. Her husband had occupied several different positions at kebele, wereda, zonal and regional level in the past but no more. The successful farmer explained that opposition supporters like him cannot occupy any government volunteer position.

Kebele council

The kebele council has 200 members including 50 women. Its agenda focuses on current pressing issues in the community and they discuss these issues. They send reports to the wereda council.

As noted above the Council is independent from the kebele chairperson. It is an independent entity and seems to be conducting relatively regular gimgema sessions. The middle wealth farmer explained that while he never attended gimgema sessions in the kebele, this is the work of the kebele Council. The wife of the successful businessman presumably is one of the 50 female Council members and attended two council meetings in the last twelve months. She mentioned that she participated in gimgema for the militia and also for the kebele chairperson. The previous one was dismissed following poor performance reflected in a negative gimgema assessment. The current one has improved his performance following the Council's warning.

Kebele manager

In the kebele structure of Adado the kebele manager is not included in the cabinet. The kebele manager has its own structure and he is accountable to the kebele chairperson. The one in post is from the community and started to work in 2000 EC after getting training on good governance. He does not have a tangible plan to leave but he wishes to move to the wereda level if he gets the chance to work in Bule. He enjoys the work because he likes serving the community using the knowledge he has gained in the training. It is good to work in a job related to the training he got.

The manager mainly communicates with the chairman of the kebele, to whom he is accountable. They discuss on the manager's daily activities. Together they facilitate meetings in the community and they go to the community through development teams in order to pass the new message from the wereda. The manager has a good relationship with the community. He advises the community to participate in the government's new development interventions. He is organising the reports from the committees to send them to the wereda as kebele reports.

The general problem that he faces is that sometimes community members do not attend meetings called to discuss various issues and this creates delay in what he does. Sometimes also the kebele leaders do not come on time. There is a serious problem with punctuality in the administration and in the community. However, he thought that the existing management structure is good so he did not have any suggestion.

The HEW was appreciative of the kebele manager's assistance in her health extension work. The DA noted that he is working closely with the kebele manager on political issues.

Women's Organisations

At the wereda level the women affairs' officer describes the four organisations that work directly 'on women': the women association, women league, women federation and women affairs' office (see section 5). But in Adado, the woman who is supposedly the women association's leader explained that these organisations are not functional. It has been more than a year since the last meeting of the women association and she does not know the number of the women members.

In the households none of the women was a member. The successful businessman and the poor farmer both noted that while there are many other improvements in the kebele administration the

women and youth organisations are poorly functioning and this prevents women from fully participating in decisions. The successful businessman thought that this is all the more a pity that there are women who are becoming active in political affairs – like indeed his own wife.

There is no information on the role and activities of the woman who is women affairs' representative on the kebele Cabinet.

Youth Organisations

The situation with regard to the youth organisations is similar to that of women organisations and no one had heard of students' parliament. The youth organisations are in practice not functioning. Again several adult members of households deplored this situation:

There are youth related institutions (association, federation and league) but they are weak in the community. Government should strengthen them with the youth themselves. They can exercise through their institutions. (Middle wealth farmer talking about youth voice in the community)

There are many structural improvements in the kebele administration. But the youth and women associations are poorly functioning... Elders better perceive the importance of voice for the youth. But there is weak participation of the youth in federation, association and league. Strengthening these institutions would help the youth. (Poor farmer)

Youth have institutions such as league, federation and association. However, these are very poor in the kebele. These institutions may empower youth if they function effectively, and let the youth form union. The government should improve their structure and management. Youth should also be informed about its importance. In other areas, these institutions are working well. The problem is big in the community. (Successful farmer)

Among the youth interviewed (also see section 5.4.4.2) the girls and young women almost unanimously lacked any information about the youth organisations and what girls and young women think about them. Their male counterparts heard about them from the wereda or in other ways but either said that they are not operational in Adado, or that they do not know their specific agenda. One young woman with more information knew that there are 15 young women in the association and 5 in the league, but that most young women think that these organisations are useless.

A group of other young men interviewed on the topic confirmed that the organisations are weak and there is no sufficient support to strengthen them. The leader in title was in Shakiso at the time of the fieldwork. The group explained that there are around 100 registered (male) association members and the other organisations are 'not visible'. Even the youth association has no visible activity; it is just a structure and youth are not using the institution. On the one hand they believe that if the youth organisations were working it would be beneficial. On the other hand they pointed that the youth are not actively participating because the kebele administration is not much concerned with youth affairs.

Security and policing

In Adado there is one policeman and the militia.

Generally community members highlighted increased security in the community. There were a lot less violent fights among men, less robberies, theft and burglary and less (some said a lot less) sexual attacks against women and girls. The reasons for this were multiple. Among the adult household members interviewed, two mentioned religious influence as churches forbid drinking which used to be the cause of many fights among men and especially young men. Many related this to government action: awareness-raising (7 mentions) and stricter laws, penalties and punishments (10 mentions). The Aba Gada system whereby a robber is denounced and punished by the Aba Gada was also said to be very effective against robberies, thefts and burglaries.

Two people (the middle-wealth farmer and the successful businessman) mentioned the **militia's**

active patrolling of movements during the night as an important reason for reduced robberies, theft and burglary. The successful businessman also mentioned the **policing service** helping to reduce cases of violent fights among men. The middle-wealth farmer further explained that:

These days, the community members have peace and security. Militia, community policing and community participation have changed the insecure scenarios of the past to the secure and peace scenarios at present. We used to suffer in the past with violence from the jobless, youth, and people meeting in market places.

Few of the household heads and wives interviewed had had any direct dealings with the militia or the kebele or wereda police. The successful businessman brought a case of crop theft to them in 2004 EC and they were very effective and not biased. His wife, however, said that she attended several gimgema sessions on the militia and that their performance was negatively evaluated in relation to not working well, not coming on time and showing biases.

Kebele officials explained that people not paying their tax on time will be called by the militia and made to pay. One of the development team leaders said that the militia also brings to prison absentees from public works.

There is no information on the **wereda police** coming from people in Adado. The wereda women affairs' officer reported that while they should be very important in helping women to get their rights there often were problems. Sometimes the police investigating an early marriage case receive bribes and make the evidence incomplete or compile wrong evidence. They hide the correct information in agreement with the family. Or when her office get information about a plan to marry a second wife and try to stop this, they inform the police, but if the man is rich he bribes the police and the attorney and the evidence gets insufficient to support the case, then the case gets dismissed. Sometimes in cases of rape or abduction the police and other people in the legal process are obstacles in making the criminal get appropriate punishment and even they interrupt the legal process by giving wrong information. She suggested that the police are helpful against domestic violence and in case widows bring cases.

Justice

Elders and the **Aba Gada** as last recourse are very important in Adado. A group of knowledgeable respondents explained that they and religious leaders address family conflicts and issues about allocations of resources involving vulnerable community members.

One elder was interviewed and explained that there are about 50 elders in the community. They are selected by the customers seeking elders' service in cases of quarrel or conflict. The kebele social court also gives them cases to handle if it is a family affair. He started eldership work when he was 34 and he believes he was active in not less than 100 cases. Most of them were family issues such as husband and wife conflicts, simple quarrels between neighbours, border issues and the like. There are also cases coming to the church and demanding elders' involvement.

He further explained that they are working with the government for many cases. The social court calls for elders to handle cases such as those just mentioned and sometimes cases come from the wereda court. The formal process is that when community members bring cases to the social or wereda court the court gives a chance to the case owners to give names of elders who they think are relevant for solving the case. These elders are informed by the concerned court and receive the case. Elders report the outcome to the office after judging it. Sometimes households also call them informally, based on trust.

He also said that there is no dispute between kebeles in the wereda. But it would not be difficult for elders to solve such high level cases if they are organised and committed.

Finally, he explained, the Aba Gada system is called when a case owned by elders is not well resolved or it is difficult to find the truth. Elders then send the case to the Aba Gada. This is highly respected

in the community and by the elders themselves. The Aba Gada gives the final decision and individuals comply. The Research Officers confirmed that the Aba Gada is very important in cases of robberies or theft, as also mentioned by some of the household heads. Many such cases are still handled first through the customary shengo and then the Aba Gada. The social court may give cases to the customary shengo and the Aba Gada – even family cases. E.g. a divorce case may come to the formal structures but they ask the shengo and Aba Gada to mediate. The decision that the customary structures take is then approved by the formal structures. Even for crimes people prefer to go to customary structures. This has also to do with supra-natural powers.

Among the household heads there were several cases of experiences with elders, generally positive. The woman head of the more successful household thanks to the elders avoided a court case and she even avoided paying any compensation to the owner of an enset farm that her sheep had invaded. The man initially wanted her to pay 1,000 birr but the elders discussed with both parties and she finally was made to promise that this would not happen again but nothing else. She thought that elders should be given more responsibility as they know how to create peace among people.

The successful businessman and his wife, who were in conflict and had brought the case to the court where it stayed for seven months, resolved the case well and rapidly once they were sent the case by the court. As he said

He has not observed any bias from the elders. The elders have the capacity to solve local problems in sustainable manner when compared to courts at any level. It is all about negotiation and forgiveness in the case of elders whereas the court states the laws and regulations to manage any case. They do not know about forgiveness.

Others (poor farmer, middle-wealth farmer and successful farmer) although they had no recent cases confirmed that elders solve cases effectively, including cases sent by the courts; they are usually more effective than courts because *'they know the root causes of the problem'* in a case; and as they proceed by negotiations between the parties people accept what is decided by the elders and the solution reached will hold for the long term.

However, elders are also maintaining some of the customary ways of dealing with harmful traditional practices against women. As noted earlier, in two recent cases of abduction of young women in Adado the elders were called to make the woman finally agreeing to stay with her abductor. The young women telling about the cases also explained that anyway, if another course of action had been taken there would have been no one else to marry the young women concerned.

There is not much information on the **social court** in Adado, except with regard to its smooth relationship with elders and the shengo.

The successful businessman was of the view that they work well, without bias, and *'many local issues are better assessed by them'*. He also highlighted their importance for wives who can bring cases to the social court easily when they are in conflict with their husband. The middle-wealth farmer pointed that the social court will heavily penalise men who engage in marriage with underage girls.

The successful farmer was much less positive about his dealings with the social and wereda courts, which he accused of being biased. His case is with his brother about land inherited from his mother. In his view, the social court judged against him because of his political affiliation and when he appealed, the wereda court did not assess the case properly as they lack local information and simply followed the social court judgment. He believes that this bias and lack of a genuine appeal opportunity would persist if he was trying to go to higher courts and so he abandoned the idea.

With regard to the **wereda court** again there is little information about it from kebele and community respondents. A few people said that they knew of cases referred at that level as they could not be resolved at social court level. But the middle-wealth farmer said that it is quite rare

'because there are many local options to solve cases in the community'. The successful businessman had no recent case but in the past he brought one case at that level and found the court effective and not biased (he won the case). It was a case that could not be handled at kebele level because he was accusing a person outside of the kebele. On the other hand he also reported that he is helpless in a case in which someone trading with him took 743 skins worth 11,000 birr from his home without him knowing and refused to return the money. He has been accusing him so far to no avail.

Like for the wereda police, the wereda women affairs' officer presented a mixed picture of the wereda court's actual role in handling women rights-related cases. In cases of underage marriage even if the police do their investigation job properly it happens that parents cheat the court on the girl's age. Sometimes the girl herself says that she is 18 and the case becomes groundless and is dismissed. Finally, the attorney sometimes gives sentences that are too light (8 or 10 years of imprisonment) compared to what the law provides for. In cases of intended polygyny as said earlier when the man is rich he may bribe the police and the attorney so that they assess that the evidence is insufficient and the case gets dismissed.

The court is also unhelpful in cases of domestic violence, because domestic violence is deeply engrained in the mind and culture of the community. She gave an example of a wereda inspector beating his wife and who even insulted the wereda judges so that the case was taken at the regional women affairs' bureau and it was decided that he should be removed from his position but this has not happened. The court and attorney may also accept bribes from husbands in cases of divorce, so that they will not challenge him when he says that the property the wife is claiming was bought before the marriage so she has no right to claim. On cases of widows and inheritance she seemed to say that the court is helpful but the issue is the women's lack of awareness or confidence, especially in relation to land.

In Adado the woman leader pointed at least one improvement in relation to divorce cases. Namely, women being compensated for the part of land that they do not take can get the compensation estimated at wereda level. Previously it was at regional level only and she gave the case of a young woman whose father spent more in travelling and other costs than what she was finally given as compensation.

Community leaders

Ethnic group leaders

There is no ethnic group leader in Adado.

Clan leaders

There is no clan leader in Adado. People in Adado are all Gedeo and there are seven clans but the system does not work with leaders. However, the customary Gedeo system is very important (see other community leaders).

Elders

As explained above elders are very important in conflict resolution. The HEW mentioned that she uses elders to teach the community on health. In addition to conflict resolution and even without having formal positions, elders have a chance to work with kebele officials. The elder interviewed mentioned that kebele leaders require their counselling. But this may also have been because of his prior experience of working in the kebele office under the Derg regime.

The successful farmer who is an opposition supporter and, according to him, therefore marginalised in various ways, is one of the community's elders.

Religious leaders

Religious leaders may also involve in conflict resolution when conflict arises between followers. The

churches are also very important in teaching and enforcing social norms which contribute to smooth community self-governance (ban on drinking, family values, ethic of hard work and support to vulnerable people) and help to 'socialise' the young generation.

The HEW also uses church leaders to teach the community on health. The successful farmer confirms that when the kebele ask them to do so, sometimes the churches teach about HIV/AIDS and HTPs. The successful farmer while recognising the importance of the community's social organisations like iddirs, equbs and churches, said that they lacked a visible developmental approach. But he also said that the churches in particular played a big role in improving their followers' awareness about the HTPs against women and girls. The wife of the poor farmer heard about first aid at the church.

The churches organise support to vulnerable people but not on a systematic basis; it is through asking contributions from their followers. However, this and the form of mutual support through iddirs are the only institutional form of support in Adado.

The Protestant leader interviewed explained that they do work with the kebele administration, passing messages, encouraging their followers to support vulnerable community members, to participate in community development works and to be models for others in the community. This is good as it fits with what their religion stands for as well. They also work jointly with other religions, the kebele leaders and elders to strengthen peace and security in the community. He added that the church's relationship with the government is secular and there is no unwanted government interference in religious matters.

The Research Officers confirmed that while religious institutions used to be seen as social capital and focusing on religious matters only, they are increasingly involved in development and conflict resolution.

Iddir leaders

Again the HEW says that she uses the iddirs and equbs as social networks to reach people about health messages. This is the only mention of this involvement of iddirs and equbs in community management. Other respondents said that iddirs do not interact with the government.

Other community leaders

The shengo and Aba Gada system appears to still be important in the community management. As explained above, the shengo and Aba Gada see cases that elders do not manage to resolve. The Aba Gada punishment of theft and robbery is much feared. Generally, according to the middle-wealth farmer, people confess whatever violence they have committed if the case is managed by the Aba Gada so when an individual whose case is not well handled by the social court threatens to bring the case to the Aba Gada this is very effective. This is because people still believe in the supra-natural power of the Aba Gada. However, some other respondents highlight that young people are less interested and convinced and do not believe in this power.

The government at high level supports the Aba Gada institution as an effective way of handling many social issues. The zonal Tourism and Culture Office facilitates the election of the Aba Gada by inviting all Gedeo elders to a meeting where they elect him. The zonal office also approves the choice of the elders. The Aba Gada normally serves for 8 years. The latest Aba Gada to be elected passed away before the end of his tenure and at the time of the fieldwork the position is vacant but his family is planning to identify a replacement as the position still '*belongs to the family*' for five year.

Annex 1 – Seasonality calendars in Adado 2013 GC**Male activities**

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons	x							x		x	x	x
	Heat, frost, wind etc			x	x	x	x	x					
Income streams: high..hungry season										x	x	x	x
School/college terms		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13		x				x			x				
Work on main cash crop Coffee	Land preparation			x	x	x	x						
	Planting								x				
	Weeding									x	x		
	Harvesting			x	x	X							
	Selling			x	x	X							
Work on other rainfed crops Maize	Land preparation					x	x						
	Planting							x	x				
	Weeding									x			
	Harvesting		x	x									
Work on irrigated crops	Selling		x	X									
	Land preparation												
	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
Livestock-related work	Selling												
	Fattening cattle/shoats								x	x	x	x	x
	Milk production												
Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing	Other livestock products skin and hides	x							x				
										x	X		
Community work mobilised by government Not seasonal													
Government meetings – officials, model farmers, community...													

ADADO Community Situation 2013

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Non-farm work	Trade and related business		x	x	x	x	x						
	Manufacturing												
	Services												
Commuting for work													
Male migration	Seasonal	X								X	x		
	Not seasonal												
Female migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Other?													

Female activities

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons	rain	rain						rain		rain	rain	rain
	Heat, frost, wind etc			Dry season									
Income streams: high..hungry season											Less income	Less income	Less income
School/college terms													
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13													
Work on main cash crop	Land preparation												
	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
	Selling												
Work on other rainfed crops	Land preparation												
	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
	Selling												
Work on irrigated crops	Land preparation												
	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
	Selling												
Livestock-related work	Fattening cattle/shoats												
	Milk production												
	Other livestock products												
Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing													
Community work mobilised by government No seasonality													
Government meetings – officials, model farmers, community... No seasonality													
Non-farm work	Trade and related business												
	Manufacturing												

ADADO Community Situation 2013

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
	Services(tea house food caterings)												
Commuting for work													
Male migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Female migration No female migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Seasonal in migration													