

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: STAGE 2**

COMMUNITY SITUATION END 2011

ADELE KEKE, OROMIYA

STAGE 2 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 1

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This report is one of eight Community Situation 2012 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage Two of the ‘*Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia*’ research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Adele Keke in eastern Oromiya at the end of 2011 using a number of different perspectives. The fieldwork which produced the database from which the report was written was undertaken in late 2011 and early 2012. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Stage 2 Final Report Methodology Annex. 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 1), and during the Wellbeing in Developing Studies research in 2003 (WIDE 2). Comparisons of the trajectories of change are addressed in separate parts of the Stage Two Final Report documentation. Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on www.ethiopiawide.net.

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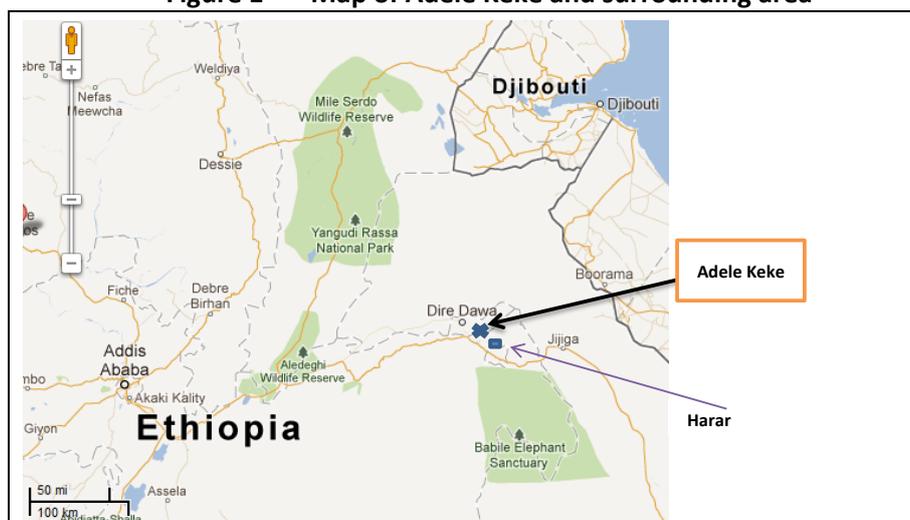
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Community as a whole

Community parts making the whole in 2012

Adele Keke¹ is in the central eastern part of Ethiopia in the East Hararghe Zone, Oromiya Region, about 510 kms east of Addis Ababa. The Oromo, migratory herders, are thought to have arrived on the Harar plateau in the 16th century. They gradually became settled agriculturalists and livestock breeders. Following a long history of fighting with the Harari farmers and the Amirs of Harar, by the beginning of the 19th century the relationship between the Harari and the Oromo had developed into one of mutual interdependence. The Oromo of Adele Keke say they adopted the production of chat from Harari farmers. At the end of the 19th century the area was incorporated into the Abyssinian Empire and under the political control of the Ethiopian Emperor.²

Figure 1 Map of Adele Keke and surrounding area



Terrain and environment

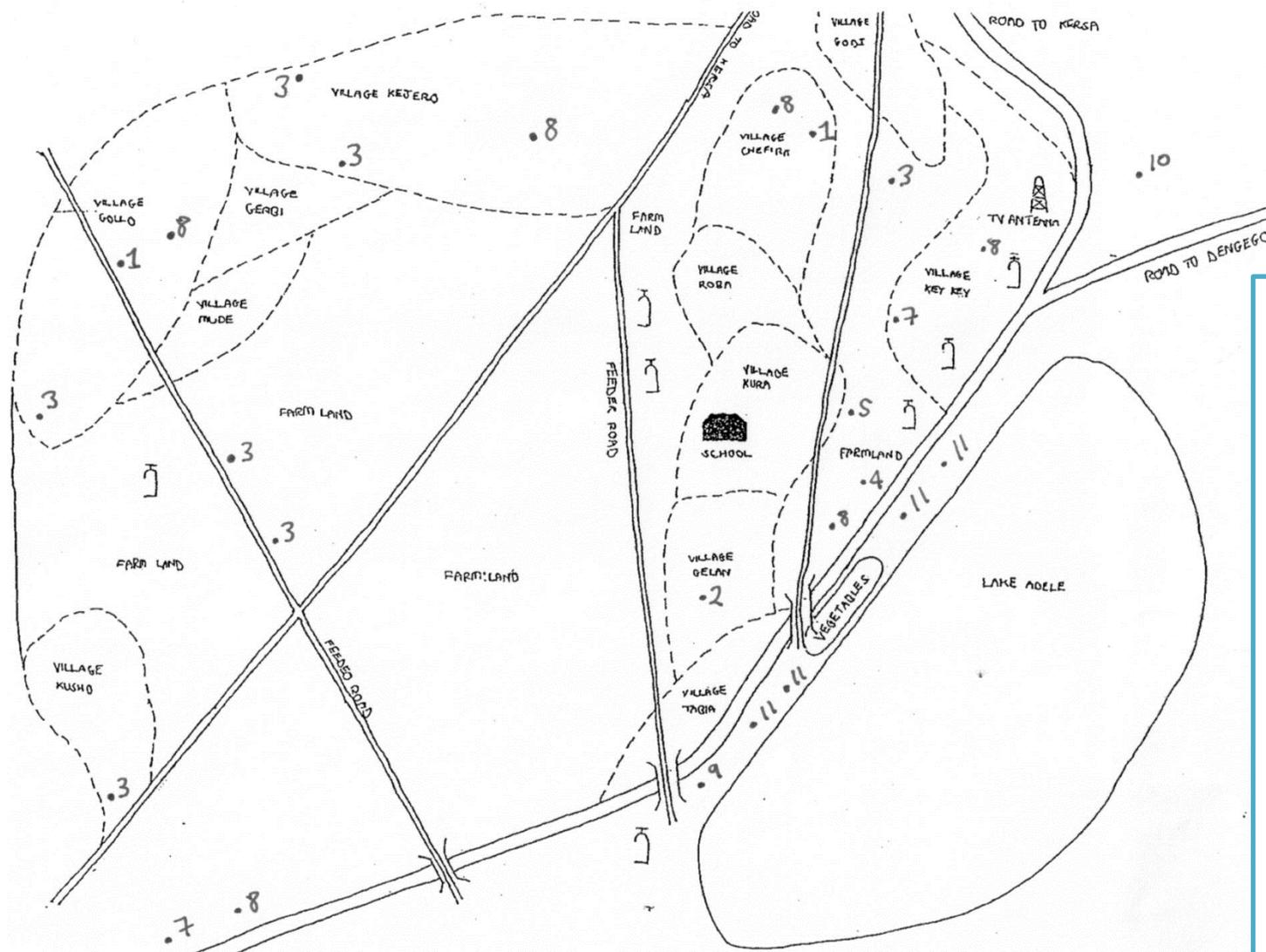
Almost 2,000 metres above sea level, Adele Keke is situated next to the seasonal 7-hectare salt Lake Adele on the side of the main road to Dire Dawa and Harar. It takes about two to three hours to walk across the widest part of the *kebele* (NW-SE). The hilly terrain has a number of escarpments and two large hills, named Mount Keke and Mount Gole. With no permanent rivers, the *kebele* has five prominent gorges, two particularly deep, that fill with flood water during the rainy season. Households with farms on the steep hill-sides are vulnerable to landslides. To mitigate this risk the community has planted eucalyptus trees on the hilly areas and established protected forests on Keke and Gole hills. The only grazing area is the pasture land by the side of Lake Adele. There is little vegetation; most of the *kebele* is densely cultivated with steeper hill slopes covered by scrubland and some trees. There used to be more trees. Old eucalyptus trees along the main road were cut down when it was asphalted.

Lake Adele dries up outside of the rainy season, and as a salt lake it cannot be used for irrigation or drinking water. The *kebele* used to suffer from acute water shortage. Today the community benefits from the construction of a number of water points.

¹ According to an older male community member, Adele means 'white' and Key Key means 'no thank you' – referring to the salty lake and/or the steep uninhabitable areas of the *kebele*. The spelling on the *kebele* sign is Adele Key Key.

² Taken from Gashaw et al (1996). Adele Keke. Ethiopian Village Studies.

Figure 2 Map of the *kebele*



LEGEND

This map was originally drawn for the 1996 community profile. New services and buildings that have been established since then are shown by the numerical key:

- 1 New primary school
- 2 New religious school
- 3 Manual hand pump (water point)
- 4 Health post (under construction)
- 5 Farmers training centre (under construction)
- 6 New vet office
- 7 New cooperatives
- 8 Mill houses
- 9 Coca Cola distribution centre/shop
- 10 Mobile receiver
- 11 Water well

Hyenas are common to the area and eat livestock and sometimes attack people. There used to be many vultures, but a poor male household head (DD) said that over the last ten years, as most of the trees in Adele Keke have been cut down, the vultures have left Adele and gone to Haramaya. The *kebele* chair said there are some migrating birds and ducks on Lake Adele.

Climate and weather

There are small rains from February to March (known as *furma*, which means the time when the cows give birth and there is good milk) and the main rainy season is from July until mid-October. There is a strong perception that recently rains have become more unpredictable and delayed and drought has increased. In 2011 the *furma* rains did not start until April.

There are frosts. In 2011 there was a very cold period with severe frost from October to November 2011. There can be strong winds in October, lasting up to three days, which can dry out the crops, causing premature ripening of chat, sorghum and maize, and reducing production. There have not been recent problems with floods although in the past heavy rains have damaged crops. There are no problems with excessive heat.

Food aid

May households frequently face food shortage as a result of drought and associated crop and livestock failures. The Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) has been in place since 2005. In 2011/12 18% of the population and 27% of households in the *kebele* were beneficiaries. Emergency food aid is normally given each year for one or two months and in 2011 360 people (approximately 5% of the population) and 116 households (9% of households) received emergency food aid.

Spatial patterns

There are 25 villages in the *kebele*: Adele Tabia, Kusho, Sole, Barento, Mude, Garbi, Kajero Oli (upper Kajero), Kajero Gadi (lower Kajero), Gelan, Kura, Roba, Hassene, Chifra, Daye, Hure, Jidu, Sodu, Galmo Oli (upper Galmo), Galmo Gadi (lower Galmo), Dado, Doyo, Nole, Kallu, Hadami, Elemo. Previously there were 28 villages; recently three merged to share common resources such as water hand pumps.

The villages are scattered throughout the *kebele*, some are bunched close to each other, and some are quite isolated. The main central village – Adele Tabia – is in the central eastern part of the *kebele*, next to the main road and the lake. The other villages are scattered across the *kebele*, with most situated above farm lands, a settlement patterns adopted during the Haile Selassie regime when the community wanted to hide themselves from the landlords. For example, Gole village is deliberately hidden from view between two mountains.

Internal roads, paths and bridges

Vehicles can enter most of the villages, except mountainous ones such as Kalu village which is located near the Keke and Gole hills. In the rainy season it is hard to travel village to village. Over the last five years small paths and small bridges across gorges have been built from PSNP public works, connecting the villages and greatly improving access. There are internal roads crossing Adele Keke, linking it with other *kebeles* and Kersa town, the capital of Kersa *wereda*. Some older roads used to be passable by car but have deteriorated.

Community land use

The size of land holdings per family varies, as some households have large farms and others quite small. The majority of the farmers have small land holdings less than 1 hectare. Every bit of arable land is cultivated, for example even land which used to be left uncultivated for threshing sorghum is now ploughed. As a result land for housing is now becoming very expensive in the *kebele*. There are 37 hectares of protected forest, mainly eucalyptus trees, with 30 hectares on Mount Keke and some on Mount Gole. Recently some community members cut down the trees on Mount Keke to steal the

wood. The *kebele* is protected by zero-grazing and there is no common grazing land. Farmers feed their livestock in their gardens; some rent grazing areas from those with land on the shores of Lake Adele. There is no inward investor that has leased land in Adele Keke. There is an excavated flat area by Adele Tabia village near the *kebele* offices that is used for ceremonial occasions and the flat shores of Lake Adele are suitable for military training and parades; Adele Keke is a favoured location for *wereda* militia training.

Public buildings

The *kebele* offices are in the central Adele Tabia village. The *kebele* chair and *kebele* manager's offices are in an old building that was a cooperative office during the *Derg* regime. In the offices there are some chairs, desks and a big table. There is also a meeting room. There is electricity and latrines but no running water. There is a plan to improve the *kebele* building using money obtained from the sale of the confiscated eucalyptus trees cut down from Mount Keke.

There are four schools in the *kebele* built by community labour, with mud walls and iron corrugated roofs. The main primary school has electricity and a latrine. One of the satellite schools visited did not have a latrine. None of the schools have running water. There are challenges with the maintenance of the school buildings. There is no health centre, hospital, TVET college or university in the *kebele*. There is a new veterinary office in Adele Tabia village that is considered a good building. The health post and farmers' training centre (FTC) are half built. Farmers' land previously used as an area to grind sorghum was allocated for these buildings, through negotiation between the farmers and the *kebele* officials. However while construction started, a disagreement with the contractor has stalled work for over a year. No one in the *kebele* was able to give a clear answer as to what was causing the delay and no one was sure when building would re-commence. In the meantime the health post is run from one of the health extension workers' privately rented room (which also serves as her bedroom and kitchen) in the centre of the Adele Tabia village.

Modern infrastructure

On its own initiative the community got connected to an electricity supply in 2005, paid by community contributions. Today 12 out of the 25 villages have electricity; the other 13 have collected money to be connected and are waiting for Ethiopia Electric Power Corporation (EEPC) to connect them. The villagers complain that the EEPC has delayed in responding, leaving some villages to resort to illegal (and dangerous) connections. There used to be a *kebele* telephone landline but it stopped working five years ago. The *kebele* has mobile reception and mobile phones started being used from 2006; in 2011 there were an estimated 670 mobiles in the community. FM reception has been available for the last five years from the satellite receiver on Mount Keke.

Population

The estimated total population of Adele Keke is 7,098 (3,391 males and 3,707 females). *Kebele* officials estimated the number of children below 18 years old to be 5,792; at 82% of the population this estimate seems to be on the high side. The number of students is estimated to be 1,276 (690 male and 586 female), 18% of the population.

In 2010 the *kebele* was recorded as having 1,306 households of which 11% are female headed. 1,157 households are landholders; of these 1,099 are male headed and 58 female headed. The remaining 149 households (11% of all households) are landless; of these 64 are male headed and 85 female headed. The average size of households is five members. 6% of all male headed households are landless and 59% of all female headed households are landless.

Table 1 Households in Adele Keke

	total		landowners		landless	
	no.	% of total	no.	% of total	no.	% of total
Male hh	1,163	89%	1,099	95%	64	43%
Female hh	143	11%	58	5%	85	57%
total	1,306		1,157	89%	149	11%
% male hh that are landless		6%				
% female hh that are landless		59%				

Community whole in context in 2012

The wereda

Adele Keke is one of 35 *kebeles* in Kersa *wereda*. The *wereda* officials compared Kersa *wereda* with neighbouring Haramaya *wereda* with which it shares a border and close relations:

- Haramaya surpasses Kersa in relative wealth. For example, Haramaya *wereda* has 14,000 PSNP beneficiaries while Kersa *wereda* has 21,284 PSNP beneficiaries.
- Haramaya surpasses in development achievements to date. It also surpasses Kersa in development potential, especially in participating in cooperatives and using more innovative technologies than Kersa. For example, there are different vegetables growing in Haramaya *wereda* but not in Kersa.
- There are also development challenges in Kersa *wereda* including problems of roads (internal roads), remoteness from markets, lack of information on markets and poor infrastructure, while the Haramaya community is well connected.
- Some NGOs are active both *weredas*, but the Italian non-governmental organisation (NGO) CISP³ is not working in Haramaya.
- Regarding peace, security and good governance, the two *weredas* are equal and in some aspects, Kersa is better.

Main linkages

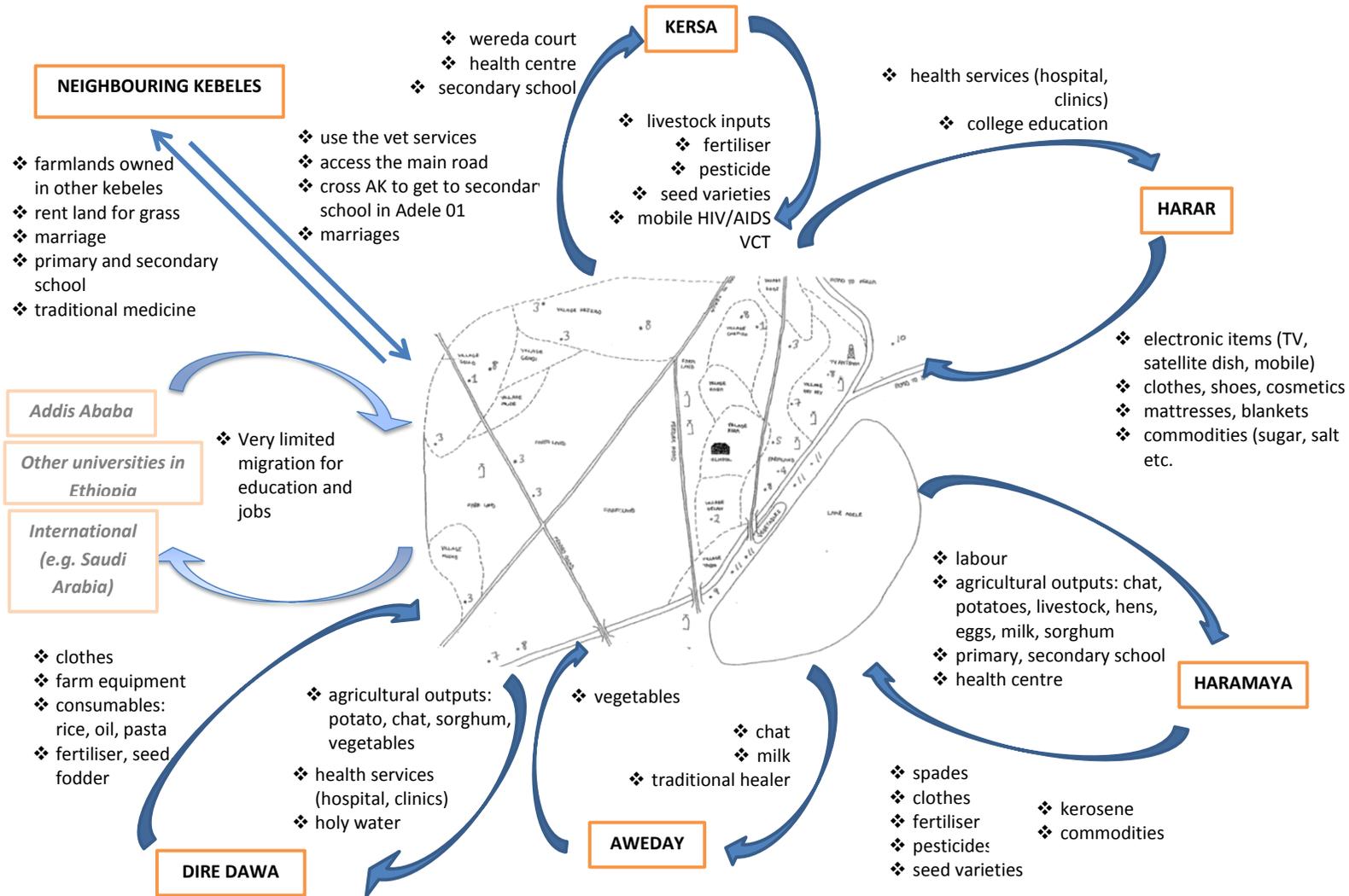
Neighbouring and more distant *kebeles*

Adele Keke has close, friendly relationships with the immediate rural *kebeles* in the same and neighbouring *weredas*. Areas of interaction include: marriage, kinship, market, schools, health centre, renting land (for farming and grass), using the main road and the vet service:

- Some members of Adele Keke have farm land in Haru Arba, Bitu Geda and Biftu Oromiya *kebeles* and vice versa.
- Some people rent land for grass in Sodu.
- The community has marriage linkages with neighbouring rural *kebeles* (Sodu, Bala, Haru Arba, Dhengego, Biftu Geda, Biftu Oromiya).
- Some children from Haru Arba *kebele* that live close to Adele Keke's Dedo village are attending the Dedo school.

³ CISP is the *Comitato Internazionale per lo Sviluppo dei Popoli* (CISP), or International Committee for the Development of Peoples (<http://www.sviluppodeipopoli.org/English/Home/Frameset.html>)

Figure 3 Adele Keke's linkages



- Children from Adele Keke attend secondary school in Adele 01, and some children, especially from Kuso village which is next to Adele 01, attend primary school in Adele 01 *kebele* as the school has better facilities, and for some it is closer than the other Adele Keke schools. Children from other *kebeles* travel across Adele Keke to reach the secondary school in Adele 01,
- Bala, Haru Arba and Sodu residents use the veterinary service available in Adele Keke.
- Community members from Sodu and Korke travel across Adele Keke to get to urban areas.
- People come to Adele Keke to access the main road and transport to Dire Dawa, Haramaya and Aweday.

Towns

Markets

Adele 01 *kebele* is a neighbouring *kebele* to Adele Keke in Haramaya district. It is a semi urban sprawl from Haramaya town. People from Adele Keke buy things like cooking oil, sugar and salt etc. from Adele 01 *kebele*.

Adele Keke does not have its own market. The closest market is in Haramaya town. Community members also go to markets in Aweday (for chat, milk, eggs), Dire Dawa (for chat, vegetables, seeds, cloth, farm equipment) and Harar (for electronic goods, mattresses, blankets, carpets). In all markets people buy consumption goods and personal care items. Dhengego has a small market where people buy onion, salt and oil, etc. Here is some more information on the main markets:

- The major market centre for the community is in Haramaya town. There are two market days a week (Monday and Thursday). Most of the community members from Adele Keke go to Haramaya to buy clothes, shoes, food products, livestock, etc. Some community members sell milk, eggs and vegetables in Haramaya and some youngsters get paid work there. Transport service is available all the time because people cross through Haramaya to take chat to the chat trading centre in Aweday. It costs 5 or 6 birr for one trip and it takes about 30 minutes.
- Even though Kersa town is the capital of the district community members do not go there often. It is smaller than Haramaya and it is not a trading centre. Sometimes some community members go to Kersa to buy and sell livestock, and buy agricultural inputs. Transport costs 7 birr for one trip and takes about 30 minutes.
- Aweday town is a very well-known centre for trading chat. Farmers from Adele Keke sell chat at Aweday. Most farmers have mobile phones and they talk with traders in Aweday to know when the price of chat is high and they should take their chat to the market. A few men from Adele Keke also work as brokers on commission, linking farmers who sell chat to the traders, who buy chat to export nationally (Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Jijiga, Harare) and internationally (Somalia). People also go to Aweday to sell milk and to buy consumables, traditional medicine and other personal items. Recently a businessman from Aweday supported the construction of a religious school in Adele Keke *kebele*. Transport is very frequent. It costs 10 birr and takes 45 minutes.
- Some community members go to Dire Dawa to sell chat. When vegetables are harvested (May and June) farmers go to Dire Dawa to sell vegetables. They buy seeds, cloth, consumables and farm equipment from Dire Dawa. Transport is very frequent. It costs 13 birr and takes an hour.
- As Harar is the administrative centre of Eastern Hararghe zone whenever people have legal cases to be settled they go there. From Harar community members buy electronic goods such as mobile phones, TVs, and other goods such as mattresses, blankets, carpets, personal items and some consumables such as sugar, rice etc. Transport service is very frequent. It costs 12 birr and takes about an hour.

Services outside the kebele

Adele Keke people use the following public services outside the *kebele*: health centres and clinics in Haramaya; hospitals in Dire Dawa and Haramaya; primary school in Adele; secondary school in Haramaya; TVET college in Chiro Town (West Hararghe); and, Dire Dawa University and Haramaya University (which is close by). Students from Adele Keke go to the two universities mentioned or other universities throughout the country depending where they are assigned. Kersa as the *wereda* capital is the location for all *wereda* administration services. There is a prison in Harar and in Kersa. Here are some more details:

- **For education services:** students from villages near to Dhengego go to primary school (grade 1-8) there as Dhengego School is better in terms of facilities, and has been repaired recently by an NGO. A few children go to private colleges in Dire Dawa and Harar.
- **For health services:** The nearest health centre for some Adele Keke residents is in Bala *kebele*; for most the closest is the Haramaya health centre. People from Adele Keke also go to Haramaya to visit the bone setters. A few community members also use the traditional medication available in Adele 01 *kebele*. A few individuals go to the Kersa health centre for medication. A few individuals who fall sick with severe illness go to Dire Dawa or Harar for medical treatment at the hospital or private clinics. Some may go to Dire Dawa for holy water, especially when they face cold related illness.
- **Wereda administration business:** Government employees working in Adele Keke go to Kersa, the *wereda* capital, for meetings and trainings and government officials from Kersa sometimes visit Adele Keke to supervise activities. Individuals take land cases or other issues to the district court in Kersa.

Migration

Community members were not sure how many people leave the community each year but they estimate that to date there have been about 30 migrants who have gone to Dire Dawa, Djibouti, Somalia, Saudi Arabia and the US.

External roads and bridges

Adele Keke is on the main road asphalted by the Chinese in 2006, almost equidistant between Harar and Dire Dawa. Transport is frequent and affordable for many. The *kebele* central village is next to the road; however, as the *kebele* covers a large area the majority of the villages are further away from the main road and some *kebele* residents have to walk up to one and a half hours to reach the road. The road can be impassable in times of severe rain. There are no plans (or need at the current time) for improving the road further.

Comparison with other kebeles in wereda

Table 2 *Wereda* officials' ranking of Adele Keke

Better than other kebeles at ...	Average compared with other kebeles at ...	Worse than other kebeles at ...	Poor at ...
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • roads and bridges • electricity • availability of water for drinking and for irrigation • Food for Work/PSNP participation and food security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • mobile network • access to health services • landlessness • development potential • development challenges • development partners (NGOs and donors) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • access to schools • performance in education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • level of participation with the <i>wereda</i> • <i>kebele</i> administration • <i>kebele</i> council

Sodu is the wealthiest *kebele* in the *wereda*, followed (in descending) order by Dolo Selama, Bala Lange, Adele Keke and Handura Kosu. Adele Keke is considered to be of average wealth in the *wereda*. Adele Keke is closer to *wereda* towns and markets than some of the other *kebeles*. Along with 26 of the 35 *kebeles* in the *wereda* Adele Keke has a temperate climate. *Wereda* officials ranked Adele Keke's performance as shown in Table 2.

Conflicts with neighbours

A few respondents mentioned that there has been some disagreement between Haramaya district and Kersa district as Haramaya district want to incorporate a few villages of Adele Keke *kebele* to Adele 01 *kebele*. However, these efforts were unsuccessful and the boundaries have not changed over the last seven years.

Important events/changes affecting the community

Crises since 2005

In 2005 there was **untimely excessive rain** which destroyed crops ready for harvest. A campaign rallied students to collect in the crops; crops were saved from further damage but the harvest could not be used for seed causing seed shortages for the next cultivation season. In response the government provided seed for severely affected community members. In 2009 a **flood** submerged a small Chinese-constructed bridge and swept away about 10 houses and household equipment, stored grains and goats. The government provided emergency food aid to those who lost their home or other assets.

Respondents perceive that **weather conditions** are changing and becoming more problematic, with unpredictable, delayed rains and severe frosts. The main rainy season is normally delayed by about a month. Farmers try to wait to plant seed in case the rainy season does not start but then they get caught short when the rain arrives on time (as it did in 2011). However, farmers sometimes plant seed late so as to wait for the rainy time though the rain still does not come as expected.

In 2004/5 there was a shortage of rain and a **severe drought**, and all crops were lost. There was also frost which completely destroyed the chat which was ready to be harvested. In order to help the community cope with these crises government provided seed to the farmers. The *wereda* disaster prevention and preparedness bureau also provided emergency food aid. Due to the prevalence of drought at this time and a general shortage of farm land the community was included in PSNP.

In 2010 **the harvest was severely reduced** because of the low level of rain in the 2010 summer season. The government and the NGO CISP provided emergency food aid. Livestock were affected because of the lack of food and around 25 livestock died. Farmers were reluctant to buy seeds fearing that the drought would reoccur in the coming year. Then when the rains came on time in May and June in 2011, the farmers did not have enough seeds.

Frost in October and November is a concern as it sometimes affects crops, especially chat and vegetables. The community plants vegetables late so that they ripen after the risk of frost has passed. Farm lands closer to the lake are more exposed to frost so the community plant lower value crops such as maize there rather than chat. The DAs reported they have not got frost-resistant seed, which would be good to use in the area. The lake water is salty which also has a detrimental effect on the crops grown by the lake.

Livestock are vulnerable to **disease outbreaks** and **pests** have been affecting harvests; these events can result in shocks for households if their livestock or crops are decimated. In addition pesticides have had some unintended drastic effects: in 2007 and 2008 after using '*Lafora*' pesticide some

community members reported that **all the bees were killed** and as a result in the last two years there has been no honey produced at all in the community. However, some other community members reported producing honey in recent years.

In 2004 and 2005 a lot of people, mainly under 5 year old children and pregnant women, died because of a **malaria epidemic**. Since then numerous activities have been undertaken including the provision of bed nets every three years, sprinkling DDT twice per year, eradication of stagnant water that may facilitate mosquito breeding and provision of anti-malaria medication and rapid diagnostic treatment at the health post. As a result the problem of malaria has been much reduced.

In 2005 **Acute Watery Diarrhoea (AWD)** affected the community and seven people died; there was a reoccurrence in 2009 and a campaign was launched with the participation of nurses from the zonal level administration. At the time of this research there was an AWD epidemic affecting seven neighbouring *kebeles* and the authorities were taking action to attempt to stop it spreading to Adele Keke.

Other important events and changes since 2005

Cultural change and events

Following **electrification** there has been a big change in household equipment with the introduction of TVs, satellite dishes, mobile phones and rechargeable batteries. One house in the *kebele* has a refrigerator. The *kebele* chair has a generator for his household. Another household uses a kettle and an oven. With electric light, community members, mostly male, now socialise in their neighbourhoods in the evenings, chewing chat together. This means they chew more chat than before and some sleep in the morning as they spend half the night chewing. There is now a barber shop in the *kebele* that uses electricity.

The community members **use mobile phones** to communicate with relatives living in other areas and to contact traders at the chat selling centres to check the price of chat as it varies day by day.

Other **new household goods** that are becoming common include modern mattresses, beds and wooden cupboards for utensils and clothes. Since 2002 the number of houses with corrugated iron roof sheets has increased and now 99.5% of houses have metal roofs and very few with the traditional grass roof. Most households now separate the livestock shelter from the main home.

Wealthier farmers have constructed homes in other towns (Aweday and Haramaya). Before people were wary of building homes in the *kebele* near the main road as they thought they would be exposed to car accidents. As they have not seen many car accidents, from 2010 people have started **buying land near the main road to build new houses**. New methods that use fewer metal sheets are being used, and as a result the newer houses have a different design and look different.

Clothing customs are changing: some women have started to wear long tunics and young men have started to wear jeans. Since 2009 traders have travelled village-to-village selling clothes. Community members can buy on credit and pay when their crop (usually chat) is collected; this has enabled them to buy more.

There is little change in what people eat; the staple foods are maize and sorghum. Over the last two years merchants have started selling by the main road other kinds of grain such as wheat and *tef* and a few (richer) households have started to mix these grains with their maize and sorghum. Wealthier households have also started to eat rice and pasta such as macaroni. Most people still eat only breakfast (around 9 am) and dinner (around 6 pm) and no lunch but some of the younger community members have started to have lunch at midday. Household heads still tend to eat first and are given priority to get quality food, followed by mothers and children. However, school children may eat first on school days so as to go to school on time. Some young couples eat together. People (mainly men) are tending to **chew chat more** and eat less; one of the health extension said that chewing causes a loss of appetite and a lot of men do not mind if they do not eat

dinner, preferring to spend the time chewing instead. The number of cigarette smokers also has increased.

There is a change in what people drink: in the past people usually used to drink *hoja* (milk boiled with leaf of coffee) while chewing chat. A few elders still sometimes drink *hoja* but people now prefer to not waste milk by drinking it as they can sell it at nearby markets. Now, while chewing chat, most have started to drink water and a few have fizzy drinks like Coca-Cola. There is a fizzy drink distribution shop in the centre of the *kebele* and villagers can buy bottles from the small shops in each village.

Informal social support customs are evolving. Traditionally women ask for money to support recently married daughters, a practice called *gumata*. When they give the contribution to their daughters, the daughter used to prepare gruel and milk but over the last five years the community has become aware that this is wasteful and they have stopped doing this. In 2009 fathers also started asking for *gumata* and recently community members have started asking for *gumata* whenever they have a crisis or need help.

There is **no change in religious practice**. Religious education used to be provided under a tree but now a **new Quran school** has been built by community contribution and through the support of a rich man from Aweday. Religious people think that children will now get a better religious education but the mainstream school teachers are concerned that students are leaving the formal school to go to the new religious school.

Social change and events

In 2010 a new initiative started of giving **community contributions to recent graduates**. Parents have started to celebrate students' graduation and return from college with a feast and the community members give 100 or 200 *birr* depending on what they can afford. Last year the *kebele* chair's son graduated in nursing; when he came back his parents prepared a feast and he got about 40,000 *birr*. Two girls who graduated from private college received 18,000 and 20,000 *birr* each. In the past there would have been a feast but people would have participated without giving anything.

There have also been **trainings and graduation ceremonies**, with feasts prepared from community contributions, for example for model farmers and for militia.

In 2006 the community was **visited by federal officials** to acknowledge the community effort to get electricity.

There are **no notable conflicts within the community** but there have been some conflicts between individuals, for example, over land. Formerly the *kebele* social court handled simple land related cases but in the last two years such cases are taken to the district court. For a long time community elders have played a vital role in resolving disputes. Some land disputes turn violent and, as in one extreme case, can end in murder. It is common for men to travel with a big knife (*mencah*) to use for farming and for protection. In many fights *mencah* has been used as a weapon, escalating the level of violence.

Economic change and events

There have been **changes in livelihood opportunities**, in particular for male youth, including from wage labour on the Chinese road construction in 2006, installing the water pipe from Dire Dawa to Harar and construction in Harar and Dire Dawa. Milk trading is a growing opportunity for women and a women's milk processing cooperative is being established by the NGO CISP. Last year fish were found in Lake Adele and some young boys catch and sell the fish. A few farmers have become small businessmen with minibuses, shops and mills.

There have been **increasing credit opportunities** for groups of men and women from the Oromiya micro finance institute and for PSNP households from the NGO CISP.

New seed varieties and livestock breeds have been introduced that have bolstered productivity, increased the variety of crops and facilitated new livelihood opportunities. For example, many farmers are now using a new **seed variety of maize** called Finer PHV3253 which produces 80 quintal per hectare; Haramaya University has introduced new seed varieties of potato and haricot beans (*boloke*); and CISP distributed apple seed which was previously not found in the community. The government has introduced new hybrid milking cows and more farmers are now engaged in rearing modern cows for milking.

Since 1995 and increasingly from 2004 the few farmers with large farms have **rented tractors** for ploughing. However in general farm size is decreasing due to population pressure so most farmers use oxen.

New irrigation activities have had a great impact on the productivity of the cash-crop chat and therefore on the wealth of the community. From the Chinese road construction in 2006 and government training and support, the community have learnt how to tap into underground water. Many farmers have dug wells by the lake and bought pumps and pipes to take the water to their farms. The equipment is rented out to other poorer farmers and those whose farm land is further away from the wells. Currently DAs estimate there are about 146 water pumps in the community. Irrigation has increased productivity a lot and enabled more land to be used for chat cultivation, reducing the production of other cereals, and increasing the wealth of the households involved.

In 2010 **an investor come to the area**, proposing to buy 0.5 hectares of land for 80,000 *birr* to open a fuel station. The land he wanted belongs to siblings who are in conflict over the land; the case is still in process at court. There is no other new commercial investment in the area.

There are **no new opportunities for migration** but sometimes young men and women illegally migrate via Somalia to Arab countries to look for work.

Political change and events

Over time the government has introduced **new methods for disseminating directives and implementing development activities**. In 1999 there were contact farmers, who informed the community about meetings and organised certain development activities. Then on a group basis (25-30 households in one group) one person was selected to organise the households for various community based activities. Last year senior officials came to the area to introduce the Government's Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) and a network of groups of 5 households with 1 leading household was established in each village. The leader household is a model farmer that coordinates and updates the other four households on various activities.

There were opposition parties campaigning in the area for the 2005 election. In the 2009/10 national election no opposing political parties participated; there were opposition party posters but they did not come to the area. **All the election processes were peaceful**, and in recognition of this the *kebele* received a certificate from federal administrative bodies. The Oromo Political Democratic Organisation (OPDO) has been mobilising the community to become members, establishing in 2008 the Youth and Women's Leagues. Party members celebrate the annual OPDO day at district level.

There have been changes in the *kebele* chair. In 2007 the *kebele* chair was changed as there was a conflict between different clans and some community members perceived that the then chair might prioritise his clan's interests. However, this former chair is still very active in serving the community: last year he was selected as a vice chair as the previous vice chair was not working effectively. The *kebele* chair elected in 2007 served for two years as he did not improve his family's situation economically and therefore he was not appropriate as a model for the community. In 2009 he was replaced by the current chair.

Last June **eucalyptus trees on Mount Keke were cut illegally** by a large group of Kalu villagers. The former security and good governance official was thought to have been part of this illegal activity; he

was replaced in July. There is controversy over who has and has not been imprisoned for this crime, and suspected corruption at the *wereda* level.

Development progress

Wereda officials said that Adele Keke has **average development potential** compared with other *kebeles* in the *wereda*. However, the officials said that realising this potential is put **at risk by clan-driven disputes and conflicts**. It has average infrastructure, health service, and micro-credit services but poor education access and quality. Water in the *kebele* is somewhat better than others as there are many manual pumps, piped water installations and wells for irrigation. However, in terms of governance, peace and security, Adele Keke has made worse progress than some of the other *kebeles*.

There have been big changes in **economic opportunities**, most notably from using irrigation to increase chat production from one to three harvests a year, and utilising more of the *kebele* farm land. Other progress has been made in livestock diversification, in particular the introduction of modern milking cows, and associated trading opportunities, and the use of improved seed and fertilisers. Adele Keke has better food security than some of the other *kebeles*.

The *wereda* officials also mentioned **some problems**. These include weather events such as frosts and floods. Community members also highlighted that shortage of rain is impacting on attempts to improve agricultural productivity. *Wereda* officials also highlighted room for improvement of linkages to markets including transport. There is a high potential for irrigation in the *wereda*, but there is a limited access to machinery. There is a budget shortage for building and maintaining internal roads.

Community members' perceptions of their *kebele's* development progress include:

- According to the rich man (AA), the changes in infrastructure, livelihoods, health services, education, social organisations and the like are very important for community development. His wife also greatly appreciates the rapid changes that have been taking place in the community. She said that new initiatives such as the introduction and expansion of irrigation and electricity are very useful for the community. She thinks the assignment of health extension workers (HEWs) has also been very useful for the community as they educate people to be healthier.
- The poor female household head (FF) feels good about the rapid changes taking place in the community. She said that the construction of new schools, and assignment of HEWs, the vet and development agents (DAs) are very good for the local people as they have been benefiting from the service they are providing and they no longer need to travel to other areas in access these services. In particular electrification has changed the community situation as a lot of people have started to watch TV and to buy mobiles. She said that above all irrigation has improved the life of farmers.
- The successful female household head (EE) is very positive about the rapid changes that have been taking place in the community. She likes the expansion of access to education through the construction of new schools, implementation of health and agricultural extension service, expansion of irrigation, and the electricity service.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said the expansion of irrigation and electricity are by far the major developments in improving the area. She also thinks that expansion of classrooms and building new schools is good for increasing access to education enabling children to learn in the village which is closest to their home. She also highly valued the assignment of HEWs in the area, especially for improving the health of mothers and children.

Wereda plans for the future

Wereda plans for interventions include:

- Roads: The *wereda* wants machinery and qualified technicians and engineers to plan interventions to develop new roads.
- Internal roads and bridges: internal roads are worked on by community labour; this is working well and there is no plan to change this intervention.
- Justice: They want to see the courts give fair and realistic decisions which fit the crimes.
- Irrigation: There are water resources in the *wereda*, but there are problems of budget gaps and shortage of qualified professionals.
- Kebele buildings: The *wereda* wants budget assistance to construct FTCs, health posts, and schools. There has been community participation but there is a budget problem.
- Electricity: This is not under the *wereda's* jurisdiction.
- Natural resource management: The *wereda* plans to continue community participation through food for work/PSNP to undertake activities such as constructing bunds and planting trees. There is a government budget for planting trees.
- Grazing land management: There are no grazing land areas.
- Watershed management: There are a number of watershed activities and the *wereda* plans to continue them.
- Income generation activities: The *wereda* plans to support community groups to produce milk for sale.

As Adele Keke has improved its food security, officials think that it will soon not need PSNP support.

The number of farmers engaged in rearing modern cows for milking has increased. DAs stated that in the future it is expected that the community will be specialised in milk production. However farmers are for now still prevented from expanding or getting involved in this area due to the shortage (and expense) of quality modern cows.

Community opinions about plans for the future

The *kebele* chair said there are limited water points or water wells being used for irrigation by the community but there is high potential of underground water especially near Lake Adele. Therefore, the community plans to extend the mechanisms for accessing water for irrigation. The community also wants the government to construct a large irrigation scheme tapping into the underground water so that all farmers can use the water to irrigate their chat production.

The *kebele* chair said there are even some farmers who have said that rather than supporting the community through PSNP it would be better if the government could support the community members to irrigate their farmland in a proper manner by supplying different modern agricultural equipment such as quality water pumps, water pipes etc.

A number of respondents said that they would like Adele Keke to become more urbanised with modern lifestyles. Not much detail was provided on what characteristics of an urbanised modern lifestyle they wanted; one respondent mentioned increased employment opportunities for youths; a poor teenage girl (16) said she wants Adele Keke to have a market where people can buy and sell crops and other consumables.

The rich man (AA) said an important new initiative is the youth cooperative which has been inaugurated and it is about to start functioning. A number of other respondents hope that the youth groups working on income-generating activities would start soon and be successful. A number of women mentioned the plans for the milk processing cooperative and hope too that this will be operational soon and help them improve their incomes.

Key sub-system: households in 2012

Household structures

The ideal type of household development cycle begins with the establishment of a new household by a young couple. The bridegroom's parents often build a new house for the young couple so the couple can move into their new home. The young nuclear family have children who will then begin to support the household as they grow up. With land shortage and a growing population, it is harder these days for young households to become economically independent. There are a number of landless households in the community (11% of all households).

It has been common for men to have multiple wives but recently government officials have been teaching against this practice. Nowadays a man may take a second wife with the consent of his first wife if they have been unable to have children, but having three or more wives is not so common any more. Divorce is common, and as a result of this and widowhood, there are a number of female-headed households in the community (also 11% of all households).

Households in Adele Keke: some examples

Important political leader's household

Background

AA (45), the *kebele* chair, is a member of the Tulema clan and a respected dispute resolver in the community. He is married to BE (35) and lives in Galan village.

Roles in the community

As well as *kebele* chair, he is the *kebele* party leader, *kebele* council member, leader of the *kebele* development committee and head of his village's *iddir*. BE is a member of the Women's Association and *kebele* council. She is also treasurer of the women's milk processing cooperative. As her husband has a lot of roles in the community she does not attend government meetings. Instead she manages the household's activities.

Other household members

They have two daughters (15 and 9 years old) and four sons (27, 21, 17 and 11 years old). Only one son has graduated from college to date: he completed nursing education last year but he failed his final exam so he has not yet got a job. He plan to retake his exam. Two of their children are attending grade four and three in the main school, which is in their village, one of their children attends grade eight in Adele 01 primary school in the neighbouring *kebele*, and another is in grade ten in the Adele 01 secondary school.

Livelihoods

AA is a rich model farmer. He has 2.5 hectares of land and he rents about the same amount of land again from others. They grow chat, sorghum, maize, haricot beans, potatoes, etc. As the price of the chat has been increasing over time, his production of chat has increased especially during winter when the price is highest. He is a well-known chat broker in Aweday. He grows maize and sorghum because the price of these is rising making it difficult for him to buy them from the market.

BE says the living condition of the household has improved over the last five years by irrigating their farmlands and rearing milking cows. AA said that he learned from the former DA and has been planting cash crops in line for a long time, and he uses compost and ploughs the chat land well when the land was wet from the rains. He is still not using irrigation for his chat as his second chat land is very far from the water points but he ploughs the land well and is getting even better output compared to the other farmers, which is why he is a model farmer. He also uses fertiliser and improved seed.

AA said they have two dairy cows (one local and one modern breed – although later in the interview he said that one Holstein Friesian breed which is half local and half Holstein Friesian), a modern beehive and a few local chickens. BE gave slightly different information that the household has four milking cows, of which one is giving milk, and three calves. Five years ago the household had many livestock and they used to feed their livestock from the grazing found near the lake by renting it from the owners. Over time they reduced their livestock due to the lack of grazing land, the rising cost of animal feed and the lack of household help to look after the livestock as all their children are attending school. They feed their cows with manufactured animal food such as '*furishka*', leaves and stems of crop plants like sorghum and maize, and sometimes leftovers of vegetables like potatoes and cabbage.

They get income from renting houses (in the last five years they have built five rooms for rent in a separate compound) and selling water from a water point in this compound. They sell this water to those who need water when they face shortage of water in their villages, mostly people living in the remotest parts of the *kebele*. BE saves the money she gets from the sale of water in the local *equb*.

Since AA was elected as a kebele chair in 2009 BE said that he has been spending most of his time handling community work and the income he gets as a commission from trading chat in Aweday has greatly reduced. Also five years ago, they had one traditional and two modern beehives, but the traditional and one of the modern beehives were destroyed as AA was engaged on the community's kebele work and could not manage them properly. BE said if he was not serving as *kebele* chair he would get more income and their living condition might improve. She very much wants him to resign from this role.

AA said the household was affected in 2009/10 when he had a car accident and he had to pay for the hospital costs. BE said it took him a long time to recover and as she was caring for him she could not follow up on farm activities properly: as a result she did not use fertiliser and their productivity reduced. BE said that last year she received credit of 5,000 birr from an NGO (CISP) to support them while her husband recovered from his car accident. She said they used the credit to cover some of his medication costs which were about 30,000 birr.

Religion and other traditional institutions

The household does not go to mosque often. AA said he wants to go to mosque but he has no time. There are two important ceremonies: *Arafa* and *Id-Alfatir* when the household contributes money for the feasts, to buy food and soft drinks, but AA does not spend as much as in the past because of government advice. AA and BE are members of at least two *equbs* each and they belong to one of the biggest *iddirs*.

Domestic technologies

AA bought a generator and the household has electric light. He was the first person to do this and inspired the community to ask the Ethiopia Electric Power Corporation (EEPC) to connect the community to a power supply. Last year they repaired their main living home. They have covered their walls with cement, and painted and decorated their home. They have also bought a mattress and carpets. They did this for the ceremony celebrating the graduation of their son from nursing college. The household has their own water pump.

Health

They have a latrine which is also used by neighbours that don't have one. BE meets the HEW regularly, who tells her about the value of sanitation. Accordingly she keeps her home and surrounding areas clean. For cooking fuel she uses dung cakes, wood, sorghum residue and sometimes charcoal. The household still eats mainly sorghum and maize but recently they have also started to eat more vegetables (e.g. onions, tomatoes and potatoes) and rice and macaroni.

As she does not want to have more children she has been using contraceptives for the last year. Two of her eldest daughters have been circumcised because then she was not aware of the consequences of female circumcision. Now she knows she has not let her youngest daughter be circumcised.⁴ Like other community members her sons were circumcised at home but now from the media she has heard that it is better for boys to be circumcised in health facilities.

Regarding hygiene and environmental sanitation packages she mentioned that the household has taught about latrines, personal hygiene, food hygiene and safety, solid and liquid waste management, and keeping the home and surrounding areas clean. BE gets information on this from the TV and the HEWs. They have separated the livestock shelter from the main home. They also have a separate kitchen to cook and they have a cupboard to put kitchen equipment in. To protect her household members from malaria the house is sprayed and she has been removing stagnant water. The household has been aware of HIV/AIDS prevention and control. She gets painkillers from the HEWs when she has a headache. Her family is a model family implementing many different packages but due to time pressures she is not able to teach others.

When AA was hit by a car he was in hospital for a month. The car owner said he would cover his medical expenses but so far has not. AA is getting together the receipts from his treatment so as to ask the driver to reimburse him for the medical expenses.

Informal social protection

AA said his household regularly cooperate with nearby households, and this has increased during the last five years. As well as sharing farm work, most households help each other on house building, domestic work, and sharing farm tools and domestic equipment. They also help each other in times of crisis, and in celebrations and feasts.

Contributions

The household pays land tax of 20 birr a year. The household paid no other compulsory contributions last year. Last year AA paid a voluntary payment of 100 birr for the Oromiya Development Association. BE is a member of the Women's Association and pays an annual contribution of 3.25 birr. BE said that as her husband is serving the community as kebele chair and has so many other roles in the community, the household has not made any labour contributions.

New technologies and ideas

With access to electricity they now enjoy different electronic goods such as TVs (one large, one small), satellite receiver, MP3 player and mobile phones (which the household uses to communicate with relatives as well as with chat traders). The son bought the MP3 player for 5,000 birr with the money he got from the community members when he graduated from college. AA said everyone in the household can read except his wife. He said the household regularly tune to the radio to listen to different development messages but BE said they do not listen to the radio now they have TV. They mainly watch music videos and dramas, in Oromiffa. She thinks watching TV is good for her family as they have tried to implement what they have learnt in order to improve their living condition.

Conflict and security

AA said the community is safe but sometimes there are minor clashes in the *kebele* and there are robbers who steal chat products especially at night. However there are no sexual attacks on women as the community is religious and governed by traditional norms. There have been no threats of violence from other communities to date. BE said that over time the community has been improving with electrification and more militia.

⁴ This information contradicts the previous data that the household reported having only two daughters.

Economically successful man's household

Background

BB is a Tulema Oromo married to FE.

Roles in the community

He is a respected dispute resolver as he negotiates between husbands and wives in case of disputes. He does not participate in the social court or in any kebele or sub-kebele structure, though he has worked in the wereda council. He is a party member but is not currently participating in a 1-5 network or other development activities as he is frequently sick and he runs his own business. He is a model farmer as he uses three motor pumps to irrigate his chat. He is a member of OPDO but his wife is not. He is not an active member as he only pays the membership fee and does not participate in meetings. He would like to participate in development activities if he could get someone to help him in running his business.

Other household members

The household has three children who attend the local school, two in grade four and one in grade three. Another daughter is attending grade eight in the nearby primary school (Adele 01 kebele). One of their sons is attending Adele 01 kebele secondary school. They have some older daughters who are married.

Livelihoods

BB has more than 100,000 birr in the bank. He has a fizzy drink distribution business which he set up in 2002/3 and a small shop next to their house in which his wife (FE) sells consumables such as sugar, salt, soap etc. He opened the business with 14,000 birr borrowed from an *iddir*. Over the last five years their economic status has improved greatly. This is because they started to buy and distribute more fizzy drink as a lot of small shops have opened in various villages in the *kebele*. Also with the introduction of electric light the household has been able to sell more in the evening in their shop and in the distribution centre. As the household's distribution centre is on the main road (that goes from Dire Dawa to Harar) they can get the bottles from the wholesaler without incurring any additional transport costs. Furthermore, whenever the wholesaler fails to supply they are able to buy the product from the nearby town which is very accessible. They also buy other commodities which sell in their shop. They have also started to buy and sell livestock fodder.

He grew chat as a cash crop last year and sorghum and maize partly to sell at the market and partly for subsistence. Four years ago they produced mainly sorghum and maize but over the last two years they have planted more chat as chat is more profitable. He irrigates his chat farm during the winter and sells it at a high price. They have also started growing potatoes. The DAs give him advice on how to sow in lines and preparing compost. This has greatly helped him to increase his production. He and his brother constructed a water point for irrigation and installed a motor pump; this has improved his household's livelihood. Before he used to buy fertiliser partly on credit, but now he pays fully up front; the availability of this credit service helped him when he was not rich. Using fertiliser and improved seeds has helped him in getting good harvests. That is why he has become a model rich farmer.

BB said he has only one small ox and one Holstein Friesian cow. He also owns one sheep. He has no fattened bull or camel. He also has two beehives; one is traditional and one is modern. His wife (FE) said last year the household had only three milking cows and they have been using milk for consumption as well as for sale. His household takes these livestock to the vet when they get sick. FE has been a member of the milk processing cooperative ('*Amessa Anani*') since 2006. She expects that when the cooperative becomes functional she will sell the milk she produces at a better price.

Religion and other traditional institutions

He is an active Muslim and he goes to the mosque in Gelan Village. There are two main Muslim celebrations (1) *Arafa* – in which all Muslims go to the prayer field and slaughter sheep and eat with neighbours after prayer; (2) *id-Alfatir* – on the night of '*id-Alfatir*', his household gives grains to the poor. On the next day of *id-Alfatir*, the household members will go to the prayer field and afterwards celebrate at home. The household is also a member of three *equbs*. FE belongs to two *iddirs* but BB is a member of only one *iddir*.

Domestic technologies

For a long time they have had a separate home for livestock and for the kitchen. Recently they painted and decorated their main house and bought some carpets and cooking equipment. FE gets water from the hand pump water point in her village, Adele Tabia village. It is only about 10 minutes away and she pays an annual contribution of 10 birr to the water committee. The household has had a latrine for a long time and all household members use it properly. In addition some of their neighbours, have not yet constructed their own latrine, share theirs. No one in the household has had acute watery diarrhoea. The household is aware of the importance of sanitation from the education obtained from the HEW. Accordingly, she cleans her home and surrounding areas. For cooking she uses dung cakes, wood and residue of sorghum. Sometimes she also uses charcoal. She said there has been some change in the type of food the household eats in the last five years. Recently they have started to mix *tef* with maize and sorghum. They also started to use vegetables such as onion, tomato and potato.

Health

As FE is older she does not use contraceptives but she tells her daughters use contraceptives properly so as to limit the number of children they have. FE's married daughter has used contraceptives in the last year, obtained from the health post. She also tells her daughters to get their children vaccinated and to feed them properly, which they are doing. Her daughters were circumcised when they were about 10 years old. Now she is aware of the disadvantages of female circumcision and has not allowed her granddaughter to be circumcised. All of her sons were circumcised at home by traditional birth attendants.

The household has been taught about latrines, personal hygiene, food hygiene and safety, solid and liquid waste management, and keeping home and surrounding areas clean. She and other members of her household got the information from the HEWs and volunteers and the household has been implementing all the packages as much as they can. She is not teaching others because she is busy trading so her household has not graduated from the health extension package. However they have been categorised as being at a good implementation level, ranked 'A'.

The household has been made aware of HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria prevention and control. To protect her household members from malaria they spray their house and remove stagnant water near their home. Unlike five years ago, now they do not use bed nets since there is no malaria epidemic. None of the household members has taken an HIV test.

The household head is diabetic and takes drugs daily from Dire Dawa government hospital. On average on a monthly basis they spend 400 birr for check-ups and drugs. As they are a well-to-do family, they are not allowed to get the drugs free of charge but BB plans to ask the kebele to let him get the drug free of charge like others who have diabetic problems. He now gets tired easily and he thinks he is developing a heart related illness. Due to these illnesses he has stopped working on the farm and he hires daily labour in peak agricultural working seasons. Last year the youngest daughter was sick and they took her to Haramaya health centre; they gave her drugs and she got better. Sometimes, especially when FE eats *injera* she gets sick with stomach ache and she goes to a private clinic in Haramaya. To prevent this she eats rice and pasta.

Informal social protection

They sometimes help BB's aunt in Sodu kebele with her farm. They also help some weak and sick people. There is cooperation with other households in domestic works, sharing of farm implements, livestock and domestic implements but BB said that cooperating with other households living nearby has decreased in the last five years as everybody is looking after his/her own business. There is a poor relative who cannot do his farm work because he suffers from backache and as a result he frequently helps him by giving money. Other relatives also help this poor man, some by working on his farm.

Contributions

FE is a member of the Women's Association and pays an annual contribution of 3.25 birr. He pays an annual contribution for his party membership of 6 birr, which increased to 12 birr this year. BB said that his household also pays land tax and another voluntary contribution to the Oromiya Development Association (100 birr), but there has been no other compulsory contribution in cash or kind. FE said last year the household gave wood several times and their son worked on the construction of new schools and improvement works on the main school. In addition, she thinks in the last year the household also made cash contributions for the Blue Nile project/Millennium Dam. But she does not know the amount as her husband paid.

New technologies and ideas

In 2008 they bought a TV and radio and the household have got valuable information. As they watch TV they do not listen to the radio regularly. His children watch TV sometimes when they should be studying. They watch wrestling and films. He and his wife also sometimes watch TV Oromiya, and Quran education in Arabic. FE said she and her husband watch TV in the evening, in most cases they listen to news and some experiences on livelihood matters. She said listening to it has enabled them to work more to expand their trading.

Six of his household members can read; FE cannot read. His children who are at school read regularly. He reads business papers and accounts.

There are three mobiles in the household (one belongs to her husband, one to the ninth grader and to the fourth grader). The household uses these mobiles to communicate with relatives living in other areas. Most importantly, they use them to communicate with traders when they are planning to buy commodities for their retail shop and fizzy drink for their distribution centre.

Conflict and security

They live far from the distribution centre so since their relative's water pump was stolen their son sleeps at night in the distribution centre.

Their daughter once quarrelled with her husband. He appealed to the elders who then negotiated between them and the daughter finally went back to live with her husband.

Household of farmer of middle wealth

Background

CC (45) is an Oromo but does not know his clan as his grandfather came to Harar, Gara Muleta kebele, from Shewa Oromo a long time ago. His father was born in Harar and then moved to Adele Keke where he had his children. He is married to KL (35).

Roles in the community

He is a government employee in the wereda education office in Kersa and a party member. KL is a member of the Women's Association. She is a leader of the women's milk processing cooperative.

Since six years ago she has been a party member and a kebele council member. Formerly she was a leader of a 1-5 household network but she has been replaced by another person.

Other household members

They have five daughters aged 16, 13, 12, 9, and 7.

Livelihoods

Their home is very near to the main road and CC can commute to the *wereda* capital daily.

They used to be poor but they have done well over the last five years. He has a.25 hectare of land and grows chat and sorghum. They also grow some maize, potatoes, onions and *boloke*. They intercrop maize and sorghum with the chat. They plan to plant vegetables such as potatoes on the land near the lake as they have seen from others that the area is good for producing vegetables. This year he has not used fertiliser. He has used compost with success. CC said that in the last five years, the community itself has become more knowledgeable than the DAs. For example, they know the type of the seeds suitable for their farms and the environment and the like. He has been using extension advice, irrigation, fertiliser, improved seeds, and compost and these have greatly improved his farm.

They have two Holstein Friesian cattle. PSNP support has contributed to the improvement of the household: they bought a milking cow with the PSNP credit they got from CISP. In the last five years KL has been rearing chickens. She and her youngest daughter eat the eggs as advised by the health officer. CC said he vaccinates the livestock and gives them medicines when they are sick. He has been trained on livestock breeding so he does not need advice from the livestock DA.

They get PSNP support for three household members. They are exempted from public works because CC is a civil servant and KL because they gave land for the women's cooperative when the NGO requested it.

Religion and other traditional institutions

The household were Orthodox Christian. Her husband used to drink and disturb her. They got divorced but later on they got back together and converted to Islam to stop CC from getting drunk. As they are converts none of the household members go to mosque.

He is a member of a government employee's *equb* and KL is a member of two others. They both belong to an *iddir*.

Domestic technologies

Their house used to have a grass roof and they shared it with sheep. In 2007/8 the household built their new house with corrugated iron roof. They also built a small kitchen. This year they are building another wider room. They have bought a mattress, two carpets and some cooking equipment.

Like the majority of the households found in the kebele she contributed money and got electric light in 2005. The availability of electrification in their village helps her children study and do their home works in the evening. As there is a manual hand pump water source in their village her daughter does not go far to fetch water.

For cooking fuel she uses dung cakes, wood and sorghum residue. Sometimes she uses charcoal, buying it from the nearby town. The household have recently started to eat onions, tomatoes, rice and potatoes, but the household still eat mostly sorghum and maize. Sometimes they also buy *tef*. When she got sick, the physician advised her to eat eggs and milk. She has started to eat them more than five years ago.

Health

KL has been very sick with gastric problems, haemorrhoids, uterus-related pain and anaemia for a long time, and the household has spent a lot of money on her medication, possibly around 20,000 birr in the last three years. Last year she visited the Harar Hiwot Fana Hospital three times. The service was not good at the hospital: the health care workers are late and do not treat patients with respect. Then she visited private clinics in Haramaya, which are expensive. For one diagnosis she paid 700 birr. She bought medicine from private pharmacies, which were also expensive. With this treatment she got a bit better. She also went to the government Dil Chora Hospital in Dire Dawa twice. She was told she needed blood donations from six people and she was very worried about how to get this. Through the help of one of the nurses she got the blood from the Red Cross without any charge. Now she is better and has returned home.

She said the household has been told by the HEWs and health workers from other nearby health centres about latrines, personal hygiene, food hygiene and safety, solid and liquid waste management, and keeping home and surrounding areas clean. They dug a new latrine this year and she keeps her home and the surrounding areas clean. Furthermore she buys *weha agar* (water purification tablets) for the water the household uses for drinking. They have a separate kitchen but they do not have kitchen cupboards. They have been trying to implement all the packages but they have not graduated as they do not have a separate house for the livestock.

She gets contraceptive injections (every three months) from Haramaya health centre. She said none of her daughters have been circumcised but her eldest daughter said she has been circumcised. When she was pregnant with her youngest child she took a HIV test. To protect her household members from malaria her house is sprayed and she has been removing stagnant water. They have an old bed net but as there is no prevalence of malaria they no longer always use it.

Informal social protection

CC has good relationships with the neighbours and said this has increased in the last five years. They cooperate on farm work, house building and domestic work, and they share some household equipment. They help each other in times of crisis but this has been decreasing in the last five years as life is difficult. When he quarrelled with his brother who stabbed him with a '*mencha*' and had to be treated at Harar Hospital, his other brothers and his work colleagues contributed 2,000 birr to pay for his medical costs.

Contributions

He pays 20 birr land tax and also 5 birr for youth and sport. There have been no compulsory annual payments except the party membership fee which is 8 birr. He is also paying a compulsory 60% of his salary for the Oromiya Development Association. After the household gave the land for the construction of the cooperative the kebele cabinet discussed such enormous kindness and decided to exempt the household from the PSNP public work and any other labour contributions.

New technologies and ideas

There are three mobiles in the household. Mostly KL uses her mobile to call her relatives who live in the Asebe Teferi area. They also use the mobiles for market related purposes.

Everyone in the household can read except for KL. CC regularly reads newspapers and books. CC listens to FM radio on his mobile phone; he especially likes programmes transmitted on Saturday. They listen to radio programmes, usually in Oromiffa and sometimes in Amharic. Sometimes they listen to news but mostly they listen to music.

The household has no TV but CC and the children watch TV at the neighbours. They watch a drama programme every Saturday. The household will buy a TV after they have completed the home they are constructing and rearranged their main living room.

Conflict and security

CC has not had many dealings with the militia except once when he and his brother quarrelled and the militia detained his brother.

Household of poor farmer

Background

DD (50) is married to TF (40) and they have six children. He is a member of the Tulema clan.

Roles in the community

He is not a party member but his wife is. He is old now so does not want to take on more roles in the community but he wants to be a dispute resolver.

His wife (TF) has been a party member for the last six years. She is a member of the *kebele* council, women's association, and women's milk processing cooperative. Recently she and another woman have been selected to be in the militia. First she worried how she would be able to be in the militia and continue her livelihood in petty trade, but then she decided to do it hoping there would be some benefits. She attended the *wereda* militia training and then she became the first militia woman in the *kebele*. She got a gun and clothes (for 700 birr). She has taken some suspects to the *wereda* court.

Other household members

They have four sons (19, 12, 10 and 4 years old) and two daughters (8 and 6 years old). They all live at home except for the oldest son who is a student.

Livelihoods

They have a very small plot, less than 0.25 hectares. They used to work for other farmers but since getting PSNP support they work on their own farm instead. They have planted some chat and their living condition has improved a bit. Last year they grew chat, sorghum, maize, sweet potatoes, and beans. Last year's sorghum harvest was not good because there was dire shortage of rain and the chat was not good as it was damaged by frost. This year's production is very good though it is not yet harvested. They used to grow only maize and sorghum but in 2008/9 they switched to chat because it is more profitable. The household has benefited from the government agricultural interventions such as compost, stone and soil bunds, tree planting, irrigation, improved seeds and the like. DD said the poor farmers cannot afford fertilisers, improved seeds and irrigation inputs (motor pumps, plastic pipes for irrigation, fuel etc.).

They used to have about ten chickens, which died of diseases. They have no Holstein Friesian breeds but DD's brother gave him a local milk cow which he milked for one year and when it had a calf he gave it back to his brother and kept the calf. Last year, along with a few other PSNP beneficiaries, the household got 4,340 birr credit from the NGO CISP. FE bought a small ox for 1,300 birr which she fattened and then sold for 2,200 birr. Then she bought three sheep (modern Somali sheep). One of these is about to deliver and she is fattening the other two for sale. She has been using the remaining credit to buy consumables such as onions, tomatoes, etc. from the nearby town to sell in the *kebele*. She emphasised that the PSNP support and credit has improved the household's economic condition. DD said there are problems in rearing livestock because market prices of livestock are unaffordable and there is no grazing land. The existing small grazing land near the lake is overgrazed and dried out. Other farming left-overs are also expensive for feeding cattle.

Last year TF started buying consumables such as onions, tomatoes, sugar cane etc. from the nearby town to sell in the *kebele*. She also prepares biscuits (*sambuseq*) and sells them. She used starting capital from the credit she got from CISP. She said the petty trade is successful but she was not able to say exactly what profit there was as sometimes when they do not have enough to eat the family

eat the shop goods. With the profit from the petty trade she has bought and stored 20 corrugated iron sheets for their new home.

DD said he is an agricultural labourer but FE reported that he works in a mill house where for a full days' work he gets 20 birr. She says he wastes the money he gets on smoking and she is bitter that he does not give the money he gets for household consumption. Furthermore, except for working in the mill house she said he does not like to do other agricultural labour. She thinks if he was trying his best like she is to improve their livelihood then they might improve their income.

They get PSNP support for seven household members.

Religion and other traditional institutions

DD is Muslim but does not pray any more. TF said only her eldest son goes to mosque. The household belongs to an *iddir* and she is a member of an *equb*.

Domestic technologies

They are living in a grass-covered house. However, recently they bought 20-25 corrugated iron sheets from Haramaya and stored them in the house planning to build a new house.

They are dependent on others for shelter as their house is built on land belonging to others. The house's condition has deteriorated. It is used for cooking, for livestock, and for their main home. The landowners are asking them to leave. Now the household plans to build their own home on their farmland. When they have built the new house TF wants to sell consumable items from there.

They could not afford the contributions to get electricity. They now get it from DD's brother by paying a monthly fee of 5-10 birr. The household cannot afford any electronic goods. FE gets water from the hand pump 25 minutes away in Tabia village as there is no water point in her village.

For cooking fuel she uses dung cakes and sorghum residue. Sometimes she also uses wood. They continue to eat mainly maize and sorghum. However, after they were included in PSNP they started to eat the cooking oil and wheat provided. Recently they also sometimes eat maize, and onions and tomatoes from what she bought to sell.

Health

They have no latrine due to lack of space and materials. They use open places or sometimes they use the neighbours' latrine.

In recent years she has been using contraceptive. She said that in most cases in their area girls were circumcised when they are 13 or 14 years old. As her daughters are young, aged seven and nine years old (although in another part of the interview they were recorded as being six and eight years old), they have not yet been circumcised. She said that recently government has been mobilising the community to ban female circumcision since female circumcision is not good for their health when they grow up. She said her sons were at circumcised at home by local circumcisers.

TF has been educated about the importance of different packages from HEWs and volunteers and she wants to implement them but she can't because of lack of space and materials. The family of eight live in one small room along with their livestock, three sheep and one small calf. TF cooks in this room. She does not have a well to burn solid waste but sometimes she uses the neighbours' well. Her household was ranked 'C' (final category) in implementing health packages. When she builds a new home she hopes she will be able to implement some of the packages.

The household has been aware of HIV/AIDS prevention. Last month during the militia training she took an HIV test. To protect household members from malaria her house is sprayed and she has been removing stagnant water.

She gets many services from the HEWs, including painkillers for her frequent headaches. Last year, for her headaches, she visited a religious healer (*sheka*); she paid 50 birr and felt better.

Last year her son had severe stomach ache and blood in his faeces. The HEW advised her to take him to the health centre. She paid around 80 birr and he was cured after he took the medicine. Her husband recently caught a cough related illness when he was guarding others' chat crop from theft in the night. He went to Haramaya health centre, spent around 100 *birr* and now he is getting better. The household paid for the medical treatment using the credit the household got from the Italian based NGO (CISP). She is planning to pay back the money from the profit from her petty trade. She said the quality of the health centre service has improved.

Informal social protection

DD said cooperation with other households has increased in the last year. He said his household sometimes cooperates with friends and relatives that live in other communities, in particular his parents-in-law.

Contributions

He pays 10 birr land tax but he has been exempted from all other contributions because he is poor. Last year, he participated in the *kebele* development activities such as maintaining the internal roads, and helping poor farmers who are unable to work because of health problems. TF works on community projects. Last year she helped digging a deep well, strengthening classrooms of recently built schools, improving the main school and building the FTC and the health post (which are still under construction).

New technologies and ideas

He and his wife read Amharic but not Oromiffa; their children can read only Oromiffa. Reading is helpful for his household to sign and to read different letters and memos. He used to like to tune in to the radio but unfortunately his radio broke last year. They do not have a TV but sometimes his household watch it in their neighbour's house and other places. He watches programmes like music videos and the news in Oromiffa.

Conflict and security

DD said his wife spends most of her time working for the militia, which they quarrel about. Once he took her militia ranger clothes and hid them near the lake. After negotiation by elders, he returned the clothes to her.

Household of successful woman head

Background

EE (40) is a widow; her husband had liver disease and died in 2004/5.

Roles in the community

She has been a *kebele* council and party member for the last six years. She is the only one in her household who is a party member. She is also a leader of a 1-5 group and vice head of the recently established women's milk processing cooperative. She has been vice head of the Women's Association since 2009/10. With other *kebele* official she follows up drop out students and encourages parents to educate their children. She is also involved in health promotion: she advises women to use contraceptives and to vaccinate their children properly.

Other household members

She has six children. One of her daughters got married in 2007/8; her other children are still living with her. Her eldest son (19) got married in 2010/11 but he and his wife are still living with her. She has four sons (19, 25, 9 and 8 years old) and two daughters (14, 25). Her 19 year old son learnt up to grade four and his wife is 18 years old. The 16 year old son is in grade 10 in Adele 01 secondary school. The 14 year old daughter is in grade six and likes going to school. The eight and nine year old

sons are both in grade two. The eldest married daughter did not go to school; she has two children of her own.

Livelihoods

The major livelihood activity of the household is farming. After her husband died she rented out two *qindi* (0.25 hectares) of farmland to her son-in-law for two years. With her remaining three *qindi* (0.375 hectares) she begged others (her neighbours and relatives) to support her in farming activities. She also invites them to work for her through *debo* (a labour sharing mechanism). After two years she took back the farmland she rented out. As her son has started farming now he is primarily responsible for the family's farming activities and the economic condition of the household has been improving, especially after she started to use irrigation in 2007/8. She has no water pump and rents one for 15 birr per hour to irrigate her chat crop.

Last year the household produced chat, maize, sorghum and potatoes. The yield the household got was very low, about 1½ quintal maize and sorghum in total because of drought, potatoes maybe 35 kg. This crop was used for household consumption for a few months and then she had to buy grain for consumption. Her most important cash crop is chat. She also sells some sorghum, maize and potatoes. In the last five years they have reduced their production of maize and sorghum and planted more chat as they get more income from chat. Her productivity has improved by using fertiliser and irrigation.

Last year she got credit of 5,000 birr from the CISP Household Asset Building Programme (HABP). Due to drought last year most of the community members bought grain as their crops failed. Therefore with the loan she bought seven quintal of grain and sold it to others; in a month's time when farmers thresh their grain she will receive the grain she lent them last year and from one quintal she will get a mark-up of an additional 10 kg.

The household owns one cow and one calf. She gets three litres of milk per day, sells two litres and uses one litre for household consumption. The household also have three chickens. Previously the household had three cattle but they sold them to cover her husband's medical costs. She has benefited from getting free advice and drugs from the vet. However, she has not benefited from the introduction of modern milking cows as she could not find a quality breed and its price is very expensive (about 20,000 birr). She would like to buy them and benefit like other households.

In the future she would like to engage in trading activities, mainly in rearing cows and goats, and buying goats and oxen for fattening and resale.

The household is a PSNP beneficiary. Last year she was involved in public works, making stone bunds on Mount Keke and Gole. She used to get support for six household members but a year ago the PSNP organisers reduced their allowance to four members as her living condition has improved.

Religion and other traditional institutions

She is about average in terms of attending mosque; she goes sometimes usually on Fridays but mostly she prays at home. Her children go to mosque only during fasting seasons.

She is a member of a milk *equb* in which she pays 100 birr on every 15th day. In one week she will get a 1,700 birr pay-out. She also has another *equb* in which she pays 100 birr on every 15th day. Formerly also she received money from an *equb*. She used the money to pay for her son's wedding last summer. She belongs to an *iddir* (which has about 200 members from five different villages).

Domestic technologies

Formerly her home was very small with a grass roof. In 2009/10 she bought 47 pieces of corrugated iron sheet and, using her eucalyptus trees, built a bigger main house. She bought another 44 pieces of corrugated iron sheet and built a separate home for livestock and a kitchen. The corrugated iron sheets cost 7,000 birr. Then she bought seven carpets at 47 birr each. She also bought various kinds

of cooking equipment. Last year she bought more luxurious cultural household tools to decorate the house when her son got married, spending 4,000 birr. The son will take the tools to his new house when he and his wife establish their own separate household.

They have electricity which helps the children study without being disturbed by moths. For a long time there has been a hand-pump drinking water point in her village so she and her children do not have to go far to fetch water.

For cooking fuel she uses dung cakes and sorghum residue. Recently the household has started to eat onions, tomatoes and potatoes. The household still consumes sorghum and maize, and milk and eggs, but they get fewer eggs these days as they have fewer chickens than before.

Health

Her deceased husband was treated at different health care centres. To cover the cost of medication they sold their cows. Once he was bed-ridden in Harar hospital for two weeks and the treatment cost 1,500 birr.

The household has been told by the HEWs about latrines, personal hygiene, food hygiene and safety, solid and liquid waste management, and keeping home and surrounding areas. She dug a latrine in 2009/10 and all her household members use it and her neighbours who do not have their own latrine also share it. The HEW lives near her house so they meet regularly and the HEW tells her about the value of sanitation. Accordingly she keeps her home and surrounding areas clean. She has implemented all of the packages but her household has not graduated because as she is busy with farming work she has not taught and encouraged others, including the households she leads under her network, to implement the packages. As a result her household is ranked as 'B' level.

She said two of her older daughters were circumcised at the same time when the oldest got married. She said she will prevent her granddaughter from being circumcised as now she understands the bad impact on girls' health. Her two eldest sons were circumcised at home. At that time there was no campaign to circumcise males in health facilities. Now she is aware of the need to circumcise boys at health facilities and her two youngest sons were circumcised at the Harar Health Centre.

Last year she was made aware of HIV/AIDS prevention and control, prevention and treatment of TB, and malaria prevention. Last year to prevent malaria her house was sprayed twice and she was advised to remove stagnant water. She also has bed nets.

Informal social protection

Her household regularly co-operates with other households that live nearby. Whenever she asks them to help her in farming by *debo* they cooperate and help her in farming activities. She said that other households helped her in times of crisis: when her husband was sick and died they supported her financially. When her son got married last year they brought her sugar and chat, and some people gave money which she will pay back in due course. Locally they call this support mechanism '*gumata*'. Furthermore, when she built a new home in 2009/10 some of her neighbours who have eucalyptus trees contributed trees and supported her with labour. She also supports others. She said over time the cooperation of the household with other households has increased.

Contributions

Last year she paid land tax of 30 birr. For the last six years she has been paying annual contribution to the political party, which is 6 birr. She also pays the Women's Association contribution, which is 3.50 birr per annum. She also paid 50 birr for Oromiya Development Association. Last year she voluntarily contributed wood and labour for the expansion of the main school. Working with the *kebele* officials she advised others to contribute as much as they could by explaining to them that their contribution in turn will benefit them.

New technologies and ideas

They have three mobiles to communicate with relatives and traders about the price of grain. The *wereda* women and children representatives also call her whenever they have training or other information that they have to tell her. She and her children watch TV at the neighbours but she plans to buy a TV.

As vice leader of the women's association she has been getting *wereda* training about women's rights and how to improve one's livelihood. This training has made her think about starting some activities so as to improve her economic condition. She also joined a milk *equb*, and has been saving her money.

Conflict and security

She thinks the community has become a safer place to live over the last five years, due to improved infrastructure and more militia. Recently she heard about community policing, where in each village about 9 or 8 individuals were selected to work to create peace in their respective villages.

Household of poor woman

Background

FF is 40 years old. Her husband was sick with liver disease for seven years and could not work. He went to hospitals in Harar and Dire Dawa. To cover his medical costs they sold their assets, including their seven livestock. When they ran out of assets they borrowed 1,900 birr from other community members. He died in 2006/7. To repay the loan FF rented out her farmland for three years.

Roles in the community

Recently she became a member of the women's milk processing cooperative.

Other household members

FF has eight children. Her eldest daughter (20) got married in 2005/6, dropping out of grade four. Her other children are still living at home. Her oldest son is 16 years old and in grade eight in Adele 01 primary school. Sometimes he does not go to school during the peak agricultural seasons. Her 18 year old daughter is in grade seven in Adele 01 primary school because when her husband got sick this daughter dropped out school for three years due to lack of educational materials and other necessities. A son (14) and daughter (13) are both in grade five in the *kebele* main school; another son (13) is in grade three. Two other daughters (5 and 8) are not yet at school: FF said does not have enough money to buy educational materials for all her children. The eight year old daughter helps fetching water, cleaning home and by doing other simple domestic works. The five year old sometimes goes to the madrasa (religious) school but he prefers staying at home and playing.

Her mother (60), an uneducated widow, sometimes visits and stays for a while. She had 16 children but 12 of them have died. Now she is dependent on others as she is too old to work. She has been suffering from a persistent kidney illness.

FF also has a 22 year old step-son who lives in the same village but he does not like the family and causes her problems.

Livelihoods

The household condition has deteriorated since FF's husband died. When he was sick the household sold livestock to cover the cost of medical treatment and now the household has no valuable assets. In 2007/8 when her stepson got married she gave him some of the farmland as a gift. There is no active man in the household who can do farm work and her harvests are diminishing. She hires daily labourers. As there is no one to guard her crop in the evening she said her chat has been stolen.

Last year the household produced only sorghum for consumption, harvesting one quintal. This crop was used for household consumption but this yield was not enough because it is a large household. Five years ago she also produced maize but she has stopped doing this because the daily labourers she hires do not plant it properly. Last year she harvested chat, which was planted five years ago, and the household benefited from its sale. However, she did not benefit as much as she should have done because she cut the chat before it had ripened well because she was worried it would be stolen in the night. She was also afraid that her stepson would take it as he does not like her. She cannot afford to buy fertiliser and improved seed.

At the moment the household owns only one small cow. Before 2006/7 the household had many livestock but they were sold to cover her husband's medical costs.

The household gets PSNP support for seven members.

In the future she would like to engage in trading activities such buying and selling milk so as to support her children's schooling.

Religion and other traditional institutions

She does not often go to the mosque. Two of her sons always attend the mosque on Friday. Furthermore, this year they started to attend religious education at Kusho Mosque in the evening up to midnight, spending the night there. Since they started attending the mosque her children have developed good behaviour and become obedient.

She belongs to an *iddir*.

Domestic technologies

Since the death of her husband her economic condition has deteriorated. She has not repaired her home, her compound or its surroundings. This year she dug a latrine and all the household members are using it and no one has had acute watery diarrhoea. As she has been educated about the value of sanitation from the HEW she frequently cleans her home and surrounding areas. For cooking fuel she uses dung cakes (collecting them from the roads) and sorghum residue. They continue to eat mainly sorghum. They have less oil than before and they have totally stopped using onions and tomatoes because they can't afford to buy them. From PSNP she has been getting wheat, cooking oil and peas. The household has got electricity which means her children can study in the evening. A manual pump for drinking water has been built in their village so her children do not have to go far to fetch water.

Health

The 13 year old son fell off a donkey and he has been feeling pain and he has been sick with headache for a long time. She has been taking him to the health centre by borrowing money from relatives. Due to these illnesses there are times when he is absent from school. Formerly he had been helping the family in simple agricultural activities but after his accident he has not been able to work.

One of her daughters sometimes falls sick and her body swells. She took her to Haramaya health centre where they gave her drugs. The health workers have told her that her daughter lacks blood and advised her to give her vegetables and chicken. She said her daughter has not been totally cured and still sometimes falls sick.

She said her older daughters have been circumcised and two of her youngest daughters have not yet been circumcised. If neighbouring children of their age get circumcised she will also have them circumcised. When she had her sons vaccinated at the health centre they got also circumcised there but she does not know about the government and other (NGO) attempts to promote male circumcision at health facilities.

The household has been told about latrines, personal hygiene, food hygiene and safety, solid and liquid waste management by the education provided by the HEWs. The household was able to implement all in the last year except the latrine; this year she made a latrine as the HEWs and wereda officials forced the community to have and use latrines. The household has not graduated from the health extension packages and is not a model family.

In the last year her children were taught about HIV/AIDS prevention at school. Last year to prevent malaria her house was sprayed twice and she was advised to remove stagnant water. She also has bed nets but as they are old she does not use them but she said malaria is not prevalent. She used to get sick with malaria but now she falls sick only if she goes out in the rain, so she avoids travelling when it rains.

Informal social protection

As her children go to school she mostly stays at home doing domestic work as well also working on the farm. She has no time to cooperate with other households. Since her husband died and her economic condition has deteriorated she thinks relatives are not interested in seeing her and her children. The worst household crisis was in 2006/7 when her husband died and she got no help.

Contributions

Last year she paid land tax of 20 birr. As she does not have money she did not make any contribution for the expansion of classrooms in the main school.

New technologies and ideas

They cannot afford to buy electronic goods but sometimes her children watch TV at the neighbours.

Conflict and security

She thinks the community has become a more difficult place to live in for her than it was five years ago. This is because due to the increase in living costs some people steal other people's chat at night. As she does not have anyone to guard her crop after her husband died, her crop is stolen by thieves. She also thinks her stepson is taking her chat as he does not like her or her children. She does not think the militia is effective. She told them that her chat had been stolen but they did not make a great effort to find the thief. As she has no relative in the militia she said they do not give due value to her problem.

Last year she told the elders that her stepson was insulting her and taking her crop. They tried to advise him to stop this but he argued that he did not insult her and he did not take her crop. After this the elders did not try to advise him in this regard again.

Last year she contacted the individuals working at the *kebele* social court to punish the person she suspected of stealing her chat in the night. They called him and told him not to take in the future but did not take any action to punish him. She also told them about the abuse she has been facing from her stepson but they did not give due value to that issue.

Structures of inequality in 2012

Wealth, poverty and class and household composition differences

Overall community wealth

A group of male community members estimated the community has about 15 very rich households, 30 rich households, 200 middle wealth households (who are prominent model farmers and development group leaders), the remaining 10% poor and very poor and the destitute may be about five per village, totalling 100-125 people. However this does not add up to the previous statistics shared on household numbers; triangulating the number of very rich, rich and middle wealth households with the total number of households data leaves 72% of the *kebele* population falling

into the poor and very poor category. However officials reported that in the last ten years, most people in the *kebele* have moved into the middle wealth category, poverty has been decreased over time and all of the wealth groups have increased in wealth. The women and children's representative provided another estimate of the wealth profile of the community: she estimated that 30% are poor, 55% are medium wealth and 15% are rich.

Spatial poverty

The remoter areas that are further away from the *kebele* centre (Adele Tabia village) and the main road are noticeably worse off in terms of access to safe drinking water and water for irrigation, and are at risk of acute water shortages; far from health services (especially in an emergency), schools and other *kebele* administrative services; without (legal) electricity connections; and most are inaccessible by road. However residents of remote villages are still able to make their livelihoods by growing chat, maize and sorghum, just like other less remote villages. Some remote villages are closer to services in neighbouring *kebeles*, e.g. the health centre in Haramaya, and schools in Kersa and Adele 01. Villages and farmlands on sloping areas e.g. on Mount Keke are vulnerable to soil erosion and in some years landslides and floods.

Household wealth/poverty and class and household composition differences

The main driver of poverty is having little or no land. Poor families cannot feed their households for all months of the year. A poor household's usually has a very small amount of farm land, about 1-1.5 hectares which is insufficient to produce enough to cover a household's needs. Very poor and destitute people in the *kebele* are dependent on PSNP to meet their food security needs. Land-poor families have fewer assets; are unable to cultivate (enough) consumption or cash crops; have to sharecrop; are reliant on others for daily labour opportunities; and have to rent houses or depend on relatives. Middle wealth households tend to have land and grow chat and cereal grains. Some have diversified with livestock and milk production. Richer households grow more chat using irrigation and have businesses in trading chat, grain and consumables, and transport.

89% of households in Adele Keke own land while 11% are landless. While only 11% of all households are female headed, 59% of female headed households are landless compared with 6% of male headed ones. Given the challenges faced by landless households, it appears that a majority of female headed households are more likely to be poorer or more vulnerable than male headed households. Widows are often left in an impoverished state if their husband dies after a long illness, as they commonly have to sell off their assets to pay for their husbands' medical bills.

Some poor households have moved out of poverty by working very hard on their very small land, using compost and constructing terraces on hill slopes and as a result have good harvests and increased their production. Some male community members said some of the middle, rich and very rich people want the poor to be their servants and they want to suppress the poor using their power. On the other hand there are many other rich and middle people who assist and encourage the poor.

Household goods found in the homes of wealthy people include cars; grain mills (fuel and electric); shops; maize and livestock food as cash crop; modern houses; TVs; satellite receivers; and modern beds and furniture. Middle wealth people tend to have well-constructed houses and grain mills. Poor and very poor households may have well-constructed tin roofed houses and metal or plastic plates.

Inequality within households

There are gender inequities. Some women face gender-based violence within the home from their husbands; apparently there is more support for women to report such incidents and more women facing domestic abuse are seeking help from elders up to the *wereda* court. People with disabilities and long-term illnesses face particular challenges in finding work and supporting themselves and can become isolated within the community and very dependent on their relatives if they have some.

There are children within households that are given an unequal share of responsibility such as looking after dependent relatives (physically disabled, old) and on domestic duties, or as a household's economic well-being varies may have a different experience growing up compared with their siblings. For example when her husband was sick with liver disease, one of the poor female household head's (FF) six children had to drop out of school for three years due to lack of educational materials and other necessities: she has now returned to school and at age of 18 is in grade seven. Two other daughters (5 and 8) are not yet at school: FF said she is educating the older children but cannot afford to buy educational materials for all her children.

Children who are orphans or left with relatives may not be given the same advantages as other children in the household. For example a poor teenage girl's (16) mother got married in Adele Keke kebele and she left the area, leaving her with her grandmother. She was raised by her grandmother alongside her grandmother's other three children (her aunts and uncles) who were still living with her. Her grandmother did not send her school unlike her own children; she herded their cattle.

Step- or half- children may be particularly vulnerable. When the poor teenage girl's grandmother died, her mother brought her to live with her since she needs her to support her in domestic work, especially to care for her four half siblings while her mother is away from home. She does almost all the household chores and also she buys milk for her mother from other villages. However, the father of her deceased stepfather (whose home is next to them) does not like her. It seems he dislikes her as she shares food with his grandchildren. She said sometimes he tells her to return to the area where she grew up. He does not notice the care she provides for them and because of this she feels sad.

Older siblings, particularly in families with many children, may have a disproportionate share of domestic duties. For example, a rich young woman (26) said that for her first six years, her parents cared for her properly as during that time everything was cheap and her parents had no other child to raise. After her mother delivered five more children she became overburdened with domestic work as she was the first daughter of the family. When she was about 8 years old she started to fetch water, clean the home and do other easier activities. As her age increased she started to participate in heavier activities such as baking.

Problems poor people face

Poor families face persistent food insecurity, even with PSNP support. Poor families find it hard to cope with shocks such as poor harvests (where there are floods, frosts, pests, weeds, failed seeds etc.) or their livestock do not survive (due to disease, accident, drought).

Poor people struggle to pay community contributions and medical costs. They may take their children out of school if they cannot meet the incidental education costs and they do not have the option to go to TVET or private colleges as they are too expensive.

Poor people tend to be worse off in terms of access to safe drinking water and water for irrigation, and are at risk of acute water shortages. Those living in remote area may be far from health services (especially in an emergency), schools and other *kebele* administrative services, without (legal) electricity connections and inaccessible by transport. Poor people living in these areas do not have the choice or means to move.

Poor people may be powerless to demand access to benefits and services, and may be cut off from hearing new ideas, in particular if their participation in community activities and socialisation with other people is limited. For example a poor woman in her 20s said her participation in the community is very low. Since she has no modern milking cow she did not join the milk processing cooperative which was established recently. When poor people are not in anyone's 'network' and is not related to kebele officials, then they may feel that their concerns will not be heard. For example a woman (65) from Shewa unhappily excluded from PSNP reported that she did not appeal because she expected her idea would not be heard, as she is not a Muslim and not from the *kebele*.

However there are some people who face a disability or other challenge who are fully integrated into the community and are striving, with assistance, to better their lives. For example, a man who damaged his hand in a mill accident has managed to find work as a *delala* (fixer) and has various roles in the *kebele*, as a member of a 1-5 network, a member of the *kebele* council and leader of the recently founded youth cooperative.

Social identity

Ethnicity

The majority of the community are of Oromo heritage. The community's first language is Oromiffa and few people speak Amharic (the national first language). A very small percentage of the population (under 1%) are Amhara. The Amharans have been assimilated to the Oromo way of life apart from their religion (Orthodox Christians) and language (Amharic). There is some intermarriage and they share social institutions like *iddirs*, and they also participate in funeral ceremonies together. The Oromos tend to be richer.

Clan / lineage / family

There is a clan organisation based on the Gada system of Oromo. There are four major clans in Adele Keke: Huchiro, Tulama, Kalu and Diramu. There are also 17 other small clans who are part of larger clans located elsewhere. Each of the clans have their own clan leaders, known as *Abba Dhiigan* (the owner of the blood), who are selected by the sub-clan representatives. The leader in turn appoints *Abba Gorba* (vice owner of the blood), *Sa'illan* (guards) and *Bokku Karra/Balbal* (the owner or head of the village). These form the clan council. Women cannot be clan leaders or vice leaders.

Formerly the community was governed by the clans but today the customary institutions of the Gada system have been almost totally overwhelmed by Islamic rules and traditions and the modern government system. There have been disputes and clashes between the clans and between the clans and the government administration that have interfered with government interventions in the area, among the community as well as between *kebele* and *wereda* officials on various issues such as authority, land and the like. The *wereda* officials reported that Adele Keke's development potential is threatened by clan-driven disputes and conflicts. The government is trying to make the government administration stronger by making sure that in one village, and among *kebele* and *wereda* officials, the leaders come from more than one clan. There are some conflicting messages on how strong the clans are today. Certainly their power seems to be less than before, as a result of government action. The government has acted to lessen the influence of the clans and the leaders are rarely involved in activities. The middle wealth man (CC) said that five years ago, there was violence between the clans in the community, including destruction of houses up to murder, but this does not happen today. However clans still operate to provide clan members with informal social protection.

There are no craft workers or families with 'slave' ancestry in the *kebele*.

Religion

This is an Islamic area and the *kebele* is predominantly Muslim. There are a very few Orthodox Christians (5-10 people). There are no Protestants, Catholics or practitioners of traditional Oromo religion (*wakefata*). There is some intermarriage between Muslims and Orthodox Christians, with the Christian partner tending to convert to Islam. There is a village known as the Christian village because a few Christians live there. Christians are considered to be outsiders as they are originally from Amhara; however generations have passed since they moved to Oromiya and they have assimilated with Oromiya customs and today they are in practice more Oromo than Amhara.

Native/immigrant

Officials said there are no in-migrants. There are some people who say they there are not indigenous to the area (e.g. one man who moved to Adele Keke 14 years ago) and the Orthodox Christians mentioned above, but there are no records of how many.

Vulnerability and social exclusion

Disabled and chronically ill people

Kebele officials said there are two blind people, two people with leg disabilities and 10-15 mentally ill people in the *kebele*. In addition there are about 50 old people who find it difficult to support themselves as they are getting weaker. They are supported by getting PSNP direct support and get help from other community members, especially during Muslim festivities. Relatives take mentally ill people to the health post or centre. There is no NGO in the area which supports mentally ill people and they have to pay for their own medicine.

One man had an accident 16 years ago when he was working at a grinding mill and damaged his right hand. As a result, he has faced many problems. He is married and he cannot work properly to support his household. He works as a *delala* (fixer) and he also collects bills from the 150 households who have legal electricity counters in the *kebele* and pays them to EEPCO, for which he gets 4 *birr* commission from each household. Sometimes his brothers help him. For example, one of them covers his land tax payment. *Kebele* officials once refused to give him wheat seeds as they said he would not be able to use them because of his disability; he complained and got them the following year. He said the *kebele* officials also prevented him from receiving credit and from getting the Holstein Friesian breeds. He buys fertiliser like everyone else. He cannot participate in natural resource management activities like the other community members. He gets PSNP direct support of 60kg of food each month and with this he has been able to construct his own house. He said that he has now graduated but he still needs the support as his livelihood has not changed. He has 0.25 hectares of farm land and he grows chat and sorghum. He gets advice and other health services from the HEWs. The *kebele* has written a letter of recommendation to the *wereda* health centre when he became diabetic and now he receives free medication. He has constructed a latrine with the help of his friends. He pays party membership fees of 12 *birr* per annum and he has contributed 45 *birr* to the Oromiya Development Association. He has various roles in the *kebele*, as a member of a 1-5 cell, a member of the *kebele* council and leader of the recently founded youth cooperative. He frequently travels to the *wereda* and the zone capitals as he is a member and leader of different committees in the *kebele*.

A 22 year old woman has had a crippled leg since she was five years old. Her parents took her to a religious healer and then a modern health centre but her leg did not get better. She stays near her home as she cannot walk to other places and because of this, she did not go to school. Her sister-in-law buys her and her mother consumables from the market and her brother farms for them. Very rarely she travels to Haramaya by car to buy clothes but it is difficult for her to reach the main road from home. Her brother's daughter lives with them and supports the household by fetching water and cooking; she is about 14 years old and is in grade five. She said that if she had been physically well she might have got married and had a child but she is worried that if she got pregnant she would find it difficult and if she did not get a caring man she might be harmed. She said there was a man who asked her family to marry her. All her siblings are married. She is a skilful hairdresser; women from other *kebeles* come to her. Previously she charged 2-4 *birr* per person but now she charges 10 *birr*. Her mother was included in PSNP but last year they excluded her, saying that the chat they planted was very good and had improved their living condition. It is not clear if she gets PSNP direct support or not. Her married brother who lives next to them gets PSNP. To get electricity her mother paid the contribution. They have a radio. Recently she bought a mobile phone with the income she got from hairdressing. Whenever she has a pain she sends someone to call the HEW for

her and the HEW gives advice and drugs. As they have no kitchen they plan to build a new home and to use the older house as a kitchen. They have bought corrugated iron sheets to build the new house. With the money she gets from hairdressing she sometimes buys sheep to sell on, and she buys personal items for herself and her mother. Last year the household contributed wood for the expansion of classrooms. They paid annual land tax of 30 *birr*. Neither she or her mother are members of the Women's Association. They do not attend meetings and they are not members of a political party.

The son of an old deaf man said there are 14 deaf people (three women, eight men, three children) in five villages in the *kebele*. He thinks there may be people with hearing impairments in the other villages too. Most of them have become deaf in their old age. The respondent said that these old people have very minimal participation in social interactions; in most cases they spend their time visiting the mosque and staying at home. This lack of social interaction makes them isolated, out-of-touch, depressed and lonely. One of the deaf children is a girl of about 12 years old; she attends school and has reached grade three by copying what the teacher writes on the blackboard. One of the children who are partially deaf also has sight issues as one of his eyes is impaired; he is about 10 years old and attending grade one. The other deaf child is a girl also with partial sight impairment; she is attending grade three. In Harar there is a German centre for the blind but there are no NGOs supporting the deaf and there is no private health care centre that works on hearing impairments. The respondent's father, with the help of relatives and friends, has sought treatment from different health care facilities including in Jijiga but they have been unable to cure him. There is a religious leader (*sheka*) who treats the deaf and blind. A child who had a hearing problem was cured after the *sheka's* spiritual treatment.

A blind girl said there are two other blind people apart from her in the *kebele*, one man and one woman. She is in grade three in Adele Keke Primary School. Apart from her family, no one helps her in the community except sometimes people help guide her to Adele Tabia village and elsewhere in the *kebele*. She joined the school when the school director came to the house and took her to enrol at the school. She can listen but as she has no braille, she is unable to read and write.

The rich teenage girl (17) said that one of her younger sisters is mentally ill. When she was two years old the family members and neighbours thought she had died but after some time she woke up. Since then her mental state has been affected: she speaks and laughs alone and sometimes she beats other children. When she becomes severely sick half part of her body bends backwards. The family has taken her to different health centres, spending a lot of money, but she does not get better.

Residents in remote parts of the *kebele*

A man living in one of the remotest villages said the main problem is the acute shortage of water especially for irrigating his chat. In addition the health centre is very far away which is difficult for his wife who has epilepsy and is often ill. However, she manages to do housework and work on the farm. They grow chat and sorghum, the same as households in other parts of the *kebele*. They have five children, two sons and three daughters. His children were educated up to grade six in Adele Keke and one is currently attending grade seven at Haramaya primary school. He participates in development activities and benefits from government services. Last year he did not get credit as the head of the village did not include his name to receive the credit. He pays taxes and party member fees. He is the former *kebele* chair and was also *kebele* council chair for a time.

A man living in the least desirable (and also a remote) place in the *kebele* – Ganda village – said the critical issue is the lack of access to water. The village gets drinking water from the bottom of gorges found in the area, but as the gorges are so deep, it is very difficult to get water from it especially for women and children. Also this water is not clean and the community in the area have faced health problems for long time as they contract water-borne diseases. The benefits from living in this part of

the *kebele* is that his children and others from the village can go to nearby schools in neighbouring *kebeles*, e.g. the primary school in Haro Arba and the high school in Dhengego.

Immigrants

A man came from Haramaya *wereda* to Adele Keke 14 years ago. He does not have his own home but is living with a farmer who he helps out by contributing his labour. He is working as a grinding mill technician. He said that he has fewer rights than the indigenous people. For example, when his children quarrel with the children of others, he has no power to accuse and complain and voice his feelings equally with the others. This inequality comes from other community members but not from the government officials. He does not get invited to participate in different development activities as he has no farm land in the *kebele*. He is not a party member. He is a PSNP beneficiary and has access to public transport, health services and education in the *kebele*.

Landless/non-taxpayers

A land poor man grew up in Lange *kebele* (Kersa *wereda*). When his mother divorced his father he returned to Adele Keke where his father was born and his relatives still live but they did not give him any farm land. He has a wife, six children and a big problem because his small sorghum crop cultivated on his very small lakeside 0.5 hectares of farmland is susceptible to the frost and he has no chat. He works for others for money. He has been trained and got advice on agricultural extension packages but does not use fertiliser or improved seeds as he has no money to buy them. He has no Holstein Friesian breeds and no beehives. He has one local livestock. He gets advice on natural resource management activities like soil conservation, tree planting, and constructing water points. His household has been using illegally installed electricity, paying the official electricity holders in the neighbouring Kalu village. He has no mobile phone. His household is a PSNP beneficiary. He does not have a latrine as it is very difficult to construct one on the stony land. He pays 20 *birr* land tax but no other contribution. He has helped construct water point in the gorge, to bring out water using a motor pump and collecting it in the small shallow water harvesting wells. He is a party member and member of the *kebele* council. He also participates in a 1-5 group.

Destitute people

A man born in Meta *wereda* where he had a small farm migrated to Adele Keke in 1997/8 because he had friends here and he was looking for agricultural labour. Soon after he arrived he was recruited to the military; after four years' service including at the Ethiopian-Eritrea front he came back to Adele Keke in 2002/3. His son lives in Meta and manages his farm and house there. He got married to his second wife in Adele Keke after he returned from the military. He married a widow who had one hectare of untilled, wild land and a grass house; they are still living in this grass house. They have two children and it is very difficult to feed and clothe them. The chat plants that he has planted are not yet ready to sell and use. His only source of income is a small sorghum harvest. He suffers from gastritis. He did a lot of paid labour work last year but this year he has been able to stop as his livelihood means have improved a bit. His wife is healthy except that she worries about their income. They are PSNP beneficiaries. He is not exempted from health service payments. He pays 12 *birr* for land tax but he is exempted from the other contributions by the *kebele* officials as he has no chat to sell. He participates in different development activities like construction and maintenance of internal roads, planting trees, and constructing bunds and terraces on Mount Keke and Gole. He is a member of a 1-5 cell. He is a party member but he is exempted from paying party membership. Formerly, he did not attend *kebele* meetings frequently but from this year he has been attending regularly as the government is teaching, training farmers and introducing them to new ideas to them.

A 30 year old woman married in 2000 in Haramaya *wereda*. After having five children, in 2003/4 her husband became mentally ill. He tried modern treatment as well as holy water but he could not get better. He used to beat her severely and when he tried to kill her she fled and moved back to her

mother's home in Adele Keke in 2010. When she left her home she did not take any property and now she is destitute. She left her eldest son with his father and she brought her four daughters with her and she was pregnant when she left and has since given birth to another daughter. She said she took her daughters to protect them from facing gender based violence, in particular rape, if she had left them with no-one to look after them. She is living with her mother and her sister (a widow) in a small, very old house which is her sister-in-law's kitchen. Her mother has only a small amount of land as she had given the family farm land to her brothers when they got married. None of her children are going to school. Last year she sent two of them, aged 10 and eight, to school but teachers ordered them to get new exercise books and she cannot afford them. In addition, to contribute to new classrooms teachers have asked parents to bring wood or cash and she cannot contribute. Her younger daughters are aged eight, seven and one years old. As she looks after these children, especially the youngest, she cannot get involved in petty trade. She strongly emphasised that having many children has intensified her destitute living condition. When she was pregnant the HEWs gave her iodised salt and some drugs for headaches, free of charge. Her sister-in-law gives them electric light. She shares her mother's PSNP support. Whenever she feels depressed worrying about her living condition or hungry, she goes to her sister-in-law and she advises her and gives her food (if she has any). She has no contact with her husband's family. She perceives that they do not mind that she has gone away as they want to use her husband's land.

Craftworkers

There are no craftworkers.

'Slaves'

There are no 'slaves'.

Non-members of the EPRDF

There are no reported opposition party members. Not all of the community are paying party members; the *kebele* chair who is the party leader said there are 573 members of the political party, 8% of the total population (but what percentage of the adult population is not known), and no opposition parties. The women and children's representative gave a different estimate: she said around 35% of the total population are party members.

Unmarried mothers, widows, divorcées, wives abandoned by polygynous husbands

A widow whose husband died after stomach and back pain, had his burial expenses covered by his parents' *iddir*. Her parents-in-law wanted her to stay with them and support them in domestic work; she felt they were exploiting her and she returned to her mother, taking her children. Her mother's house is small and she has no money to provide for her children's basic necessities, so she sent them to live with her husband's parents. As they had only one son the parents-in-law liked this and have been raising their grandchildren in a good way. Both children attend Adele 01 primary school: the boy is in grade four and the girl in grade five. Having her husband die has harmed her life as she now does not have resources to survive. She thinks that if women's property ownership was respected, after her husband's death she might have had farm land and be leading a better life, but her husband died in 2003/4 when protecting women's property ownership rights was not known about. When her husband was alive they lived with his parents and worked on their farm. As his parents had not given him farm land she could not ask them for any land. She thinks their farm land will be given to her son. Her mother gets PSNP support. As her mother is old, she does the public works for her and collects the support. She gets information and updates with regard to health related issues from the HEWs and she also gets headache painkillers free of charge. Her brother's child supports them in agricultural activities as her mother has a small chat crop. They irrigate it by borrowing a water pump from neighbours. Her mother also has two goats. Her mother could not afford the electricity contribution but now she has got the service without payment from her neighbour, who is their relative. They paid 20 *birr* land tax last year. She assisted with labour for the

construction of additional classrooms for the main school but she cannot afford to contribute wood or cash. Neither she nor her mother attends meetings and they are not members of a political party. So as not to feel stressed by life's challenges she enjoys spending time with her relatives and friends. In most cases she spends the time with her sister who is divorced and now lives with them. She also visits her children at their grandparents' home in Kusho village. Other people say she prefers not to get involved in work and they think that as she is healthier and younger she could get involved in certain income-generating activities so as to overcome the difficult situation she is in. Instead they say she prefers to stay with men who sit and chew chat.

A poor widower was not found. For details of a poor divorcee, please see the section on destitute people.

Divorced men

A divorced man was not interviewed. It seems that most divorced men remarry, in particular if they have got divorced because they have not been able to have children with the first wife.

Outcasts

No woman has been evicted from the community. 21 men from Jiddu village have been sentenced to prison for the illegal cutting of eucalyptus trees on Mount Keke. One of the men's mother said his family have appealed to the *wereda* court and the *wereda* court has given them the right to appeal to the zonal higher court. The imprisoned man has four children and while he has been detained his chat farm has not been irrigated and thieves have stolen his chat plants as there is no one to protect them.

PLWHAs

The researchers were told that there are no people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in the community.

Orphans/ stepchildren

Community members said the number of orphans in the *kebele* was very low and they get PSNP direct support.

The poor female household head (FF) has a 22 year old step-son. Immediately after the death of his father he got married in 2007/8, dropping out of grade eight. FF said she advised him to continue studying but he refused. FF sold livestock so as to cover some costs of his marriage. She said that as he is not her biological child he dislikes her and wants to take the share of his farmland from her. He also does not get on with his half-brothers and sisters. At different times he used to insult her. As a result, many times she has taken the case to elders and kebele officials so as to make him leave her alone. He lives the same village as FF. Even though he lives close to the household and she has no other man who can work on the farm, he does not help the household in farm work. He does not value what she sacrificed such as selling of livestock for his marriage and to build his own home.

Elderly people without relatives to help them

The researchers were told that all those who are too old to work have relatives.

Genderage

Growing up in Adele Keke - boys and girls

Birth and infancy

After delivery, HEWs and community volunteers provide education and advice to mothers about exclusive breast feeding and mothers' nutrition. There are also a number of nutrition interventions for infants. Children also get vaccinations. Further details on this in the sections below.

Growing up – work and play

Kebele officials said that over the last 10 years, especially following the introduction of health extension service in 2008, parents have become aware of the need to give special care to infants. In the past they gave similar food to small and older children but now they prepare a balanced diet for small children. They have started to wash their children and their clothes with soap. This special care continues until children reach seven years old. Then they send them either to religious or formal school. In the past boys ate with their fathers and girls with their mothers, and as mothers eat later girls were not getting quality and adequate food; now parents understand the need to feed children first. Unlike parents children also eat lunch. For adolescent boys and girls those parents who can afford them buy quality personal care items and clothes.

The wife in the rich household (FE) said that in the last 10 years there have been changes in child-rearing practices for both boys and girls, with parents providing better care for children (both girls and boys) of different age categories (new born infants, babies, etc.), including feeding their children in a better way by preparing different kinds of food.

Some respondents said young girls and boys spend time socialising much more than before; the boys chew chat and in the evenings they may dance. The rich man (26) said he used to play with girls during the wedding ceremonies, during the Muslim festivities like *Id-Arafa*.

Completing education

The poor woman in her 30s said that these days adolescent girls and boys have greater opportunity to continue attending school because teachers go village-to-village advising parents of the importance of education. She said that it was due to lack of awareness that she dropped out of school from grade three.

The main primary school director said the community has low awareness regarding the value of education and most people want their children to remain at home, keep livestock and get married. She said that the parents do not care about education because there is no role model of people who have completed school and then gone on to be successful, so they do not see what difference having education will make.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said that these days most adolescent girls and young men in the community drop out of school as they grow up mainly because they spend time together when young men chew chat and they dance in the evenings, and some may have sex.

Recently, when their children graduate from university or college parents have started to prepare big feast, at which neighbours and relatives give money. Since this type of celebration has become common practice, parents have become interested in educating their children. However, teachers suggested that a lot still has to be done so that parents develop an interest in educating their children, mainly girls, up to higher educational level.

Adolescence and youth

The middle wealth woman (KL) said nowadays as trading chat, grain, livestock fodder, milk and other consumption goods such as sugar, salt, oil etc. has become familiar in the area both adolescent girls and young men have an opportunity to be involved in these activities. There are a few who have already started trading.

The rich women (FE) said that despite new opportunities in trading and other non-farm activities, the access to credit is very low as in most cases lenders need to have a guarantee when giving out loans and because of this there are some youngsters who want to involve in trading but are unable to because of lack of starting capital.

The young middle wealth woman (22) said that both adolescent girls and young men face the problem of unemployment. She said there are youngsters who have completed grade 12 but did not

get good enough results to join preparatory or college education. They remain at home: girls doing household chores while young men sometimes support their family in farm work.

Some (richer) youths have mobile phones.

Growing up male in Adele Keke

Circumcision

The *wereda* officials said male circumcision is traditionally undertaken by traditional birth attendants (TBAs) at home, when the boy is seven or eight years old or some circumcise when the boy is two or three months old. There has been no practice at all of circumcising boys at health care institutes and even now there has not been any effort to make the community aware of the consequences of circumcising boys at home and the importance of institutional male circumcision. Thus, the head of the district health office suggested it would be good if awareness-raising education is provided so that people start to circumcise boys at health care institutions.

Boys' work

All male respondents reported helping with farm work before and/or after school. Sometimes they skip school to do farm work, especially during harvest time. The main primary school director said that chat is harvested three or four times a year and at harvest time, especially in November/December and March, student absenteeism is high. FF's oldest son is 16 years old and in grade eight in Adele 01 primary school. Sometimes he does not go to school at harvesting time to help in farm related activities. The successful female household head's (EE) youngest sons cut grass from the lake for livestock fodder.

The rich teenager (19) said up until he was six he played with his peers and sometimes herded cattle. He said that until the age of 10, he was shadowed others (members of his family and his peers) to learn herding and other community activities including farming.

Completing education

The rich woman (FE) said the proportion of young men continuing schooling has increased greatly. However she also said that most young men in the area try to follow in the footsteps of those who are involved-agricultural activities so as to generate income rather than giving emphasis to their education.

The rich young woman (26) said she did not join school as her parents did not value education at that time. She is the eldest child. However, after this her parents' awareness about education improved and they sent her youngest brother to school. He has got good results and is about to graduate from Adama University.

The middle wealth teenager's husband has studied up to grade 12. He got married when he got a low result and this result would not enable him to continue his education. He is considering retaking the exam.

The poor man (31) said he got married while he was at school but he managed to complete grade 10. At the same time, he was working on his farm and it was farming which affected his education rather than his marriage. Recently, he went to Adama University, Asella campus, and took training on livestock breeding (artificial insemination) for 45 days.

The rich man (25) said some youths do not have an interest to go to school and some who have interest lack financial support especially if their families are poor. The youths also lack follow up from their families. The youths do not have access to land as there is shortage of land in Adele Keke kebele. The land available in the kebele is not even enough for the families, let alone for the youths. So they are expected to attend their education hard to improve their livelihood and become economically independent. He dropped out after grade three because he started to work as a barber

and planned to open a shop in addition to farming. He wants to continue his education in the future especially if there is an evening programme in Adele Keke primary school.

The middle wealth man said his family made him get married when he was 16 and as a result he did not even complete grade two. At the same time, he was helping in farming and all these factors affected his education. However, he is now keen to resume his education and very ambitious even to complete grade 10. It seems that he committed to return to school in the coming year.

The rich teenager (19) said his father told him to terminate his education and get married when he was in grade six. He refused to stop his education but ploughed the land during his free time and managed to complete grade six successfully. The next year, when he was in grade seven in 2007/8, his father died. He completed grade eight but then stopped his schooling in 2010/11 because he had to work on the farm to support his younger brother going to school.

Sexual initiation

The middle wealth man (32) said that he showed interest in girls at the age of 15 and even had a girlfriend when he was 15, but he had no sexual intercourse with her as the culture prohibits youths to have sex before marriage. He simply used to chat with her. He started sexual intercourse when he married his first wife.

The poor man (31) said he started an interest in girls from the age of 15. However, he did not have any friend prior to his wife. He got married in 2000/1 and started having sex with his first wife.

Leisure activities and bad habits

There are no youth recreation centres. Chewing in the evening, sometimes up to midnight, is a new leisure pattern for male youngsters and adults. A 16 year old boy said he chews some chat but not very much and not every day.

Some boys swim in the water wells by the lake.

The middle wealth man (32) said that some youths do not work hard to get a good job. For example, some simply quarrel with each other and other people and as a result, could not have a job opportunity.

Finding work – economic independence

The rich teenage girl (17) said some young men drop out of school and have nothing to do to support their life. They remain idle at home, dependent on their parents. As there is land shortage they face difficulty to develop their own means of life. They live by helping their parents on their farms.

The young middle wealth woman (22) said that in response to the problem of unemployment, youth have now organised into three groups, two of which will be for young men. One group is planning to buy consumer goods such as oil, sugar, etc. for the community, buying them from the nearby town, while the second group planned to work on carpentry related activities. They have not contributed money yet. She hopes that after the government sees the contributed capital they would be able to get credit of up to 100,000 birr.

The rich man (28 and the *kebele* chair's nephew) has been irrigating his chat, potatoes, and other vegetables as he has constructed a water point and his farm is near the Adele lake by the side of the main asphalt highway. He received credit of 1,500 birr from the Oromiya Credit and Saving Organisation and repaid the debt after a year. He said the government promised the youths to give them credit after they are organised in groups but there is a delay in getting the credit and this is creating great problems for the lives of the youths in the *kebele*.

The rich man (25) said that regarding work, there are a lot of problems for youths. For example, some youths look for work in different towns like Haramaya and Aweday, and come back after some

time. However, there are some opportunities for youths in the kebele: for example, some youths recently grouped together and formed a youth cooperative in the kebele.

The middle wealth man (25) said the opportunity today for youths is to learn and study hard to get employed by the government as well as NGOs. Regarding work, youths have some opportunities to go for different work to different towns like Haramaya, Aweday, Dire Dawa and Harar. However, there are some challenges to youths in the kebele in terms of work or job. Some youths simply wander without any work in the kebele.

The middle wealth teenager (19) said there is no opportunity for youths to get land except sharing the land with their father. Even the land itself has decreased its productivity compared with former times. Regarding work, these days, agricultural inputs like fertiliser and improved seeds are very expensive and even when these inputs are bought at a high price, and used on the farm, they will be lost if there is no rain. It is even sometimes difficult to get a harvest which covers the cost of the inputs. The opportunity in the work is that they (youths) sell chat when its price is high and use the cash for different purposes. His final remark was that work opportunity is now better than the former times as youths are trying to work hard to come out of poverty.

Getting married

The customary age of marriage for young men was at 20-22 years old. The same holds true now but some also get married earlier at age of 18-20. The rich man (25) said some youths do not have enough wealth to support their livelihood when they get married and as a result, they get married in their late 30s and 40s.

The poor man (31) said that on finding a wife, and getting married, there are no problems as such for youths but the major problem in connection with marriage is that some youths who get married quarrel with each other over minor issues and as a result, immediately run to court to get divorced. Some youths get married when they are living with their families and then have many children and as a result cause trouble to themselves and their families.

Establishing an independent household

The rich man (28) said that when he was a teen, there was excess land in the kebele and it was accessible for youths and others. When he got married, he started to lead his household independently as he got a share of land from his father.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said the scarcity of farmland is becoming a major problem for young men over time. The poor young woman (26) said the major problem young men facing in the community as they grow up these days is shortage of farmland. When parents give farmland when their sons get married the land size they give for each son is small. Due to this young men face shortage of money to support their life.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said that both young men and women face the problem of unemployment and they will be dependent on the man's parents. In most cases he supports his parents in farming and the couple eat with his parents.

When the rich man (25) got married he constructed his house before he got married and as soon as he got married he moved to his own house.

The rich teenage boy (19) said there is a traditional land sharing culture in the community which is known as *miraza*. The family gives *miraza* to their son when he get married; otherwise, they think that the youths will not use properly the land as they are not yet matured enough. So, they are expected to attend and work very hard on their education and look for better work to improve their livelihood and become economically independent.

The middle wealth teenager (19) said the problem is that if the youth does not have anything to support his household after marriage, he will go to labour work leaving his wife alone.

Having children

The poor man (31) said that regarding having children, formerly, they used to bear as many children as possible, but now they have the opportunity to use family planning.

The middle wealth man (25) said some youths from poor families bear children and then get problems such as that they do not have good and enough food, no clothes, uniforms or other costs of school.

Community participation

The rich man (29) said that when he was a teen, as the majority of the youths were farmers and herders, they fully participated in community affairs but nowadays some youths are not ready to participate in the community as they lack awareness and simply follow their own ways. The same holds true for religious participation.

The poor man (31) said that most youths participate in religious affairs but some do not as modernisation has been increasing.

Some youths reported participating actively in community life. For example the poor man (31) participates in different development activities in the kebele as well as in his village. He is a village leader and actively participates in development teams and 1-5 networks. He also actively participates in community organisations like *iddir* and *equb*. Currently, he is teaching basic Adult Education in his village.

The rich man (25) said adolescents participate in different community activities such as in *equbs* and *iddirs* and other community development activities and therefore, there is no problem with these adolescents in community participation. The same is true regarding religious participation.

The middle wealth teenager (19) said most youths want to participate in different community affairs but economic constraints draw them back from their full participation. Most youths participate in religious affairs and there have been no observed problems for youths in this respect in the *kebele*. Some youths contribute money for the construction of mosque and other matters even more than other members in their families.

Growing up female in Adele Keke

Circumcision

Wereda officials said that even though great efforts have been made to stop the practice of female circumcision still some community members, including in towns, are practising it secretly. However it is greatly reduced compared to previously. The tradition is for girls to be circumcised at 8-12 years old when they are ready to start sexual intercourse. The officials said that mostly it is mothers who want their daughters to be circumcised. People perceive uncircumcised girls will not control their feelings and will start premarital sex and get aggressive. The wereda women's affairs office, HEWs and community volunteers have been working strongly against female circumcision by educating the community. Adele Keke's HEWs said that some mothers still secretly get traditional birth attendants to circumcise their daughters at home. They suggested more organised work and remedial action is needed to stop the community secretly practising female circumcision.

Girls' work

When the rich woman (26) was young, as girls had to travel long distances to fetch water, they were exposed to problems such as rape.

The poor woman (32) said that starting from when she was 8 years old she was supporting her mother in domestic work. When she grew up a bit she also started farm related work such as weeding.

The rich young woman (26) said that for her first six years, her parents cared for her properly as during that time everything was cheap and her parents had no other child to raise. After her mother delivered five more children she became overburdened with domestic work as she was the first daughter of the family. When she was about eight years old she started to fetch water, clean the home and do other easier activities. As her age increased she started to participate in heavier activities such as baking.

The poor young woman said that as her eldest sister did domestic work, mostly she used to play with neighbouring children. Her eldest sister did not join school. The respondent also joined school very late. Then, to care for her younger siblings, her parent made her drop out school when she became a grade 2 student. She started to do simple domestic work such as fetching water and cleaning the house when she was seven years old. Over time she has been involved in more and heavier activities, including farm activities. Even though she wanted to go back to school her parents did not allow her to.

The rich teenager (17) said she started doing simple domestic work such as fetching water when she was eight years old. Then as she grew up she started to get involved in more work. She helps her father at the mill house and shop. Education helps her in her work as she calculates amounts collected from clients easily. Now, after school she is the one who minds her parents' shop.

Completing education

The successful female household head (EE) said ten years ago few children went to school and parents would not send girls to school while today parents send both boys and girls to school. The rich woman (32) said the number of adolescent girls at school has increased. However many girls drop out of school around the age of 13-15 to get married. The poor female household head's (FF) eldest daughter (20) got married in 2005/6, dropping out of grade 4. The rich young woman (26) said that adolescent girls in the community have the opportunity these days to continue learning as long as they want if they are interested and committed but in most cases they get married and drop out of education. The poor man (31) said that girls participate less than boys in education because their families want them to get married and do domestic work at home. As a result, some women terminate their education and get married.

One respondent reported going back to school after having a baby. The rich teenager (17) said that some girls spend time with boys and may be exposed to premarital sex; others may get married and drop out of school. Later on when there are disputes between them and their husband they go back to their parents' home. She said she was among some of the adolescent girls who are victims of this as she dropped out of grade six to get married. She further explained that as she is strong and her parents are economically well off she started schooling again without any difficulty. She said that as her mother (FE), father (BB), and siblings are keen on her schooling after she delivered her daughter she went back to school. Now she is attending grade eight. She aspires to continue education up to university level. She wants to be a nurse.

The middle wealth young woman (22) said she has been worrying about how she has stayed idle at home after failing grade 12. Though she is not attending school now she aspires to retake the exam. If her result becomes point 2 she will go to a private college. As her husband is a teacher he is encouraging and supporting her to do this.

Sexual initiation

The rich woman (32) said nowadays some adolescent girls are in a hurry to have a relationship with a young man. She thinks a few of them may start sex earlier and they do not give emphasis to education. She said that one factor for this may be the lack of female role models who have joined university or college. She said until now there is only one girl who has gone to private college. She also explained that in most cases girls drop out of school when they reach grade eight to get

married. She thinks, compared to when she as a teenager, adolescent girls drop out school earlier now due to marriage, which in some cases happens because of unplanned pregnancy.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said that before her marriage she had no contact with boys initially and she did not have a boyfriend and she experienced her first sexual experience after she got married.

The rich young woman (26) suspects that adolescent girls face a problem of having premarital sex with their boyfriends. Before she was married she did not talk to boys and she was not interested in having a relationship with a boy. She said that at that time these kinds of relationship were not known, unlike the present time. She had her first sexual experience after she got married.

The rich teenager (17) said she knew the man who married her at school when she was attending grade five. It was since that time that their special friendship started/she started talking with boys and he became her first boyfriend. He was a senior student but he dropped out when she was learning in grade five. She stated that her first sexual experience was after they got married when she was 14 years old.

The middle wealth teenager (17) said that some adolescent girls in the community start unnecessary relationships with young men. If the man is not a kind person she perceives that he may expose his girlfriend to unplanned pregnancy. Furthermore, later on he may not want to marry or live with her. She mentioned the experience of two adolescent girls who faced this problem.

Leisure activities and bad habits

There are no youth recreation centres. A young female opinion leader said that in most cases women focus on their work and they do not need leisure time since they are hard workers.

The rich young woman (29) said that girls are now free to express what they need to their family, even some parents who can afford to have bought them mobile phones

Finding work – economic independence

The kebele chair said that regarding access to land, there is a shortage of land in Adele Keke and this holds true for women too but in general, they have got good economic opportunities like selling milk, shops, small businesses, and the like. He said that the former misconception that women are weak has now totally changed and the community has accepted that they are not weak.

The successful female household head (EE) said women, especially those who lack a man, have started to get involved in farming activities. As an example she said as her children have grown up her daughters help her in domestic works enabling her to do farming work with her sons.

She also mentioned that over time the number of women involved in petty trade or trading milk and other goods has been increasing.

The rich woman (32) said some young adolescent girls also have an opportunity to work in shops by buying such goods from the town to sell in their shop in the village. She stated that like her recently some young women, about 13, have been involved in buying milk from the local people to sell in the town (mostly Haramaya and Aweday town). These kinds of work opportunities were not available when she was an adolescent since at that time people were not as concerned about their life condition.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said the household got a credit of 4,340 birr from the NGO (CISIP) through the PSNP programme. The credit is interest free. With the credit she has bought a modern cow for 6,000 by adding an additional 1,660 birr. Now the cow is pregnant. When the cow delivers the household would get milk both for household consumption as well as for sale.

The poor woman (32) said that after she dropped out of school and stayed with her mother for some years she started to be involved in wage work in Haramaya town so as to overcome the problem of

food shortage. Over the last 4 years she has been rearing and fattening goats for resale. This greatly helps her to feed her children. She wants to expand these activities.

The rich young woman (26) said they were among the first households to buy a water pump (which cost 3,000 birr in 2004) and they dug a water well near the lake. With these efforts they have produced more chat and getting a high income has improved their livelihoods. With the money from the sale of chat that she saved in an *equb*, they have built a home of three rooms on the main road and they have started to sell maize and animal fodder. Having had an expensive water pump stolen (estimated to be worth 15,000 birr), rather than keeping a large amount of grain and livestock fodder for sale they bought a mini-bus (for 180,000 birr) last year and started a transport business.

The young middle wealth woman (22) said that in response to the problem of unemployment, youth have now organised into three groups, one of which will be for young women. They have not yet identified what income-generating activity they will be involved in.

Getting married

Of the women interviewed: the rich woman (32) is on her third marriage (the main reason for her divorces has been because she has not had children); the middle wealth women (KL) has been married twice and is currently re-married to her first husband and she is now his second wife; the rich teenager (17) is divorced and living back with her parents. The poor woman (32), rich woman (26), middle wealth woman (22), poor woman (25) and middle wealth teenager (17) are all married (to their first husbands). The poor teenager (16) has not yet married.

Some men said that the customary age of marriage for girls was 17 on average in the past but now the age of marriage has become a bit lower as mostly girls get married when they are 15/16 years old. One of the elders stated that now girls have physically grown faster and they look older than their age, maybe because they are eating better (irrespective of inflation). Furthermore, girls are sexually active earlier. Kebele officials said the community, especially girls themselves are resisting the law to stop underage marriages; the girls try to seem more than 18 years old. Due to this until now there is no organised enforcement of the law.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said that she met her husband, they fell in love and he sent elders to her parents. Her parent accepted him and she got married through formal procedure and she moved to Adele Keke when she was about 16 years old.

The rich woman (FE) said that her 17 year old daughter who was attending grade seven, got married recently. She and her husband wanted their daughter to continue schooling rather than getting married but the daughter ran away with the man she loved. Then the groom sent elders to them. As she and her husband understood that their daughter went with the man voluntarily they accepted the offer and they had a medium level wedding ceremony.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said that around 2008 a man sent elders with chat to ask them to give their daughter. They accepted his offer and chewed his chat. They agreed that she will get married when she has matured. In 2010 when her daughter was in grade six (she was about 15 years old) the man sent elders to prepare the wedding. Accordingly, a medium level of feast was arranged. The daughter dropped out from school.

The middle wealth woman in her 20s said that as her husband's village and her village are close they know each other very well. When he was grade 11 she was grade seven and he was helping her in studying. He became her first boyfriend. They agreed to get married when she complete education and they promised not to have premarital sex. After she completed grade 12 they went to Haramaya and they stayed there for some days. Her husband sent elders to her parents to ask their permission to get married. Her father was offended as he was aspiring for her to join college; however since it was her wish he could do nothing and he accepted the offer. Then she went back to her family until the wedding was prepared.

The rich young woman (26) said her aunt and uncle raised their orphaned nephew as their own child and convinced him to marry her (in the area marrying a cousin is permitted). He accepted and he sent elders to her parents' home. Accordingly, her parents accepted his offer and she got married in 2001. She did not have a chance to choose her husband; she simply got married according to her parents' decision.

Establishing an independent household

The middle wealth woman (KL) said young couples commonly live with the husband's parents, which means that the girl does not have any privacy and if she faces divorce she leaves the home without any property.

The middle wealth young woman (23) said that the problem of most adolescent girls as they grow up these days is dropping out from school and getting married without assets. As a result of this they do not have the capacity to establish an independent household and they have to live with their parents-in-law and they work and farm and use products together. The couple does not have their own property; rather it is perceived that the property belongs to her husband's parents. This is bad for the girl if she gets divorced because if she leaves she will not take any resources with her.

The middle wealth teenager (17) said that in 2010 her husband got a gift of farmland from his parents and they have been producing maize and potatoes.

Having children

Of the women interviewed:

The women in their 30s:

- The rich woman (32) has no children and is seeking treatment for infertility.
- The middle wealth woman (KL – 33) has four daughters (18, 12, 6 years and 6 months⁵); by this information she would have been 15 when she had her first baby.
- The poor woman (32) has three daughters (11, 9, 1) and a son (5) which would make her 21 when she had her first baby.

The women in their 20s:

- The rich woman (26) has three daughters (7, 5, 4) and two sons (9, 10 months) which would make her 17 when she had her first baby.
- The middle wealth woman (22) has two daughters (3, 1 month); she was 19 for her first baby.
- The poor woman (25) has one son (2).

The women in their teens:

- The rich teenager (17) has a baby.
- The middle wealth teenager (17) has a son (3) and a daughter (3 months). She would have been 14 when she had her son.
- The poor teenager (16) has no children.

The middle wealth woman (22) said that the number of children young couples have nowadays has reduced as most of them have started to use contraceptives.

The rich teenager (17) said she delivered her child peacefully in her parents' home with the help of a traditional birth attendant (TBA) and she did not face complications or problems.

⁵ Different information was recorded for the same respondent in a separate module: she is also recorded as having five children, aged 16, 13, 12, 9, and 7 years old.

The middle wealth teenager (17) has two children (a daughter, 3 months, and a son 3 years old). The respondent was circumcised when she was about five years old. When she gave birth to her children she did not face any problem. In both cases she delivered with the help of a TBA.

Community participation

Some women reported participating little in community management and activities; their husbands tend to have more roles in the community. The middle wealth teenager (17) said she does not participate in the youth or women's organisation as she is not a member. Similarly, she does not participate in *kebele* or sub-*kebele* office or health related interventions. They have not joined an *equb* or *iddir*. Her husband has some roles in the community: he is leader of a 1-5 household network and village development group. Her husband pays land tax in the name of his father of about 20 birr per year. The rich young woman (26) said her participation in the community is very low because as she has many small children mostly she stays at home caring for them. However her husband has a few roles in the community: he is a leader of a 1-5 household network and village development group. The rich teenager (17) said that as she is a student her participation in the community is very low. She did not participate in the youth or women's organisation or the milk processing cooperative as she is not a member.

However even women who participate little still contribute in terms of joining the free community works. The poor woman (32) said her participation in the community is low. She does not participate in the youth or women's organisation as she is not a member. Similarly, she does not participate in *kebele* or sub-*kebele* office or health related interventions. Similarly, her husband's participation in the community is low since except Friday he works at the mill house always a full day without rest. As they have no farmland she and her husband do not pay tax or other cash contributions. However she participates by contributing labour. For instance, last year the household did make any cash contributions but she assisted in labour for the construction of the religious school, and in digging and constructing a latrine.

Gender inequities

The women and children's representative said that the challenge is that whenever women are called to be taught how to protect their rights, in most cases they do not come. If they encounter certain rights violations they do not report quickly but rather after a certain time, and it is difficult to resolve it quickly after this type of delay. There needs to be further work to get them to accept and value the service they get in protecting their and their children's rights.

However others said there has been improvement. The poor female household head (FF) said the situation of women in the community has improved in the last five years. This is because due to the awareness raising education provided, some women have started to report cases of domestic abuse. The successful female household head (EE) said women have started to report cases of gender based violence or conflict with their husbands to responsible bodies such as local elders up to the wereda court and there have been successful cases.

The community perception is that there has been a big improvement in women's enjoyment of rights to own land and right to property when divorcing or as a widow. Some reported views included:

- The successful man (BB) said there has been a great change in the social equity of women in the community. For example, the government has maintained women's right to own land, get equal share of the property after divorce, own property and lead the household when her husband dies, participating in politics and the like.
- The middle wealth woman said that due to the efforts by the Women's Associations there have been various achievements whereby widows and divorced women have taken cases of rights based violence to the *wereda* court and been successful in getting their share of properties. The

problem is that some women still fear to take their cases as they perceive they would not be successful.

- The poor female household head (FF) said that on divorce women have started to claim their right to get a share of the assets. As an example, she knows a woman, whose husband's family dislike her and forced her to leave her home when her husband died but finally she accused them at the *wereda* court and she was successful.
- A middle wealth teenage girl said that unlike nowadays when her mother got divorced women's rights were not respected; she left her father's home without taking anything and the lack of money exposed her to be illiterate unlike other children in her village.
- A successful female-headed household inherited their chat farm when her husband died and from her profit she has built a house for herself and one for her daughter.

However, there are still some views that rights have not changed so much. For example the poor man (DD) said that unless she has got grown up children, a widow must be inherited by one of her in-laws and that because of the severe land shortage fathers do not give *miraza* (land gift) to girls, only to boys. Also it still seems that priority is given to having boys since parents emphasise that it will be the boy who will remain in that area while girls will get married and move away. Community members said that if a couple only have a girl the husband likes to marry another wife so as to get a boy, but they do not mind if they get boys only. Women also want sons: the wife in the middle wealth household (KL) has five daughters and said that if she had a son she would not want to have more children but as all her children are daughters she would like to have either one or two sons. In general it seems that mothers are inclined to give more care to older female youth as they help her in domestic work. Similarly, fathers are inclined to give good care to older male youth.

In terms of economic opportunities, a number of respondents thought there had been progress and increased opportunities for women:

- The *kebele* chair said that regarding access to land, there is a shortage of land in Adele Keke and this holds true for women too but in general, they have got good economic opportunities like selling milk, shops, small businesses, and the like.
- The poor female household head (FF) said that the economic situation and capacity of women has strengthened as there are a few women who have become successful in trading, mainly milk trading.
- The successful female household head (EE) said the attitude of society looking at woman as weak has changed now, since there are some women who are successful traders.

A 32 year old successful milk trader provided further insight into the ambitions and possibilities for young women in the community:

- Young women in the community are trying to strengthen their economic situation so as not to be dependent on their husbands. If women achieve this they will not face any gender based violence from their husband. If they do not feel at ease in their marriage women prefer to divorce so as to be free and happy. The leading adult female role models in the area are those who are involved in trading milk and goods as they have strengthened their economic condition and are improving their housing and getting better items for the family, especially for their children. Even though these women did not get a chance of attending school they are giving great emphasis to their child's education and caring for their children in a good way. Culturally and politically they are quite active in doing what is expected from them but in most cases they focus on their own works. They do not need leisure time since they are hard workers.

In terms of political participation, the poor female household head (FF) said the participation of women in political issues has increased as over time *kebele* officials have been encouraging women

to attend meetings and be involved in awareness raising education programmes. The poor man (DD) said women are participating in politics in the *kebele* as well as the *wereda*. For example, his wife is currently a militia and also a member of the *kebele* council. She is also a party member.

The women and children's representative said that her in-laws did not want her to go to different villages informing women about their rights with other officials as sometimes she walks in the evening time. For this reason, and as her husband is older, he does not value what she does. There were instances when she faced disputes with her husband and they were reconciled through elders. The first wife of her husband also prefers that she stay home and take care of her children. Therefore she has resigned from the role and the *kebele* officials selected the women vice *kebele* council speaker to be the *kebele* women and child affairs representative.

Female circumcision is still practised, if not openly and underage marriage for girls is still prevalent.

Social equity interventions

Assistance to poor people

The main intervention for poor people is PSNP support and emergency food aid. The NGO CISP is providing credit to some PSNP beneficiaries.

Some poor people reported being exempted from paying cash contributions, and contributing labour instead.

There are programmes run by the HEWs with the support of UNICEF to screen malnourished pregnant women, mothers and infants under five and provide them with treatment including nutritious supplements.

Some poor people are exempted from health costs. The *kebele* cabinet write a letter to the district administrative body, then together with the social affairs officer they give them a card to get free medication. Until now two individuals who suffer from diabetes have been getting free medication. Last year a new system was created whereby first a patient brings a letter from his/her respective *kebele* to the *wereda* administration. Then the *wereda* administration together with the social affairs and disaster prevention office assesses and screens such patients and finally they are provided with a card. With such a card the patient, including his/her family members gets free health care service. For this service the *wereda* administration assigns a budget and makes payment to the health centre (HC) on a quarterly basis, meaning the HCs provide this free medication on credit in the sense that later (at the end of every quarter) the HCs will receive the cost of such medication from the *wereda* administration. As this system is new only a few patients have benefited so far.

Interventions to help vulnerable people

Vulnerable people – elderly who cannot work, people with disabilities, orphans – get PSNP direct support.

Wereda officials said some children are abandoned by women (presumably when the mother is not married) on the roadside and the authorities will take them to orphanages to be cared for. In consultation with court they have given some of these children to two NGOs working in Dire Dawa (ProPRIDE and Mission) to be adopted and four children have been taken abroad. The wereda social affairs office also has been linking children with very difficult conditions with public officials (one child with one sponsor) so as to cover school uniforms, educational materials and other necessities. In 2009 UN Global Fund provided some funds which were given to some orphan and vulnerable children (OVCs); some have bought sheep for rearing, others bought shoe shining materials etc. They think there are 400 OVCs who need support in the district.

ProPRIDE is working with PLWHA in the *wereda* but there are no activities in Adele Keke itself.

Promoting equity for women

Legislation

The *kebele* chair said that the law favours women to own land equally with men, especially, divorced women are granted rights to inherit and access land. Widows also have rights to own the property of their husbands and manage it as household head.

Awareness-raising

The Women's Association organises meetings for members to inform them about their rights and how to exercise them. Whenever members face conflict with their husband and gender based violence, the Association leader together with the *kebele* women and children's affairs representative supports them to resolve the case with elders. If this is not possible they support and encourage them to take the case to *wereda* court level so as to protect their rights. The leader informs women about their rights and how to improve their livelihood according to her training provided at *wereda* level. She collects the annual contribution and gives it to the *wereda* body. In case of marital conflict or gender based violence she tries to resolve the case with elders and women and child representatives of the *kebele*. Some women only come when the case reaches a severe condition, and others do not report at all. To resolve this problem, last year a woman from each village was selected to mobilise members found in their respective village for meetings. This has not yet been successful. In order to ensure women benefit from the existing service she suggested the need to inform women about the value of the Women's Association.

Women's organisations

Each *kebele* in the *wereda* has a **Women's Association**. At the *wereda* level the Women's Association does not have an office. The office of the Women's Association during the *Derg* regime that became a bakery later is now idle and. *Wereda* officials suggested giving this home to the association to help the association strengthen its activities.

The Women's Association in Adele Keke has 900 members (but the Women's Association leader was not quite sure as she cannot read and write and the secretary keeps the record of the members). The Association undertakes the awareness-raising activities described above. In addition in recent years efforts have been made to facilitate access to economic opportunities by organising women (who know each other well) in small groups at village level whereby each of them takes it in turn to collect milk from all members one day and uses the money from the sale of the milk for whatever she likes. This is a kind of *equb*. Furthermore, from the members of the Women's Association about 53 members have joined the *Amessa Anani* milk processing cooperative, which aims to become functional in the near future. Harerghe Catholic Secretariat has been supporting them by building an office and providing milk processing equipment. Last year this cooperative bought fertiliser from another area and sold it to the community members, saving the profit, and they plan to do the same this year.

The Association has no resources. Annually each member pays 3.25 *birr* and this money is given to the *wereda*. The Association leader said this money is used for support in handling cases related to women's rights violations, for instance, when a woman goes to court the *wereda* women and child affairs officer joins her and the membership contributions are used to cover transport and other related expenses. The membership fee is also used to pay per diem to participants when they go on training or to meetings of Women's Association leaders. The problem is that most members do not come to meetings and do not pay the annual contribution on time.

The *kebele* chair's wife (BE) is a member of the Women's Association. She said that the Association has been successful in making members aware of their rights through education from the Association leader and the *kebele* women and children's representative. However apart from the Association has not achieved anything else so far; she said the Association is passive, there is a lack

of commitment by the Association leaders and lack of strong support from responsible higher bodies. and it needs to work more.

The middle wealth man's wife (KL) said the Women's Association has had various achievements with widows and divorced women taking cases of rights based violation to the *wereda* court and have been successful in getting their share of property. However, the Association is still very weak and it needs to strengthen its.

The poor man's wife (TF) said that as a member of the Association she has benefited in the sense that as her husband is extravagant, instead she can decide how to use the credit she gets. If he disagrees or argues she does not accept this. Recently when she was elected to train as a militia member her husband did not want to let her but she insisted.

According to the *wereda's* Women's League officer, the **Women's League** was established in 2007. The Women's League is working from the *wereda's* Women Affairs office. Now the League has a total of 4,609 members (3,362 rural women, 535 urban women, 88 civil servants, four DAs, 70 HEWs and 36 women organised under Microfinance Institute /IMX in urban areas). The Women's League is comprised of a group of women who become members of the political party and are exemplary in terms of their economic, social and political activities. The aim of the League is to make more women become members of the party and promote political and developmental activities such as good governance. The problem with regard to the League is a serious budget and manpower shortage: only one Women's League officer is working at *wereda* level and she finds it difficult to cover all 38 *kebeles* in the *wereda*. Moreover, the budget is too small with the annual budget for this year at 4,000 *birr* so she cannot go to training and meetings arranged in other places that are far away. For example she has been invited to attend an experience sharing programme in Adama town but as the budget they have is small she will not be able to go.

The Women's Association leader said that the Women's League was introduced in Adele Keke last year and the Women Association members who are also members of the political party are known as the Women's League. However, in practice the Women's League has not been implemented yet in the *kebele*.

The Women's Association leader did not know about the **Women's Federation**.

Youth policies and programmes

Youth organisations

Recently the *kebele* manager became the secretary of the Youth Association and is starting to organise some activities. However the problem is that Youth Association members are not interested in attending meetings. In November he started discussions with unemployed youth to encourage them to organise themselves into groups to start income-generating activities. The idea is to set up three such groups. So far one group has progressed further than the others: this newly founded youth cooperative in the *kebele* includes 12 members and they contribute 5 *birr* weekly, depositing it in the Oromiya Credit and Saving Organisation at Kersa town.

Youth livelihoods

Unemployed youth are being organised into three small groups to get credit and start income generating activities (see above).

Youth and HIV/AIDS

2% of the *wereda* budget is allocated to HIV/AIDS protection. The *wereda* Health office and HIV/AIDS committee have been primarily responsible for running the HIV/AIDS programmes. The women and youth affairs office, finance and development office and *wereda* administration office are members of the *wereda* HIV/AIDS committee. Apparently as a prerequisite for marriage some youths have

started getting HIV tests. However little work has been done on HIV/AIDS in the rural kebeles, especially with women and youths. Some of the government youth programmes reported are:

- There are centres of information on HIV/AIDS in the *wereda* in DStv and recreational centres. Since 2010 the NGO ProPRIDE has been working in the *wereda* on youth and HIV/AIDS. ProPRIDE has established an HIV/AIDS committee in Kersa town, which comprised the vice head of the district health office, the women's affairs officer, and other civil servants. ProPRIDE set up a DStv centre (with a 38" TV and satellite dish) where youth come to watch football and where there also provide awareness raising and peer education. As a result now many youths (boys and girls) are getting information about HIV and other issues. Whenever there is a champions league about 300 or more birr is collected from people watching each match; this income is planned to be used to strengthen youth and HIV related activities in the area. ProPRIDE is working in this programme through volunteers. However, these activities are only implemented in the *wereda* capital town, and not yet in other areas. *Wereda* officials suggested it would be good if these activities were also introduced in rural areas where the awareness about HIV is less.
- Up to 2004, before the establishment of the youth and sport bureau, the *wereda* HIV/AIDS prevention and control office was training teachers about HIV transmission and life skills, who cascaded the training to club members and on to other students of same gender through peer-to-peer education. Volunteers also have been providing awareness-raising education for out-of-school youth.
- Since 2005 there have been community conversations to educate youth to prevent themselves from HIV infection, with Oromiya Development Association (ODA) covering the cost of coffee and tea for the community conversation.
- Youths mostly travel to Djibouti and Jijiga area to search for better paid work. For example, a servant can earn up to 900 birr per month. However, their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS is high. To encourage youth to be involved in income-generating activities in the locality and not migrate, six youth groups have been organised in the *wereda*. Through microfinance loans they have started to engage in some activities such as barber's shop, poultry, mini cafe, etc. so as to support their lives. The microfinance institution also gave them training on how to start businesses and save money.

Haramaya University has been doing surveys on HIV/AIDS and other health related issues but the university does not give feedback to the *wereda* office about the findings of the studies and does not provide any intervention such as capacity building training for health officers. It would be useful if the University could disseminate the findings and undertake other relevant practice based activities. The *wereda* official said that the mini study conducted by *wereda* health office at secondary school shows that about 0.005% of girls included in the study were found to be HIV positive. The official said that in the area, compared with other age groups, the prevalence of HIV infection among youth is higher and therefore it would be good to strengthen activities to equip youth better to protect themselves from HIV infection, other risks and associated consequences.

There are no reported HIV/AIDS cases in Adele Keke and there are no youth recreation centres or HIV/AIDS youth programmes.

Youth family planning services

Wereda officials said that since 2001 a youth friendly service has started in two health centres where every fortnight students are mobilised to come to health centres and to get reproductive health education. The Oromiya Development Association supports this programme by providing refresher training for nurses. In this programme youths are advised on how to protect their physical, mental and social well-being by avoiding risky activities such as unsafe sex, which may expose them to HIV and other sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancy. However there is no special reproductive health service or programme for adolescents in Adele Keke.

Youth recreation

In the *wereda* interventions to provide recreational facilities for youth has started recently and a youth centre is under construction at Kersa town (although it is not clear if this will be a separate centre from the ProPRIDE supported centre). Youth can watch football at the ProPRIDE TV centre. The *wereda* also plans to open a library soon.

However there is no recreation centre for youths in Adele Keke.

Fields of action /domains of power in 2012

Cross-cutting

Climate change

There are strong perceptions of climate change. People think rains are more unpredictable and often delayed. The successful man (BB) thought over the last ten years the rains have decreased and heat increased. The poor female household head (FF) said there has more rain shortage and increased frost, and as a result crops have failed about four times in the last 10 years. The middle wealth man (CC) said the climatic condition has changed dramatically, with increasing cold, and over five years ago strong frost that people nicknamed 'mass destruction' as it affected people, chat and everything on earth in the area. He said groundwater depends on the amount of the rainwater, and in the last five years, the groundwater has lowered as the amount of rainfall has reduced. The poor man (DD) said that recently the rain has become limited in the area because the old eucalyptus trees which extended from Dhengego to Harar alongside the main asphalt road were cut down during the construction of the asphalt road. He also said the size of the lake 5-10 years ago was very large and it even came up to the edge of the asphalt road; since these eucalyptus trees were cut down, the lake has got smaller. He said this has resulted in more frost which damages the cereal crops and chat and vegetables.

Environment

Watershed management

In Kersa *wereda*, there are six major watershed areas: (1) Kosum, (2) Gola, (3) Adele, (4) Kersa, (5) Bululo and (6) Dire Dawa. There are also small watersheds which can generate income for the *wereda* and the communities. The *wereda* officials said they are undertaking reforestation activities around these watershed areas. There is a policy of forest protection, and the officials give training to the communities to increase awareness and ownership of forest protection.

A number of watershed management activities are carried out in Adele Keke, supervised by the Natural Resource Management committee and disseminated through the development teams and 1-5 networks. The activities include: planting trees, and constructing and maintaining bunds, terraces, check dams and eyebrow basins etc. Areas that were vulnerable to landslides and deep gorges during the rainy season are now protected through planting eucalyptus trees on the mountain areas and establishing protected lands between Garbi to Adele village and the forestry lands on the Keke and Gole hills. The work on watershed management is undertaken as PSNP public works and other FFW and community labour contributions.

The NRM DA said a recent successful activity was the re-planting of trees and construction of bunds on Mount Keke, to replace those damaged and removed illegally. The NRM DA said that some problems are that there is a shortage of tools to undertake the work, there is no training on watershed management and the follow up or emphasis given to NRM given by the *wereda* agriculture office and the *wereda* court is sometimes weak. For example, where there is damage to natural resources and there is an appeal to these offices, they do not immediately respond and give decisions.

The successful man (BB) said erosion has decreased in the last ten years as the community has learned about constructing terraces and bunds as well as planting trees in mountain areas and in their compounds and this has protected the soil from being washed away by erosion. The poor female household head (FF) said the government has been mobilising the community to protect and promote the environment by involving in different activities, including through the PSNP PWs on stone and mountain bunds to prevent soil erosion. She said such activities have been done successfully and have helped those farmers who have farmland in the Mount Keke area by preventing their soil from being washed out. The poor man (DD) said the government is telling the community to plant trees in their farm, compound and on the mountain areas like Keke and Gole, but the people near Keke Mountain destroyed the terracing and trees that had been planted by the community.

Trees

Tree planting is done through PSNP and other community labour. *Wereda* officials said that 10,000-20,000 *birr* is allocated by the *wereda* for purchasing tree seeds managed by the *wereda* Land Use and Environmental Protection office. This office works with the Natural Resource Department on seedling production. Currently, the following is the community land policy including forest in Kersa *wereda*: farm lands are land with 0-30% slope; forest land > 60% slope; grazing land 30-60% slope. This policy has been implemented but with problems as there is land shortage and population growth. Officials said the benefits of the forest in the *wereda* are: it protects against air pollution; to protect soil and water conservation; the community uses it for firewood and house construction; social services like health extension, DA houses, schools are constructed using these forests; it also used for profit. However, there are some problems in connection with the forest policy in Kersa *wereda*. Land shortage and population increase have led to forest clearances (for example, recently, in Adele Keke, forest covering 18.1 hectares was cleared illegally by some members of the community who wanted to use the land). Project budgets are not satisfactory and do not come on time. There are staff shortages at *wereda* and *kebele* level.

The illegal cutting of the eucalyptus forest on Mount Keke is described by the *kebele* officials as organised theft. To replace the cleared forest, the *kebele* is working closely with the *wereda* and the community to plant trees and give the necessary follow up and care to the planted trees.

Three years ago a seedling nursery was started in Adele Keke, growing coffee, eucalyptus, *Iusunia*, *suspania* (both are used as livestock food), *acacia*, and *juniperus procera* ('*tid*' in Amharic). At the beginning, seedlings worth more than 4,000 *birr* were given by the *wereda* agriculture office. After this, the community collected different seedlings from different areas and brought them to the nursery site in the *kebele*. The seedlings are in good condition and growing successfully. The head of the nursery is the natural resources management (NRA) DA. He said the only problem is water shortage. The PSNP beneficiaries protect and nurse the seedlings in the nursery centre; there are no employees. The seedling nursery could be improved if the *wereda* water and natural resource office allocated a budget for the centre and employed a professional who had experience with seedling nurseries, and if the government or the community was able to hire guard(s) so as to protect it from robberies. The NRM DA manages the process from sowing seeds to distributing the seedlings to the users (i.e. farmers). There are some problems like the lack of plastic tubes for transplanting the seeds and shortage of supplies such as rakes, watering cans, and the like.

Here are some views of community members:

- The successful man (BB) said there is good tree cover of land in the *kebele* and he has some eucalyptus trees in his compound.
- The successful female household head (EE) said in the last ten years most of the community members have been building new homes or others have been repairing their homes and

because of this the eucalyptus trees found and tree coverage in the *kebele* has been greatly reduced. She used her eucalyptus trees to build her home.

- Another respondent said old eucalyptus trees along the main road were cut down when the road was asphalted and there has been less rainfall and the lake has got smaller as a result.
- The *kebele* chair said that as the community is planting trees in their compounds and in hilly and gorge areas, soil erosion has decreased greatly compared with former times.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that at the Ethiopian Millennium a lot of forests were planted by students and others who came from Bati area. They have also planted on her land. But after certain time these trees have got dried out. She said her household have planted about 300 eucalyptus trees on the main road near the area where Hararghe Catholic Secretariat built a home for the women's cooperative (which was built on her land). The household has been giving good care to these trees. As a result, the trees have been growing well.
- The poor woman (JJ) said that her household have small eucalyptus trees and she protects them.

Grazing land

The only grazing area is the pasture land at the edge of Lake Adele. When the lake starts to dry up in winter (*bega*), the community cut water plants (*allaanduu*) for animal fodder and graze their cattle on the lake shore. The *kebele* chair said there is no fencing and protection of grazing land.

The rich woman (FE) said her household has grazing land near the lake where they have been feeding their cattle. She said most households in the community do not have grazing land and instead they feed their cattle only residues of maize and sorghum, and most households suffer from shortage of livestock food, especially when the community experienced crop failure as happened last year due to drought. The poor woman (JJ) said that her household has no grazing land and they face food shortages for their three sheep (obtained on credit) and small cow (obtained from share breeding).

Soil fertility

The *kebele* chair said the land in Adele Keke is fertile and is suitable for growing any crops and vegetables. Formerly, some lands were eroded and lost fertility but now the community has been planting trees and constructing bunds on the hilly and mountainous areas of land and this is maintaining the fertility of the land. The middle wealth woman (KL) said erosion is not a major problem in the community as only farmlands found in mountainous areas are exposed to erosion.

Infrastructure

Roads and transport

Adele Keke is very well-connected to the outside world. The main road is asphalted (by the Chinese in 2006) and well-maintained; there no plans for improving the road further. It gives Adele Keke residents easy access to nearby Haramaya market town and to urban centres Aweday, Dire Dawa and Harar; people living in the more remote areas of the *kebele* may have to walk one and a half hours to reach the main road. A number of respondents said the main asphalt road has brought a great change in the community's life, primarily through giving residents access to take chat and other produce to markets. Another advantage is being able to get to the health centre quicker and access to other health services, for emergencies and for pregnant women to deliver their children.

There is frequent transport to all nearby towns and cities, by mini-bus fares are: 5-6 *birr* to Haramaya, 7 *birr* to Kersa, 10 *birr* to Aweday, 15 *birr* to Dire Dawa and 10 *birr* to Harar. People transporting their goods to sell at markets (the majority taking chat to Aweday) use the standard mini-buses and do not need to hire their own transport vehicles.

On the main road car accidents have increased. The *kebele* chair, who himself had a serious car accident in 2008, said cars go very fast and recommended that speed control barriers are constructed. A number of respondents reported relatives having car accidents, and the effects of this, including the expense of treatment and loss of earnings or productivity. A middle wealth woman in her 20s said her father had a very bad car accident and almost died, while a middle wealth teenage girl said her father-in-law could not work for two years after a car accident. The *kebele* chair's wife said that they had to pay 30,000 *birr* for her husband's medical treatment following his car accident; they paid this partly through a credit they got from the NGO CISP. The *kebele* chair said that when he was injured he could not get any support from the car drivers as they were famers (and presumably did not have insurance). A PSNP graduate (49) said her son was a driver and had been in three car accidents; for the third he was jailed for four years. She said that as a result they have been exposed to so many expenses and they have to take care of his children. People used not to build houses along the main road as they were worried about car accidents; now they are more used to the road and no longer fear this, and are starting to build houses by the road and a number of respondents said they had plans to build second houses to use as shops along the road.

Within the *kebele* there are internal roads to all villages; most can be used by vehicles but it is not common to find cars in the *kebele*, while some in the more hilly areas are not passable by car. Within the *kebele* donkeys are used to transport chat, water and other items. Some roads in the *kebele* are old roads from the Imperial time that have deteriorated; others are new. It is still hard to travel village-to-village in the rainy season, in particular across floodwater gorges, but the PSNP public works have done a lot of improvement and maintenance work. The poor woman (JJ) said the repair of these internal roads and bridges has let her and other community members move better within the community and walk more easily to the main road where they can take a car to travel to other urban centres. Some residents of villages that are not reachable by road cited road infrastructure as their primary development need.

Electricity

Around 2003 the technology for using biogas for lighting was introduced to the community. This was then surpassed by electrification: the community connected to an electricity supply in 2005 through its own initiative and paid from community contributions. The *kebele* chair says this happened because he bought a generator for his home and when people saw this they developed their own interest to get electricity. A committee was established and he took a leading role on this in collecting the contributions and contacting Ethiopia Electric Power Corporation (EEPC). Initially most people from his village contributed 500 *birr* each and others also paid about 800/700 *birr*; different respondents reported varying amounts: some said it was 200 *birr*, other said 100 *birr* and others a different amount. The process almost failed as some people worried that the collected money would be wasted or misused by the committee established to handle it. EEPC accepted their request and let them have the electricity by receiving the money contributed and agreeing to be paid the remaining money later; they later cancelled this credit in recognition of Adele Keke as a model for other *kebeles* in how they organised their community contribution. To get meters (that count the electric watts they utilise) every household paid 300 *birr*. The problem is that on a monthly basis some are asked to pay an electricity bill of more than 600 *birr*, which may arise due to a mistake. These individuals have complained to EEPC.

In 2006 the community was visited by federal level officials to acknowledge the community's efforts and the changes that have resulted from having electricity. Today 12 of the 25 villages have electricity. The poor who cannot afford the connection rate can connect to their neighbours for a monthly service fee. The remaining 13 villages have also collected money, about 200,083 *birr*, and are waiting to get connected. There has been a delay in EEPC providing this connection and in the meantime some villages have illegally connected to other villages. This is dangerous and reportedly at least two people have died from electric shocks from illegal connections.

Following electrification most of the community members have benefited. The payment of electricity fee is very low compared to the cost of kerosene. There is big change in the kind of household equipment the community now has (e.g. TVs, satellite receivers, mobile phones and rechargeable batteries). There are mill houses that run on electric power. A rich girl in her teens said that formerly, their mill was working with water but since the *kebele* got electricity the mill has started to work on electric power and the speed of the mill has increased.

In the evenings people can work (the wife in the successful male headed household (FE) said that having electricity enables them to work more, as their household can now sell in the evening in their shop and their Coca Cola distribution centre), study (the successful female household head (EE) said her children can now study in the evenings without being disturbed by moths) and socialise (especially men who now sit together chewing chat late into the night).

Communications

The *kebele* administration used to have a landline for *wereda* officials to tell *kebele* officials about important meetings and directives, but it broke five years ago and although the *kebele* has contacted the Telecommunication Corporation to try to get it fixed, at present it is still not working. There is no mobile receiver in Adele Keke; the community get mobile reception in the *kebele* thanks to receivers in other neighbouring areas. Mobile phones were introduced in 2006; last year there were an estimated 670 mobiles in the community, with approximately 80% of the community having access to use a phone or owning one. Respondents reported using phones to communicate with other traders to know when to sell chat and other goods and when to buy grain; to keep in touch with relatives; for *wereda* and *kebele* officials to keep in touch.

Water

In the *wereda* there are six types of water source: 1) deep well (depth of 80-300m with water drawn up by motor); 2) shallow well (depth of 60m with hand pump); 3) hand dug well (10-15m, hand pump); 4) spring with distribution system (where water has been tested and chlorine is added); 5) same kind of spring but it is closed at night and opened in the day); and 6) motorised pump supply. There are 12 functioning deep wells and 14 under construction; 106 shallow wells; 41 hand dug wells; 12 protected springs; and the motorised pump schemes are only available in two towns. The hand-dug well tends to have the lowest water quality. Most of these water sources have been constructed in the last 4 years, mainly by the water bureau. Hararghe Catholic Secretariat (HCS) sometimes supports by providing machines for digging. As they require machinery, shallow well construction is coordinated by the zonal level, and deep wells by the regional level. In 2010/2011 the plan was to dig five deep wells but only one was constructed. The others may be constructed in the near future. Springs are constructed at *wereda* level and hand dug wells are also constructed at *wereda* and *kebele* level by community participation. Over time the utilisation of sources of water has been increasing in the *wereda* and *wereda* officials reported that the *wereda* today has good access to water.

There are no rivers in Adele Keke, only Lake Adele which dries up outside the rainy season, and is salty, therefore not appropriate for irrigation or human/animal use. There is one spring in Hurre village. Adele Keke used to suffer from acute water shortage but now has an increasing number of water sources and most villages today enjoy good access to water, although some lowland areas still have shortages during the dry season. There are no shallow water wells; the community gets its water from deep water wells with hand pumps are used to pipe up water for drinking.

There are water reservoirs in Chifra village and Kajero village, which used to be used for drinking but now is used for animals and washing. There are a number of water wells dug by machine near Lake Adele, and some in the gorge area near Mount Keke. Pumps are used to pipe up this water from the underground reserves for irrigation purposes. There are hand dug water wells on individual farms. Water harvesting is also practised on some farm.

Urban development

The *kebele* centre, Adele Tabia village, is very small and differs from other villages in that it has the *kebele* offices and the vet's office and the de facto health post (the HEW's rented room). It is in the centre of the *kebele* and very close to the main road. Adele Keke is next to Adele 01 *kebele* which is already becoming a suburban sprawl of Haramaya town; it seems likely that eventually this sprawl will encompass Adele Keke as well. (Administratively Haramaya district has already tried to incorporate some of Adele Keke's villages but Kersa *wereda* has prevented any boundary change.) A number of respondents said that they would like Adele Keke to become more urbanised with modern lifestyles. Not much detail was provided on what characteristics of an urbanised modern lifestyle they wanted; one respondent mentioned increased employment opportunities for youths; the poor teenage girl (16) said she wants Adele Keke to have a market centre to buy and sell some crops and consumption goods.

Livelihoods and recent events/changes

Generally

Independence of the farming economy and future potentials

The *wereda* Drought and Disaster Prevention Office undertakes early warning monitoring activities in the *wereda*. The *wereda* officials mentioned that there are two *kebeles* (Bereka and Baha Kosum) where there is a chronic problem of rain shortage and lack of access to drinking water; Adele Keke is not classified as having this problem. According to the *wereda* officials, there is a target to double agricultural outputs in the Growth and Transformation Plan. Accordingly, from 2009/10-2010/11 the community received practical trainings and understandings from different professionals like DAs and other officials, and the community is using this knowledge and skills and producing agricultural outputs.

Adele Keke has suffered poor farming years recently – see Table 3 for a summary: respondents reported serious drought leading to crop failure in 2004/5 (which was taken into account when the community was assessed and included in the PSNP) and 2010; one woman said crops had failed four years out of the last ten due to rain shortage and frost. Others say the groundwater reserves have got lower as the rains have decreased. On the other hand, natural resource management interventions are thought by some to be helping improve soil fertility and prevent soil erosion, and irrigation schemes are increasing.

Most households can cover their food consumption for about eight months in a good harvest year. The gap is filled by the cash crops like chat, and some work as daily labourers. When rains are delayed many suffer increased food shortages; no rain until June is a difficult year while rain starting in March will mean there is enough food that year for people and livestock. 348 of the *kebele*'s total 1,306 households currently rely on PSNP support; that is, 27% of the *kebele*'s households get PSNP support. However, not all household members are covered. 1,291 people out of the total population of 7,098 receive PSNP; that is, 18% of the population.

Table 3 Weather history

2004/5	very bad	severe drought
2005	bad	untimely excessive rain destroyed crops ready for harvest – seeds provided to the affected
2009	bad	flood swept away 10 houses, livestock and other assets
2010	bad	rain shortage reduced crops harvested, lack of grass for livestock
2011	very bad	crops of almost all farmers failed due to drought; severe frost Oct-Nov
Overall	bad	In recent years – rains always 1-2 months late, except in 2011 when came on time catching farmers unready with seed not sown.

With improved access to urban markets, chat cash-crop production has taken off in a big way, benefitting many individual farmers and their households. *Kebele* officials think that all wealth groups in the community have improved their livelihoods; today most of the community are classified as 'middle wealth' and poverty has decreased. The *kebele* manager is proud that Adele Keke is 'a rich place' and *wereda* officials think that it will not need PSNP in the future. As compared with four years ago, community members estimated that 45% of households have had a great improvement and 30% some improvement in their living conditions; in total 70-75% of households are now better off but the degree of changes varies from household to household and 25-30% of the households have not shown any change. The respondents stated that there is no household that has become worse off.

Adele Keke is classed as having a high potential for irrigation so it is expected that there are still opportunities for irrigation that are not yet developed but will be in the future. As more and more farmland is used to grow chat, the community is highly dependent on this one crop. There is some, but small, diversification into growing vegetables (for consumption and cash crop) and milk and milk products (for trade). The *wereda* has identified Adele Keke as a potential specialist milk producing area. Farming households are also developing non-farm businesses e.g. transport, petty retail trade and wholesale trade, facilitated by the easy access to the main road and multiple nearby towns and markets.

The main livelihood strategy by the landless or land poor households is working as daily agricultural labourers. There is little migration, seasonal or long-term but some people, young men in particular, leave for employment opportunities in nearby urban centres (e.g. in construction).

The rich man (29) said that five years ago, there were re-settlement opportunities for the members of the community including youths but this has recently been stopped.

Effects of inflation and other events affecting livelihoods

Inputs such as improved seeds, cereal grains, fertilisers, pesticides have become very expensive. The rise in the price of inputs has been a hindrance for some households, especially poor households who cannot afford fertiliser and improved seed. The price of outputs has also risen, including for chat and milk. 1kg of the best quality chat, exported to Djibouti and Somaliland (and sometimes to Addis) is worth about 1,500 *birr* (another respondent said 1kg could fetch 2-3,000 *birr*). People now prefer to drink less milk and sell it instead. Potatoes have risen in price only in the last two years while the prices of onions has decreased as the production has increased in Adele Keke as well as in other neighbouring PAs. A number of respondents said that because of inflation they preferred to get food rather than cash support from PSNP as they could not buy as much with the cash. The cost of consumption goods (e.g. sugar, salt, oil etc.) has increased, as have household goods such as TVs and satellite receives. As the price of meat has increased greatly people do not buy meat to eat like they were 4 years ago. An elder said people still eat much better than before, despite inflation, and as a result girls are maturing earlier. Three years ago, the price of a TV was 900 *birr* but now it is from 1500-2000 *birr*. The cost of transportation has also increased as a result of the high cost of fuel. Finally, wage rates have also increased. Five years ago, the minimum wage was 10-12 *birr*, but now it has increased to 30-35 *birr*, or other respondents said it was 20 *birr* (with dinner) and 30 *birr* (without dinner).

Over the last two years, farmers have started to get credit using their chat crop as a guarantee, which enables them to keep their chat harvest to sell when the price increases. This, combined with the higher prices commanded for the chat crop mean that in the last two years chat farmers' incomes have increased.

Smallholder Agriculture

Weather and pests in last few years

Respondents reported serious drought leading to crop failure in 2004/5 and 2010; one woman said crops had failed four years out of the last ten due to rain shortage and frost. Farmers reported that pests have been affecting the chat crop. *Wereda* officials said there are cereal crop weeds in the *wereda* that are badly affecting productivity. The weed known as '*Haramla/Azab*' affects sorghum and wheat and exists in Kersa *wereda* in abundance. Some attempts have been made by the government and NGOs to destroy it but they have been unable to destroy this weed.

Land for farming

Farm land allocation

The majority of the farmers have small land holdings of less than 1 hectare. Irrigation is increasing; however no estimates are given of how much of the *kebele* farm land is irrigated. Most irrigated farmland is around Lake Adele where groundwater reserves are being tapped through water wells and pumps; water is also pumped out of gorges near Mount Keke. The higher slopes of the *kebele* are too far from the main water sources for farmers to be able to irrigate their farmlands, although some are trying to dig their own wells.

Land registration

The land registration process started in the *wereda* in 2005 coordinated by the land and environment protection office. The *wereda* officials said that in 2010/11 19,000 land ownership certificates were planned to be issued, of which 30% were issued. In addition 55 certificates were issued for communal land of around 600 hectares. Lands owned by schools, churches and mosques were also registered and certificates issued. However the *kebele* officials said that while three years back a land registration committee was formed at *kebele* level and received training at *wereda* level at Kersa town, land registration has not yet started in the *wereda*, and there is no land registration either in the Kersa *wereda* in general or Adele Keke in particular. Meanwhile the land certificates are understood to be at the *wereda* office. People hope it will start soon. The land registration committee that was trained in 2009/10 could not perform its work as the land was covered by cereal crops and other vegetables and chat. Recently, as the harvest has been collected, the chair said that they are ready to start registering lands in the *kebele* and issue the certificates to the farmers for their land ownership. Here are some community members' experiences:

- The rich woman (FE) said that around 2008 some officials from the district came to the area and they started measuring the land. She expects a few households have got certification that shows their land holding but she is not quite sure. Her household's land was measured but they did not get a certificate; the process paused and she does not know why.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said she had heard that the measurement was incorrect, that's why the process stalled. She said that if the measurement is restarted and the community is able to get certificates, this will have a high value in reducing disputes over land or land boundaries.
- The poor woman (JJ) said her land has not been measured and they are paying land tax in the name of her husband's mother (as she gave him the land). She worries that if her husband dies and the land is measured in the name of his mother, her mother would get the certificate too. She suggested it would be good if land registration is done in the near future so as to prevent disagreement among extended members of various families as there are many households who have been paying land tax in the name of their parents, who give the land to them, when they form their own households.

Sharecropping and renting

Community members rent out their farm land for two to three years in return for sharing the crops. Elderly people and households without labour rely on sharecropping to cultivate their lands. Some people were sharecropping to leave them free to undertake paid agricultural daily labour; some receiving PSNP said the PSNP support enabled them to stop having to do daily labour work, and they were able to cultivate and invest their own farm lands themselves.

Two years ago people used to sign agreement letters for sharecropping and renting farm lands in *kebele* and whenever they faced a dispute over land they were taking their case to *kebele* social court. In the last year a new regulation has been introduced and nothing related to land is handled by the *kebele* social court; instead such cases are taken to the *wereda* court.

The poor female household head (FF) had to sell their assets and take out a loan when her husband was sick with liver disease for a long time (seven years); when he died in 2006/7, to repay the loan they had taken the respondent rented out her farmland for three years. She got the farmland back after the three years.

Some people rent houses, for example, the HEW (who comes from outside the *kebele*) lives in a rented room which serves as the health post. The *kebele* chair has rooms that he rents out.

Contracting (buying) land

Though selling land is illegal, last year a few farmers who have land near the main road have started selling this land as other people want to building houses by the road and open shops there.

Crops and changes – subsistence and cash crops

Subsistence crops grown include sorghum (most common), maize (second most common), barley, wheat, potatoes, sweet potatoes and haricot beans (*boloke*). More and more farmers are growing chat over more of their land. A successful woman farmer (39) said that the most profitable way to use farming land in the community is to cover most of the land with chat as its value is so much higher than other types of crops or vegetables. The poor farmer (DD) said that five years ago his household produced maize and sorghum but in 2008/9 they planted chat on their small farm land as they believe it is very much better in terms of income. Formerly farmers intercropped grains (in particular maize) and other produce (e.g. potatoes) with chat but now this is not so common as farmers said it reduces the productivity of chat. Once planted, it takes three years to reach its first harvest. Once harvested, it grows again without the need for replanting. With irrigation, farmers can have two or three chat harvests a year. Farmers who do not have chat crops want to grow chat.

Now that underground water is being accessed in the area by the lake, it is a good place for growing vegetables; farmers with land there grow tomatoes, onions, radishes, red pepper and potatoes, either for consumption or for sale. Due to this people are selling more vegetables than they did five years ago. It is becoming common that some wholesalers such as Awash Agro Industry from Haramaya come to the area and buy the vegetables.

Farming technologies

Improved seeds

In 2005 a new seed variety of maize called Finer PHV3253 was introduced and many farmers have been using it and producing better outputs of 80 quintal per hectare. Last year 12.5 quintal seed were used by the farmers on 40 hectares of land. This seed is distributed through the cooperative for cash. The service cooperative members (25 farmers) are prioritised to get the seed. Haramaya University has introduced new seed varieties of potato and *boloke*. These seeds have been provided to the community through the financial support of the NGOs CISP and Hararghe Catholic Secretariat. This is a revolving seed distribution, whereby those farmers who get the seed distribute the product of the seed to the remaining farmers. This year CISP distributed apple seed to PSNP beneficiaries and

to some model farmers. As its seed is expensive, 40 *birr* per piece, this was the first time the community had seen it.

Some respondents talked about benefiting from the use of improved seeds (the successful female household head – EE – said she benefited from improved maize, potato and sorghum seeds); a number of poorer respondents said they wish they could afford improved seeds. Here are some examples of feedback from community members:

- The *kebele* chair said he uses fertilisers and improved seeds and of course the prices of these inputs have been increased but as he ploughs his land well and manages it well, he has been getting harvests and this has been changing his livelihood greatly.
- A middle wealth teenage boy said that these days agricultural inputs like fertiliser and improved seeds are very expensive and even when these inputs are bought at a high price, and used on the farm, they will not work if there is no rain, and it is sometimes difficult to get a harvest which covers the cost of the inputs.
- A successful woman farmer said that last year her maize crop failed as the improved seed she and other community members used was impaired and she had to buy maize for household consumption. Some other households got food aid but she did not as the food providers told her that she could overcome her difficulties as she has better resources than the households who got the aid.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that last year the household got selected potato seed from the DAs.

Fertiliser

Wereda officials said that the RuSSACOs⁶ in rural areas provide fertiliser and improved seeds to farmers. There are seven RuSSACOs in the Kersa *wereda*.

Adele Keke community members reported buying fertiliser from the local service cooperative. Last year the women's cooperative bought fertiliser from another area and sold it to the community members saving the profit obtained; they plan to repeat this exercise this year. Poorer respondents said they could not afford fertiliser. Some respondents got training from DAs on how to prepare compost and have been using this. Farmers have understood that compost lasts for about three years while artificial fertiliser is used up by plants more quickly and dries out the land. Farmers have been preparing and using compost in their farms for chat and sorghum with the help of the DAs. Here are some community members' feedback on fertiliser:

- The successful man (BB) said he used improved seed and fertiliser and has benefited from these services as they helped him in getting good harvests; that is why he is a model rich farmer. Just like other people he used to buy fertiliser by paying for some of it with money and the rest with credit, but now he pays fully and buys the fertiliser. So, the availability of credit service helped him formerly before he was rich.
- The *kebele* chair is using DAP and says it is very successful.
- The rich woman (FE) said her household has been getting fertilisers and selected seeds from '*Gerbe Dedo*' Service Co-operative and using them to increase their productivity.
- The poor man (DD) tried to prepare and use compost and during last year's production, but as there was no rain last year, it brought no change to his production.
- One man said that after he graduated from PSNP, his wife received 5,000 *birr* credit and they used it to buy fertiliser and maize.

⁶ Rural Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisation.

- A rich man in his thirties said he received 1,500 *birr* credit from the Oromiya Credit and Saving Organisation and used the money to hire labourers for his farm and to buy fertiliser.

Pesticides

In the past government supplied chemical pesticides which resulted in environmental pollution; in 2007 and 2008 the *Lafora* pesticide killed all the bees and in the last two years there has been no honey produced at all in the community. The government has accordingly reduced the supply of pesticides, and only provide it for hazardous pests. The farmers still want pesticides to increase their productivity but they cannot get them. The Crops DA said farmers needed a type of pesticide called *stingush* but they could not find it and moreover, it is very expensive. In the past farmers used DDT on their chat crops which led to liver problems for chat chewers. A teacher said that the chemicals farmers use to make their chat grow well, which include *malatine*, DDT etc. kill pests, and help farmers to get good crops. However, they are bad for chewers, but the farmers do not mind about its bad effect on chewers' health, rather they want only to get good income by increasing their productivity. He said those who worry about such problems use lemon when chewing. That's what he does. However lemon is not available all the time in the area. Others drink '*hoja*' (boiled milk with water) believing that this drink somewhat minimises the effects of such chemicals. A few farmers also use *weha agar*, a water purification pill, on their crops, believing that it kills pests. The cost of pesticides has risen due to inflation; in particular *malatine* is expensive now. The service cooperative sells some pesticides.

Other new technologies

Since 1995, and in particular from 2004, farmers with big plots have been using tractors for ploughing. They rent the machines from neighbouring district areas for 150 *birr* an hour. However, over time as families are giving out land for younger children when they get married the land size of most households is small. Due to this, very few farmers use these tractors. A few households have oxen, which they use to plough and the rest plough by spade.

Irrigation technologies

Irrigation

Wereda officials described a number of irrigation schemes that are under way in the *wereda* to increase production. Adele Keke was not mentioned as one of the *kebeles* with an irrigation scheme. The *wereda* office of irrigation planned to maintain these irrigation schemes but the water development bureau claimed the responsibility for maintenance was theirs.

A poor man in his 30s said that when he was a teenager, there was no concept of irrigation in the community. The only option was rainwater but recently, the concept and practical use of irrigation have been introduced to the community. When the Chinese were constructing the main road from Kulbi to Harar (that passes Adele Keke) in 2006 they were using underground water and the community members got a good lesson of how they can use machines to dig for the water rather than by hand. The farmers started to get organised in a group and rented an excavator from Dire Dawa to dig a well. Also, the Chinese dug the water well close to the lake and the local farmers were then aware of the reason to dig the wells near to lake area are to get ample water. Then in about 2008 there was a good lesson provided to farmers by the government about the value of irrigation with the motto '*water not only cleans dirt but also dissolves poverty*'.

Over time, as others saw farmers who have benefited from irrigation, and *wereda* agricultural officers advised and gave lessons to farmers and some heard on the radio how farmers in other areas were benefiting from irrigation, other farmers started to buy motor pumps and dig water wells. Due to this the number of water wells and the hand pumps found in the *kebele* has been

increasing. Now there are about 35 water wells and about 146 water pumps.⁷ As the land round the lake is not communal land, the wells have been dug on private farms. The community also use the water from wells which were developed for irrigation for washing clothes. A few boys also swim in these wells. The owners of the land have now refused to let others use the water from these wells for free and have started to charge to use the water. Formerly, those water points were constructed by the community in groups to be used in groups but, gradually, the individual farmers claimed the water points and finally won them through the court and they exchange the water for money. Those farmers who spent their energy and dug the water points now buy the water from those individual farmers. This situation has created disagreements among the farmers. Those farmers who do not have money but who constructed the water points now cannot buy water and irrigate their chat. The *kebele* officials as well as the *wereda* officials could not interfere and settle this dispute over water points as the case was decided by the *wereda* court.

As there is some distance from the water wells and their farm land farmers connect many hand pumps, about seven at a time, with water pipes and temporarily store the water in pits so as to take the water to their farmlands in turn for each of them. A rich woman in her 20s said her family bought a water pump in 2004 for 3,000 *birr*. Another respondent said a water pump costs 7,000 *birr*. Those who do not own water pumps rent them paying 15 *birr*/hour, or if they are close friends or relatives they can use them for free. The rich woman in her 20s said they have been letting people use the pump for free now that their own income has improved. One problem is that the water pipes used are not good quality (made with thin plastic) and it easily breaks if it is not used for some time. A successful female household head irrigator said another difficulty is that those who irrigate their farmland by borrowing or renting water pumps do not get water pumps on time, rather they have to wait until the owner of the pump has finished irrigating their land. This delay in irrigating their land also has some effect on productivity. But she said the renting cost is fair.

In general, all farmers want to irrigate their land. Using this underground water through hand pumps has greatly increased productivity as it goes some way to resolving the water shortage during the winter season. Due to this water access most farms have covered large area of farmlands with chat, which has a high cash value, by reducing the production of other cereals (maize and sorghum). As a result they have to buy grain for consumption. A successful woman farmer (39 years old) said that using irrigation also increases the number of times that chat can be harvested. Rain fed chat harvests once a year while irrigated, chat can be collected three times a year. Without irrigation they collect chat in the summer season when the supply of chat is higher and therefore the price lower. Those who do not have underground water use surface water from the lake, but this water is not good for crops as it is salty, so only few farmers use this water. There is no trickle or spate irrigation in the *kebele*. There is no irrigation organisation in the *kebele*.

To scale up the irrigation in the area, different attempts have been made by the community as well as the government. For example, the DAs in the *kebele* have been teaching the farmers to build or construct their own water wells on their farm if they can and accordingly, some farmers tried to construct water points on their farms and a few succeeded but the others did not as it is very difficult to access underground water in the area. In addition, recently DAs are mobilising farmers close to the gorge area below Mount Keke to pump the water out of the gorge to irrigate their farmland.

Other farmers whose farmland is far from Adele Tabia village are not able to irrigate their farmland because it would take too many water pumps and would cost too much in fuel. The *kebele* chair is not irrigating this chat as his farm land is very far away from Adele Tabia village where the water wells are. Despite this he said that he ploughs the land well and is getting even better output compared to the other farmers. It is this endeavour that made him a model farmer.

⁷ Other *kebele* officials said there were 106 water wells benefiting 250 households as the wells were constructed for use by 5-10 households; however it does not appear likely that there are as many as 106 wells in the *kebele*.

A successful man irrigator said that irrigation users are mainly farmers who have good economic wealth who can afford costs of fuel, motor pump, pipe and payment to the owners of the water points near Lake Adele. Also, mainly farmers living in villages near to the water points or the Adele Tabia. For the future, he recommended that a large irrigation scheme should be in place in the *kebele* to help all the farmers use irrigation for their chat and then change their livelihood.

The poor man (DD) said that he is not using irrigation for his farm, as he could not afford the cost. His village is quite far from Adele Tabia where the water points are available; however some farmers are using irrigation by piping up the water to their farms using up to three or four motor pumps and having to pay for the fuel too.

A successful female household head irrigator said that the number of female headed households who use irrigation is very small because most of these women lack someone to properly help them in farming. They are more involved in domestic work and they hire daily labourers to carry out farm related activities. These factors make them not to irrigate their farmland. In addition, she mentioned that they do not have adequate money to buy water pumps.

There are still only a limited number of water wells being used for irrigation by the community; there is believed to be untapped underground water especially near Lake Adele. The community want the government to implement large-scale irrigation infrastructure in the *kebele*. In particular those village members who are far from the lake and unable to irrigate their farmland want the government to arrange mechanisms for them to irrigate their farmland like the village members near the lake can. The *kebele* chair said there are even some farmers have said that, rather than supporting the community through PSNP, it would be better if the government supports the community members to irrigate their farmland in a proper manner by supplying different modern agricultural equipment such as quality water pumps, water pipes, etc.

Water harvesting

Kebele officials said there are around seven water harvesting schemes in the *kebele* serving three villages that are used mainly for water for cattle and less for irrigation. The problem is that there is no availability of plastics for harvesting the water. The poor man (DD) said that once the government advised the farmers to construct water harvesting wells and provided a few plastic sheets. However, this poor man and another 19 farmers constructed wells and managed to collect water for some time but in the end they did not have any plastic for harvesting water, so the harvested water dried quickly. A rich woman in her 20s said that they had dug a water well just like a pond inside their farm land. When it rains the water goes into the well and they use the water later for their crops. Some female community members said that none of them have used water harvesting, but in a few villages a few farmers had dug wells and they cover the wells with plastic material and store rain water which they use for their crops but mainly they let their livestock drink it. Thus, very few individuals in a few villages have benefited so far from water harvesting.

Livestock contributions to livelihoods

The poor female household head (FF) only has one small cow; her other livestock were sold to pay for her husband's medical bills (he was ill for seven years with liver disease). The successful female household head (EE) has one cow, one calf and three chickens; they used to have three cattle but she sold two of them to pay for her husband's medical costs.

The *kebele* chair has no oxen, bulls, goats or camels; he owns two dairy cows, one improved breed and one local Borena breed. He also has one modern beehive and a few local chickens. Five years ago, he had one traditional and two modern beehives, but the traditional and one modern beehive got destroyed as he was engaged on the community's *kebele* work and could not manage them properly. He has, however, managed to treat the other modern hive and this year, he got good honey] from it. His wife said that five years ago the household had many livestock which they used to feed from the grazing found near the lake by renting it from the owners. However over time they

reduced the livestock due to shortage of fodder and lack of someone who can keep the livestock as all of her children are attending school. She gives a slightly different description from her husband of their current livestock holdings: she said that at the moment the household has 4 milking cows. One is giving milk. They also have three calves.

The poor man (DD) has a female sheep and two male sheep but no goats, camels or beehives. He has one local chicken. He used to have many chickens, even up to 10-12, which died of diseases.

A poor woman in her 30s has over the last four years been rearing and fattening goats for resale. This greatly helps her to feed her children. She hopes to expand these activities. Now she has nine goats and two chickens. She sells the goats when their price is at a peak (during the Muslim feasting season) and buys more. As she is successful they promised her to give credit in the future so that she could use it for these activities.

A rich woman in her 20s has two milking cows and one calf and she uses the milk for her children. As they are not modern milking cows the milk obtained is a small amount, which is about three litres per day.

Since last year some fish have been found in the lake. Some boys have been catching and selling them. DAs are planning to establish a cooperative that would engage in fishing activities. However the problem is that during the winter season the lake always dries up.

Inter-linkages – share-cropping, working parties, oxen exchange and sharing etc

A 67 years old PSNP direct support beneficiary said that she sharecrops out her land. A 47 year old PSNP direct support beneficiary who suffers from long-term illness said that she has sharecropped out her farmland to her sons, who have established their own households. The women and children's representative said that receiving the PSNP support enabled the elderly to hire daily labourers to work on their farmland and produce crops. Thus, it saved them from renting or sharecropping out their farmland unlike before they were included in PSNP.

Here are some reported perceptions and experience of working parties, oxen exchange and sharing:

- The kebele chair said the majority of the households help each other on house building, domestic work, and sharing of farm implements and domestic implements.
- A rich household sometimes help BB's aunt in Sodu *kebele* with her farm. There is cooperation with other households in domestic works, sharing of farm implements, livestock and domestic implements but BB said that cooperating with other households living nearby has decreased in the last five years as everybody is looking after his/her own business.
- The husband in the middle wealth household (CC) has good cooperation with neighbours and said this has increased in the last five years. For example, they farm sometimes by '*dabo*'. There is cooperation in house building and domestic work and sharing of some domestic implements. There is also help in times of crisis but this has been decreasing in the last five years as it is difficult to make a livelihood and everyone is becoming more individualistic.
- The poor man (DD) said cooperation with other households has increased in the last year. For instance, his mother and father-in-law come to his household and his household also go to them and they help each other on different matters.
- The successful female household head (EE) said that her household regularly co-operates with other households that live nearby. Whenever she asks them to help her in farming by *dabo* they cooperate and help her in farming activities. In general, she said over time the cooperation of the household with other households has increased
- The poor female household head (FF) said her household co-operation with other households that live nearby is very minimal. As her children are attending school she mostly stays at home

doing domestic work as well also working on the farm. She has no time to cooperate with other households.

Agricultural labour

Daily labour

Poorer households reported working as daily agricultural labourers for richer members of the *kebele*. The poor man (DD) said that, as well as working on his small farm, he is an agricultural labour, which involves activities such as cutting sorghum, chat and maize, ploughing, digging water points, etc. His wife says he works in the mill house and gets a daily rate of 20 *birr* plus food. However, she says he wastes the money he gets on smoking.

Longer-term agricultural employment

Some people used to hire agricultural labourers on annual basis with an annual salary of 1,300 - 1, 500 *birr*. Over time as parents are giving out farmland to their children the land holding size of the household has reduced. Due to this now most people prefer to use daily labourers.

Government farming interventions

Development Agents

Each DA coordinates development activities in one of the three zones in the *kebele*. Each zone has eight or nine villages. The NRM DA is the DA organiser who is the first point of contact for the *wereda* among the DAs and sits on the *kebele* cabinet. The *wereda* officials said the DAs provide training at the FTC and on the farms, and providing professional assistance and technical follow-up to individual farmers by going to their farms and viewing their harvests.

Model farmers and Development Teams

Over time the government has changed its methods for implementing development activities. In 1999 there were contact farmers, who informed the community about meetings and organised certain development activities. Following that, the structure was that on a group basis (25-30 households in one group) one person was selected to organise the households for various community based activities. Last year senior officials came to the area to introduce the Growth and Transformation Plan and a structure of networks of 1 to 5 households was established in each village. From these five households one household is a model farmer that leads and updates the other four households on various activities. There has been a separate training for model farmers or network leaders on how they are supposed to lead and 'make aware' the other households. As the local network leader is a model the other households can get experience on how that household's living condition has improved, thereby creating the opportunity for the other households to get knowledge and skills from the successful farmers.

Model farmers can be chosen for being exemplary in non-farm activities e.g. the *kebele* chair is a model farmer for his chat broker activity and for his role in bringing electricity to the *kebele*. Prominent or model farmers (both male and female) have received a five day training in the *kebele* recently and they are expected to train and educate the community in their villages on development and security issues.

A sub-*kebele* leader said that a recent problem was that the seven days training of the model farmers in the *kebele* had an impact on the model farmers as well as the other farmers as it was the harvest collection time. The *kebele* chair said that farmers complained bitterly about the model farmers' training for 15 days; but eventually they were convinced by the *kebele* officials and attended the training. A rich teenage girl said that as the government encourages hard workers, her model farmer fathers has at different times been invited to share his experience with others on how he become a successful farmer as well as a businessman. Due to such encouragement her parents are still working hard. A 30 year old man was stopped being given PSNP support after five months as

the *kebele* officials told him and others that as they were trained as model farmers they should not get PSNP support.

The Farmers' Training Centre

The FTC has started to be constructed with community contributions of wood and labour but it has not been completed. It is a large building of corrugated iron. It does not yet have electricity and water. The crops DA said the construction has stalled because of weak follow up from the *kebele* and *wereda*. There is a 1.2 hectare plot of land which will be used for demonstration of agricultural packages for farmers. Though this FTC is not functional yet, there has been informal education and trainings for farmers in their development teams and also on their farms by the DAs, especially by the Crops DA. The DAs said they have to expend more time and energy to provide all the services in the field rather than having a FTC to use.

Regarding the packages provided in the last year, there is an integrated package for the development teams who in turn give training on the crop package to the farmers in their 1-5 network. This integrated package includes activities on farming, beehives, livestock, vegetables and fruits and the like. In addition, there is the formal package which is planned and implemented in a year, with farmers participating on activities for field crops like maize and sorghum.

The rich woman (FE) said that one day she saw a big meeting was held at the FTC, which was built recently, but she does not know more about it.

Crops

The Crops DA specialisation is crops but he also works on other areas of development in the *kebele*. Last year, he worked on party work, community participation, PSNP works and community works. He coordinates development activities in his assigned zone which covers eight villages. Regarding problems, he said that there is some weakness of higher officials in following up and sometimes misunderstandings among the *kebele* officials.

Wereda officials said that the DAs have three main objectives: 1) providing farmers improved seeds with fertilisers on the basis of request of households 2) selecting best local seeds - these have been given to those households who could not use the improved seeds with fertiliser technology; 3) using compost from different waste products, e.g. animal waste.

Some community members' feedback on the extension service for crops included:

- The *kebele* chair said that five years ago, he got advice from the former DA about the importance of planting in. Then he applied it and tested its benefits and started to teach the other people in the *kebele* to use lines when they plant crops and vegetables. He also learnt to use compost and plough the chat land well when the land is wet from the rains.
- The rich woman (FE) said the DA who has been working on crop extension and packages has been informing the community on how to increase productivity by introducing different technologies, which includes planting in a line/rows, using fertiliser, selected seed, compost, best local seed and irrigation. According to this information a lot of farmers have been getting good crops. She has also benefited from such packages.
- A rich woman in her 30s said the DAs have taught her family to grow different kinds of crops: Her parents have 8 kert of land. By the education obtained from DAs and other responsible officials they have been farming and producing different kinds of crops, including chat, and keeping bees.
- The middle wealth man (CC) said that five years ago, the DAs were teaching and advising the community actively but now the community has become more knowledgeable than the DAs. For example, they know the type of the seeds suitable for their farms and the environment and the like.

- A rich man in his twenties said that formerly, he did not use irrigation and also used to sow seeds by scattering them but now he sows in lines or rows. He also uses intercropping as he was taught by the DAs. As he is using this farming technology his household is able to get different vegetables from the farm and as a result is not buying anything from the market except items like sugar, salt, fuel, oils, and sometimes coffee.
- The poor woman (JJ) said that as her household cannot afford it and their land size is small they have not used fertiliser, selected seed, or irrigation.

Livestock

Wereda officials said the modes of implementing livestock packages include training and distribution of manuals to farmers, DAs, governmental officials, and workers. There is a DA working on livestock extension packages in Adele Keke; his duties are giving training and professional assistance to farmers on how to fatten livestock and reproduction, especially how to use AI (Artificial Insemination) with the help of professionals when they need it. The livestock DA explained that he and other DAs participate on different development activities including party work and are teaching the community to accept and use new technologies in Adele Keke. He also described that when different fieldwork is assigned to DAs, they distribute or share the work among themselves. For example, recently all the three DAs attended a training session on NRM in *wereda* and they shared the work after they finished the training. As there have been trainings on the different areas of these three DAs, one DA can easily work on the area of another DA. Last year, he participated on different activities like livestock (his specialisation), NRM, plants, administration work, and health. However, he thinks it would be more effective if each DA works only on his/her own specialisation. He said they get advice from the *wereda* and working cooperatively with the *kebele* and sub-*kebele* officials. They are also working with the community leaders especially with people who have acceptance in the community. He said it is DAs in the *kebele* who are telling people to construct and use latrines rather than the health extension workers. To organise the community on various development activities he visits villages mainly in the evening when people are around.

There have been poultry and Borena and Holstein cattle breeding inputs provided but not recently as a result of the increase in cost of transportation. The community members are selling on the offspring of the improved breeds to each other; this is the only way Holstein breeding has been increasing in the *kebele* recently. The Oromiya Development Association (ODA) gave credit and poultry to the farmers in the *wereda* in 2008/9 and 2009/10, including Adele Keke. More women are participating in sheep and goat fattening and also on poultry and milk. Youths are also included and are participating in livestock packages in some *kebeles* in the *wereda*. Around 2004 the government provided 11 hybrid milking cows for 11 households. The middle wealth woman (KL) said they were not productive as they did not adapt to the local weather conditions and the community have started to buy other types of milking cows.

Haramaya University had a centre in Kalu village with modern ox, where people used to take their cow for reproduction purpose (it is not clear if this is still operational). Over time due to technological improvements artificial breeding techniques have started; *wereda* officials are called by the vet when cattle are in season and they come to the area to give artificial breeding service in the form of injection. As a result, over time the number of farmers engaged in rearing modern cows for milking has increased. DAs stated that in the future it is expected that the community will be specialised in milk production but for now what prevents more farmers getting involved in this activity is the scarcity and (rising) cost of quality modern cows.

Community members' feedback included:

- Some men said they are not getting a breeding service for Holstein Friesians as the professionals do not come when requested as they frequently face transport problems to come to the *kebele*. They suggested that the *wereda* should facilitate transport for the professionals.

- The kebele chair said there is shortage of Holstein Friesian breeding professionals in the *wereda*. To solve this problem, from Adele Keke kebele, one person received 45 days training in AI and now has come back to the kebele but he has not been able to start work as there are no instruments for the job.
- The rich woman (FE) said her household has a modern milking cow and they get about 13 litres of milk a day. They consume some of this milk but they sell the most of it and she saves the money she gets in an *equb*. They have built a home with the income they got from sale of milk. She said there are many women who have got a better income from the sale of milk and improved their housing conditions. More women would like to engage in this activity but the problem is that there is no supply of good modern milking cows and they have become very expensive.
- The poor woman (JJ) said that unlike some of the community members she has no modern milking cow. She bought 3 sheep with the credit she gets from the Italian based NGO (CISP) as a preparation for PSNP graduation. She is hopeful that when her cow (which she got from cow breeding) has grown up she will get milk and when her sheep gives birth her living condition might be improved. She said it would be good if more credit is given to poor women specifically to use for cow breeding so as to get milk and benefit like the other community members.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said she has not had lessons on poultry production but on her own initiative she started it.

There is also some honey production in Adele Keke with modern beehives and traditional hives. A few respondents said they have good honey production. One respondent said there had been no honey production for the last two years because of the pesticides used.

Last year a veterinary centre was built near the *kebele* office and a veterinary officer was assigned. He is an assistant vet and cannot undertake operations. There is a fully qualified vet in the *wereda* but he does not come to the *kebele* when he is asked to and this has prevented the assistant vet from getting the experience he needs to perform minor operations on livestock. Community members said they appreciated his work which is excellent. He said that the *wereda* livestock department in the *wereda* agriculture office is not functional: it is not monitoring the *kebele* vets and there is no information exchange or training. He has been working closely with the *kebele* officials and the community leaders. He said the vet's building is good with a latrine and a kitchen, but it is not adequate because the doors and windows are badly constructed, maybe from lack of budget or low follow up from the *wereda* and the *kebele*. Also, there is no electricity, water or phone. There is no pen, where livestock can be treated, and there is a shortage of veterinary supplies like gloves, drugs like alcohols, disinfectant, vaccination syringes, and stomach tubes (large and small). There is a medicine that kills internal and external livestock parasites and assists in fattening.

The vet gives vaccination for cattle so as to prevent disease and medicine for cattle fallen ill. Due to this the health of livestock has improved. He also works to increase the awareness of the community on how to look for clinical signs of disease on the livestock. He also gives short trainings to the male and female households in the kebele about how to improve and increase the milk/dairy production and how to treat their livestock well. He has also been teaching them not to use traditional drugs and how they can protect themselves against animal diseases which can be transmitted from livestock to humans. There is a women's package regarding veterinary activities; they have been given training on how to treat and manage livestock, how to keep them clean and how to feed them.

He also gives curative services to the livestock. He treats outbreak diseases like blackleg (common in May when livestock have excessive sun), bovine and ovine *pastrolosis* bacteria and *facola* parasite (common in the October and November colder season when the livestock eat the grass from the lake), *sarmonolosis* (miscarriage), *fashiola* (swelling under the neck), skin diseases and the like. He also vaccinates livestock to protect them from many diseases. The vet said there are poultry

diseases in the PA but there is shortage of drugs to deal with them. He said the achievements in the community are that lives of livestock have been saved though there are shortages in supplies. In addition, the qualities of the hides, milk and meat of the livestock have been maintained as the community is getting education and awareness to bring their livestock to the vet when they get sick. The problems related to this work are the shortage of vet supplies as explained above; the lack of follow up from the *wereda*; and the lack of training. He thinks that the services of the vet could be improved if there are discussions from low to high officials and trainings given. He works all the days in a week including night time especially when there is a disease outbreak in the *kebele*. Apart from his salary he has no additional incentive, not even when he travels to fields to do the vaccinations.

There are certain problems related to doing his work. These are:

(1) When there are outbreaks of disease, as there is no motorcycle, it is very difficult for him to reach the places on time and as a result he walks on foot and arrives late. The livestock die until he reaches the area by going on foot.

(2) There has been low emphasis from the *wereda* on the *kebele* veterinary office. This is discouraging the vet from doing his profession very well. He underlined that there is no follow up from the *wereda* agriculture office; low emphasis has been given to veterinary unlike the other DAs like crops and NRM. He did not get opportunities like further education or on-the-job trainings so far. He said that some stationery like pen, notebooks, and papers are given to his office but not enough.

Community members reported the following experiences:

- The kebele chair said he has benefited from the vet service.
- The rich woman (FE) said she has been getting veterinary service which started recently in the *kebele*. She also stated that other community members, including people from neighbouring *kebeles*, have been using these services. Due to this livestock have not been affected by diseases, unlike in the past, but what prevents the community from rearing more livestock is the severe shortage of feed.
- A poor woman in her 30s who fattens and sells goats said the veterinary service that started recently has an important role in keeping her goats healthier as whenever she observes some kind of illness in her goats she goes to the vet and she gets drugs without payment.

NRM

The NRM DA's activities are described in the section on environment.

Non-farm occupations

Local non-farm employment opportunities

There are no domestic servants in the *kebele*. There is a woman who washes clothes and cleans the livestock house for four households. They pay her whenever she works. On average she gets 20 *birr* from each of these households per 15 days if she works for two days per week for half a day. In general, it is difficult to say the number of hours and days a week as she works only whenever they call her. Whenever others call her to wash clothes she also does it and gets about 5 *birr*. But the problem related to her work is that the work is not always available. Good employers in addition to the money give her food whereas bad employers do not give her payment on time. As she is an adult aged 55 years old she does not feel at ease in doing these activities but she has been doing them as she has no other option to feed herself. Whenever she gets tired sometimes she feels back pain. On the other way round as she cannot get these activities all the time, whenever she feels hungry she falls sick with malaria.

The poor woman in her 30s said that both young men and girls face the problem of unemployment once they completed grade 12 or when they dropped out earlier. After she dropped out of school and stayed with her mother for some years she started to get wage work in Haramaya town so as to overcome the problem of food shortage.

In 2006 when Chinese were constructing the road from Kulbi to Harar that passes the *kebele* youth had good wage work opportunities. A few girls also benefited. Similarly youths were involved (in wage work) in the expansion of Harar drinking water project (when the water pipe from Dire Dawa to Harar was implanted). Some youngsters also sometimes get wage work in Harar and Dire Dawa construction related activities.

The middle wealth farmer (CC) is a government employee in the *wereda* education office in Kersa. His wife said he is able to do this because of their good accessibility to the main road; he travels daily to and from the *wereda* capital. Sometimes for household consumption he buys some commodities in the *wereda* capital.

Local non-farm business and trading opportunities

Wood and grass

People who own land near the lake sell the grass for livestock fodder. There was no report of legal trade in wood; there was an illegal clearance of tress from Mount Keke but the perpetrators were caught and the wood confiscated.

Trading

A number of respondents said that there are more opportunities for trading these days, especially for youth and women, than there had been in the past. A leading cash crop trader said the trading opportunities are (in order of importance): chat, coffee⁸ and livestock.

Chat trading is undertaken only by men. According to a leading businessman, today chat is the crop that everyone in the area is dreaming and thinking about. One source said that a chat trader gets one-third of the profit; another said the trader gets 10%. There are approximately 10 chat traders in the community and there is competition among chat traders on the quality and quantity of chat they can bring to the market. The chat trader carries the risk of paying up front to the farmers; when the chat is harvested and taken to market, the price may drop and they may incur a loss. They buy in bulk (kilos) and take it the market quickly so as to be less susceptible to market price changes. Also, the chat may get dried up when it is on the farm from the lack of water as well as due to frost, and as a result of that sometimes he had incurred loss. During the winter or dry season (November-January), the chat is very profitable as there is no rain to grow it and it is scarce, but during the summer it becomes cheap.

The successful man (BB) has a **fizzy drink distribution centre** on the main road by the Adele Tabia village. His wife runs it. They started it five-seven years ago, using their capital (no credit) and it has been very successful. From the shop his wife also sells other consumables such as sugar, salt, soap etc.

Some people sell **livestock food** (*furushka*) which is bought in Dire Dawa. The animal food business peak time is from December-February. Risks are that the food can go off; some poor people cannot afford to pay immediately and they take it on credit; there is competition among businessmen in this trade. One trader is currently selling the livestock food at a cheaper price.

Some people (often female household heads) sell **consumables** in small shops in the. There is an opportunity for local women to trade because there are no formal shops in the area; women can

⁸ However, while coffee is grown at the seedling nursery, no other respondent has mentioned growing or selling coffee; in fact in another module of the research framework, respondents said there is no coffee production in the area.

open small shops next to their homes so they can combine looking after the shop with other domestic duties. They mostly sell commodities such as soft drinks, salt, sugar, soap, biscuit, dry cells, pasta, cigarettes, matches, pens, pencils, etc.

These women can buy goods the nearby town (Haramaya) to sell in the *kebele*; there is frequent transport to the town so that is no problem. A leading business woman said that as the *kebele* has many villages, women from each village can involve in such activities since most residents buy items from their respective village. As the number of traders is not many there is no competition between the businesses. However, as to her own experience and the experience of most traders, whenever females stay with a husband they do not think to involve in such activities but most of them start to involve in these kinds of activities after they encounter divorce. From this she perceives that husbands may not be willing when their wives travel frequently to towns for trading.

The wife in the poor male headed household (DD) started last year to buy consumable items such as onions, tomatoes and sugar cane etc. from the nearby town to sell in the *kebele*. She started using credit from CISP. She said that the petty trade is successful but she was not sure of the profit because sometimes when the household members lack something to eat they eat what she bought for resale. With the profit from the petty trade she has bought and stored 20 corrugated iron sheets so as to build her own home.

A middle wealth woman in her 30s used to buy **eggs** from far rural areas and has distributed them to hotels in Aweday town. In turn with the profit she got she used to buy consumable items such as oil, onion, sugar, and livestock food. Since last year she had not involved in these activities due to her health problems.

Some people have established **grinding mills** which people pay to use for their domestic use, and other outputs of grinding mills are sold in Adele Keke. There are now 10 mills in Adele Keke of which three are not functioning due to technical problems.

Some people trade in **grain**: buying grain at harvesting time when the price is a bit lower so as to sell when its price increases, mostly in summer season

There are about 13 female **milk traders** found in the *kebele* who buy milk from the local people to sell in the towns (mostly Haramaya and Aweday). This milk trading activity has been expanding over time.

For the last two years the *kebele* chair's wife has **sold water** from their water point in the compound where they have a rented house. She saves the money she obtains from the sale of water in the local *equb*.

Some richer respondents reported diversifying their activities and investing in different trading areas by using the profit they obtained from the chat crops. For example, a rich woman in her 20s said that with the money she saved in the *equb* from sale of chat, they have built a home of three rooms on the main road (beside the Coca Cola distribution centre). They built this home in this area as it is very convenient for the market and they have started to buy maize and animal fodder when wholesalers bring it by bigger car to resell.

There is no problem with transport as the *kebele* is on the main road. There are few local businesses and so competition is still quite low. Problems facing all traders in the area are shortage of capital or lack of credit to start or expand trading activities. Access to credit is very low as in most cases lenders need to have a guarantee when giving out loans. Because of this there are some youngsters who want to involve in trading but are unable to involve due to lack of starting capital. Another problem is the lack of electricity in some areas. For instance, one trader wants to install a grinding mill but currently he has no electricity as he requested the EEPKO-east region office in Haramaya to install electricity for him but could not get it yet.

Services

There is one tailor in the *kebele* who has a sewing machine and has sewed clothes for the past 20 years. A barber's shop has opened in the *kebele*.

Carpentry

There are 10-15 carpenters in the *kebele*, and 2 people who buy timber and make and sell doors. The carpenters combine their skilled work with working on their farms. They work on private houses making doors, fixing corrugated sheets and the like. They buy inputs like hammers and saws from Haramaya market. One of the carpenters said that he travels to other *kebeles* and towns for work and he arranges the transport for himself. Occasionally there is the opportunity to work on *kebele* buildings e.g. schools.

A 50 year old woman said her husband is a well-known carpenter; they are rich because they have had a water pump since 2010/11 and they have been irrigating their farm land. They have good chat, and they have 2 excellent modern milking cows. They are included in PSNP not because they are poor but the *kebele* officials let them benefit from the support as her husband helps with the construction of all of the local schools without charge.

Transport

There are different opportunities for the *delalas* in the area as they do things like loading and taking off the loads from the vehicles, loading items like chat on donkeys' backs, and the like. They call their work "*hamal*" in Oromiffa. There are three *delalas* in the community: two *delalas* are locals while the man interviewed comes to Adele Keke to work and lives in Dhengego. Their customers are people like the owner of the Coca Cola Distribution centre, those who buy livestock food and other merchants like shop owners and chat traders need their services. Their work is not very profitable during the dry season when there is not much chat production and the people are working on their farms, so that when they do work instead of *birr*, people pay with some grain when they harvest. The *delala* said his daily profit is 20 *birr* but it also depends on the availability of work. The other two *delalas* are currently organised to get micro credit and the government has facilitated things for them. They want to sell items like pasta, macaroni and the like. They also have small farm lands. The *delala* interviewed has nothing except the daily labour that he gets and it is not enough for his family as he has six members in his household and he cannot compete with the other *delalas*.

Some richer community members have started buying mini-buses and entering into the transport business themselves; apparently three farmers have bought a minibus. A rich young woman in her 20s said that they bought a minibus last year for 180,000 (from their savings and adding about 10,000 *birr* from relatives) and hired a driver. However recently it has faced technical problems and is not working. To repair it they need 8,000 *birr* which they do not have on hand, so the household is a bit worried. Another rich household also bought a minibus; last year it was involved in accident which killed a man and the compensation to the deceased family is paid from the insurance.

Traditional health services

There are three traditional medical practitioners in the *kebele*. The services provided are: giving medicines for different diseases like headache, serious mental illness, stomach ache, pneumonia (lung cancer), and livestock drugs. One of the healers said that the service that he gives to people includes not only giving drugs but is also assisted by the spiritual powers.

Production

The wife in the poor male headed household (DD) started last year to buy consumable items such as onions, tomatoes and sugar cane etc. from the nearby town to sell in the *kebele*. She also prepares biscuits (locally called *sambusea*) and sells them.

Government non-farm livelihood interventions

In 2007/8 credit was given to 25 unemployed youth; one woman reported starting milk trading as a result. It is not known if this credit was required to be for farm or non-farm activities.

NGO non-farm livelihood interventions (added)

The NGO CISP gave a woman's cooperative 30,000 *birr* in the form of credit to use as a revolving fund and supports the setup of the women's milk cooperative. Other respondents said that the NGO Hararghe Catholic Secretariat also plans to support this cooperative.

Marketing

Output markets

Chat is the main product of the area with markets in nearby towns, in particular at the main chat trading centre, Aweday town. The kebele manager is proud that AK is 'a rich place' because of the profit obtained from chat markets. 1kg of best quality chat is worth 1,500 *birr*. It is exported mainly to Djibouti and Somaliland, and some to Addis.

People are selling more vegetables than they did five years ago. Most take them to nearby markets. It is also becoming common that some wholesalers such as Awash Agro Industry from Haramaya come to the area and buy the vegetables.

Input and consumption markets

As the community is producing more chat, less grain is produced and the community is buying more grain than they did five years ago. On average most households consume what they produce in 6 months of the year and for the other 6 months they buy grain, mostly maize and sorghum.

As the area closer to the lake is not good for crops, especially chat, farmers start to produce vegetables in that area. Due to this people are using these vegetables and most farmers now do not buy vegetables. Those who do not produce vegetables continue to buy vegetables from the market.

Five years ago people were building homes by begging eucalyptus trees from neighbours and relatives. As repairing older houses and building new houses is becoming common, now people are buying eucalyptus trees. People have started buying land near the main road and new houses are under construction.

Five years ago people were buying more meat as its price was cheaper; it was 12 *birr* per kg but now it is 100 *birr* per kg and therefore people have greatly reduced buying meat. Similarly, five years ago people were rearing more sheep and goats, and sometimes they slaughtered these sheep or goats for meat. However, over time, due to shortage of land now people rear few sheep and goats and they slaughter only for a big fasting season. Sometimes in a group people buy and slaughter sheep.

Some people have started to drink coffee; five years people were drinking only *Hoja* (hot water and milk). Therefore people are buying more coffee than they did five years ago.

Following electrification people are buying more household goods such as TVs and satellite dishes. People are also buying more modern mattresses, beds, cupboards for utensils and clothes.

Farmers have become familiar with using improved seed and fertiliser. When it was supplied by cooperative more farmers started to buy more but as its price is increasing farmers minimise the quantity they buy and use. Furthermore, those who cannot afford it have been using compost (artificial fertiliser) prepared from animal dung.

Over the last five years more farmers, about 200, have bought water pumps. As the price has increased people prefer to rent from others rather than buy.

PSNP and other food-for-work

PSNP

In Kersa *wereda*, 20 out of 35 *kebeles* are part of the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) with currently 21,284 beneficiaries; previously there were 27,368 beneficiaries and 6,084 people have graduated. The *wereda* PSNP is organised by the *wereda* agriculture office, office of food security, and office of drought and disaster prevention and control (DDPC). There is a technical committee at the *wereda* level. Offices like agricultural extension, natural resources, animal agency, education bureau, health bureau, rural roads authority and water and irrigation are also involved. *Wereda* officials said that all these offices came together and designed the programme in such a way that it is participatory, watershed centred and discussed with the community.

Adele Keke's NRM DA, the Crops DA and CISP (NGO) officials working on PSNP said the total number of PSNP beneficiaries in Adele Keke were 1,800 in 2009/10, 1,510 in 2010/11 and 1,291 in 2011/12. The NRM DA provided household numbers for 2010/11 but not people, whereas the Crops DA provided the number of people but not disaggregated into male and female. The women and children's representative did not have detailed information but thought the numbers of PSNP public work beneficiaries from 2005 to the current date has been decreasing as some households have graduated, while the number of DS beneficiaries has remained almost the same. Table 4 compiles the data received.

Table 4 PSNP beneficiaries in 2009/10-2011/12

	PW beneficiaries		DS beneficiaries		total beneficiaries	
	no	%	no	%	no	%
2009/10						
total people	1,643		157		1,800	
2010/11						
total people	1,353		157		1,510	
male household	334	86%	43	58%	377	82%
female household	54	14%	31	42%	85	18%
total households	388		74		462	
2011/12						
male	650	57%	76	48%	726	56%
female	484	43%	81	52%	565	44%
total people	1,134		157		1,291	
male household	223	81%	43	58%	266	76%
female household	51	19%	31	42%	82	24%
total households	274		74		348	

PSNP beneficiaries decreased by 16% (290 people graduated) from 2009/10 to 2010/11 and by 15% (219 people graduated) from 2010/11 to 2011/12; and in total from 2009/10 to 2011/12 by 28%. Only the number of PW beneficiaries went down (due to graduation); the number of DS beneficiaries stayed the same. See Table 5.

Table 5 Trends in number of PSNP beneficiaries

	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	09/10 to 11/12
Total household change in %		462	348	
			25%	
total people change in %	1,800	1,510	1,291	
		16%	15%	28%

A rough calculation (necessarily an approximation as we do not have annual population figures) shows that using the 2010 population and household numbers as an estimation, the proportion of households in the community receiving PSNP decreased from 35% to 27% from 2010/11 to 2011/12, while the number of people receiving PSNP decreased from 25% in 2009/10 to 21% in 2010/11 to 18% in 2011/12. See Table 6.

Table 6 Trends in PSNP community coverage

	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
PSNP household		462	348
as % total households		35%	27%
PSNP people	1,800	1,510	1,291
as % total pop	25%	21%	18%

total households (2010)	1,306
total pop (2010)	7,098

On the wealth status of current PSNP beneficiaries the women and children's representative estimated as shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7 Wealth status of PSNP beneficiaries

%	PW beneficiaries	DS beneficiaries	Population of the <i>kebele</i>
Poor	85%	100%	30%
Medium wealth	15%	-	55%
Rich	-	-	15%
	100%	100%	100%

Selection of beneficiaries

Selection generally

Criteria

According to the *wereda* officials, in the selection of beneficiaries first priority is given to those who have nothing, then to those farmers who have one chicken, and then those who are better off. Profiles of each household are prepared.

The NRM DA (a member of the *kebele* targeting committee) said the *wereda* office of poverty prevention gives training on the selection criteria and based on this the *kebele* develops its own selection criteria considering the context of the community. The criteria for PSNP beneficiary selection are for public works (PW) beneficiaries to be people who are poor with little land who are not able to secure their food needs and for direct support (DS) beneficiaries to be people who are weak and who do not have others to help them, for example, those who are disabled, orphans or elderly. He said the *kebele* conducts a wealth status (i.e. rich, middle and poor) survey of the community every five years so that the poverty and food insecurity status of the individuals is

identified and this helps the PSNP beneficiary selection in the *kebele*. This wealth status survey is used as a benchmark for selecting beneficiaries and includes levels of savings, assets like corrugated sheet roof house, livestock, beehives, farm and months able to cover food need. However the economic status of the households will change during the five years, and the DS and PW beneficiaries are mainly identified by the practical knowledge that the committee members have about the community members in each village.

The women and children's representative said that the selection criteria for PSNP Public Works set by the *wereda* office are people who are poor, have very small farmland or unfertile land, are unable to work on his/her own farm and work instead in daily labour and sell crops before they ripen well. She said the major criteria to identify a household as rich is having a chat crop, irrigating their farm land or having a large farm in good area, e.g. close to the lake. People who have additional income from trading are also identified as rich or middle wealth depending on what assets they have.

There are different estimates of the number of party members in the *kebele*: the *kebele* chair, who is the party head, said 8% of the population are party members; the women and children's representative estimated 35%. She also said that most of the DS beneficiaries are elderly and they are not party members as the maximum age limit to be a member is 60. The NRM DA said that the selection of beneficiaries is not based on the status of party membership, there are both party member and non-party member beneficiaries in the programme and non-members are not forced to be party members as they cannot afford to pay the party membership fee.

Table 8 Party membership status of PSNP beneficiaries

%	PW beneficiaries	DS beneficiaries	Population of <i>kebele</i>
Party member	10%	2%	35%
Opposition party member	-	-	-
Not party member	90%	98%	75%
	100%	100%	100%

Targeting process

The women and children's representative said the PSNP targeting decision-making body comprises eight *kebele* cabinet members, an elder and a religious leader, and is chaired by the *kebele* chair. Of these two are women: the HEW and the women and children's representative. Locally they call such a body *cheleli Kemedi*, which means 'those who select people for wheat'. The NRM DA said that previously the village leaders did the selection but now there is a targeting decision-making committee in each village, comprising about 12 people and involving the development team leader (who is the chair), the village leader, the 1-5 network leader, religious leader, and the elders from each village.

The selection committee divide the quota given by the *wereda* into quotas for individual villages taking into account the wealth status, farm land size, total households and household size of the respective village members. Therefore, a village on steep slopes or with a small land area or if most people have no cash crop (chat) get a bigger quota. Also bigger villages that have many households are given a bigger quota. These assigned quotas are given to the village leaders and each village's development group leaders discuss which households should be selected, identifying those that are poor, who do not have chat crop, or do not have land at all and lead their lives by involving as daily labourers. In 2010 some of the targeting decision-making committee members got training from the *wereda* on how to select households honestly, advising them to select people by considering the farmland size, the fertility level of the farmland, etc.

The Crops and NRM DAs said there is not a separate quota for PW beneficiaries and DS beneficiaries. Direct support beneficiaries are not expected to graduate and do not expect to see an improvement

in their living conditions as almost all of the direct support beneficiaries are those who are too old to work, are disabled or have no one to help them.

The women and children's representative said the committee was functional mainly at the beginning when beneficiaries were selected and since then it has met twice when beneficiaries were graduated. In the meantime it is mainly the DAs who follow up PSNP related activities such as the public works. If she wants advice or has a problem when actively working for the PSNP targeting decision-making body first she contacts the other decision-making committee members, mostly the DA and other cabinet members. If the issues still need further discussion she discusses the issues with elders and religious leaders, who are also members of the selection/targeting decision-making body. The NRM DA said he has been working closely with the *kebele* and community leaders. He also said he had an indirect network with the *wereda* food security and disaster prevention office. He also works with the community leaders as they are the members of the targeting decision-making committees in each village.

Re-targeting

The women and children's representative said there is no formal retargeting but by reducing the number of member households getting support there were a few new households who were included last year. She said the informal retargeting is mainly carried out by the DAs. However she also said later that after graduating households are removed from the programme the quota for PSNP support is reduced. Some community members have different perceptions: an elderly woman receiving DS said that new households have recently been included in PSNP as others have graduated.

The NRM DA said retargeting only happens every 5 years and the last retargeting was carried out in 2009/10. The targeting committee monitors the beneficiaries based on the changes they have brought before and after they entered PSNP. For example, the committee assesses the beneficiaries by criteria like how many livestock, harvests and different assets they had before and after they entered the PSNP. The DAs finally evaluate the overall performance of the beneficiaries on the PW as the beneficiaries are put in groups of ten for the work and the group's performance is evaluated. The DAs follow the changes of the beneficiaries in this way, but there was no updating of the PSNP support as the support itself is predetermined according to the quota of household members. The NRM DA also mentioned that there is a recent change in 2010 in that the beneficiaries are poor unlike the former times when middle wealth people were selected by the former PSNP committee in the *kebele*; this may be referring to the graduation of a large number of beneficiaries.

Household members

The NRM DA said that on average a PW beneficiary household gets support for three household members. The women and children's representative said large households get the support for a maximum of 8 household members, medium households for two to four household members and smaller households for one household member. She thinks that in 2010 the number of members of households that get support was reduced so as to include other households but she is not quite sure.

A PW woman (32, 6 members in her household) said that three members of her household are registered to receive PSNP support. After she got her youngest child she continued to get the support for three household members; she said that whenever her household members increase there is no increment in household members to receive the support. Another PW recipient said she received support for all seven members of her household. It is not clear on what basis the officials choose the number of household members to support. One woman reported that since last year her household's support was reduced from 7 to 6 household members and she understood that so as to give PSNP support to more households the officials reduced the number of members for which each household gets the support.

Conflicts

According to the women and children's representative, the problem is that there are many households that have similar wealth status but the quota is not sufficient to cover them all; those who are not included are not happy. She thinks all those who were included needed the support because they do not have enough farmland or other property to feed their family members. She does not enjoy carrying out this role because of the unhappy excluded households. Such people perceive that the selection committee has favoured those who have kinship or good relations with them. She said it is not good to be seen in this way by the community members. In contrast the NRM said that he enjoys the roles of the committee. He explained that the members of the committee are strongly committed to fight against corruption and discrimination during the selection but sometimes there are moves and interests by some members of the committee, especially the leader of the committee, to favour and include the people in their network. For example, they want to include people who buy chat for them, their relatives, and those people who are in good economic status. There were others rumours relayed to the researchers that the target decision makers have been receiving money from different individuals so as to include them in PSNP.

She said that there were some disagreements among the committee members: some wanted to include poorer households by removing from the programme others who are better off, but some members felt it was not fair to exclude those who have already been included. The committee reached the compromise that they will consider these poor households, which have not been included in PSNP, to get support of other programmes such as emergency food aid.

Appeals

Wereda officials said that if there is any appeal concerning PSNP, DAs receive the appeals and bring them to the *wereda* and the *wereda* committee visits the respective *kebele*.

The NRM DA said the appeals decision-making committee is at the *kebele* level but not at the village level. In contrast the women and children's representative said that there are appeal committees at village level, and their issues are decided by the PSNP targeting decision-making members. Locally they call this '*kore komi*' which means a committee that sees complaints. This is chaired by the *kebele* chair and the NRM DA is the secretary. They have no regular meetings, rather they meet whenever there is an appeal by someone. The 2010 two-day *wereda* training for some of the committee members included looking at how to decide fairly on appeal cases brought by community members. The NRM DA said that the decisions by the committee include: 1) excluding those beneficiaries included in the PSNP unfairly and unjustly. This means excluding middle wealth and rich wealth who were included in the PSNP-PW and DS because they have some kind of attachments or networks with the PSNP retargeting committee at the village level; 2) Reconsidering and including those poor people who were excluded due to personal disagreements with the member(s) of the retargeting committee.

The women and children's representative does not like the role because whenever the result of the appeal is negative the people making the appeal associate that result with the decision makers and do not like the decisions makers. In addition, the appellars do not understand some conditions such as the limitation of the quota assigned to the *kebele*. In contrast the NRM DA enjoys the role because it is a way to resolve unfair inclusions and exclusions. By talking to village leaders and elders as well as the retargeting committee at the village level, they come to their decisions. A recent change is that formerly, the committee at the *kebele* level did not follow up on this selection work but now, this committee has been following it up strictly.

An unhappy excluded woman (65) from Shewa reported that they had no trust in the appeal process. She did not appeal because she believes the result would be useless as she expected her idea would not be heard. Furthermore, she said there is no formal appeal committee that accepts appeals. If she complains to the selection committee members, who are also from the community, she believes they do not want to include her because they only want to include other Muslims.

Public works inclusions and exclusions

Here are some examples of community members' reported views on the PSNP selection:

- A number of respondents said that there were unfair exclusions and inclusions based on 1) the small quota and 2) *kebele* officials' preferential treatment for people close to them:
 - A PW woman (30) said that all who got PSNP support needed it but there are some beneficiaries who have been getting the support since they have good relations with the *kebele* official but in terms of wealth they are better off, while not everyone who needs PSNP support has been included, may be because there are some households who have similar wealth status and the selection committee may face difficulty to include all poor households. Also, if such households did not try their best to be included or did not have close relations with the selection committee this may be one cause of exclusion.
 - A voluntary successful graduate (female, 50) said that almost all of the households who have been getting the support in the last year greatly need the support. Unlike the former time the beneficiaries who are still getting the support are poor as some households that are a bit better off have graduated. Because of this she said they are very eager when the time of support provision approaches.
 - A woman (40, 5 members in her household) whose household was graduated but still suffers from food insecurity and wants the support, said some of the households who got the support in the last year needed it most of them lack money or do not get enough agricultural yields to feed their family. However there were some people who wanted to be included in PSNP but were excluded since the village leaders gave priority to and included those who had close relations with them. She further explained that when these households asked the selection committee at village level why they were excluded and told them to include them, the committee members said '*we are not the ones who knows your living condition, rather it is the leader of your village who knows it*'; because of this they did not allow them to be included.
 - A divorced woman (55) living alone said she has never been a PSNP beneficiary because those who select the beneficiaries did not consider her; the *kebele* officials and those who register beneficiaries want to include those who have close relationships such as their relatives. She hopes they know she is poor; she even has no home, farmland or any other asset. She said if she knew an influential person from the *kebele* she would have been included in PSNP.
 - A medium wealth woman (30) who has never received PSNP says that everyone who receives it needs it but not everyone who needs it is included because the quota is too small.
- Some respondents said that there were inclusions of households that had been affected by drought at the time of selection who since have not needed the support:
 - A PW woman (32, 6 members in her household) said that that her household is selected to get PSNP support since they are poor as they do not have farmland and her husband leads their life by working as a daily labourer. She mentioned that there are a few whose living condition is good who got the support. She said the reason such households were included in the programme may be that at the time the PSNP started their crop may have failed due to shortage of rain.
- A number of respondents said that both party and non-party members were included. One respondent believed she was excluded initially for not being a member of OPDO:
 - The poor woman (JJ) said that initially she was not selected, but she was included after she became a member of the Oromo Political Democratic Organisation (OPDO). This is because

joining OPDO opened the door to contacting village representatives and then she told her economic problem to the village leader who in turn reported her problem to the chair. She is happy to be a member of this political party as she was not quite sure if she would be included in the programme unless she joined OPDO.

- One woman thought she was excluded for not being Muslim:
 - A woman (65, living alone) who was not included in PSNP and is unhappy, bitterly explained that she believes she was excluded because she is not a Muslim and originally she comes from another area (Shoa). She thinks the *kebele* officials and selection committee members selected those who are closer to them or those who have good relations with them, even though their living condition is better.
- One respondent reported that inclusion was used to reward other services to the community:
 - A woman (50) who has graduated from PSNP said her household was included (for four household members for three years) not because they are poor but because her husband is a well-known carpenter and has been working on the construction of all of the local schools free of charge. Thus, to benefit as a return for his contribution they let the household get PSNP support. In connection with this she also mentioned that there are some militia men who are included in the PSNP so as to benefit from the support as a return of the service they provide to the community.
 - The *Kebele* chairman said when he joined the programme, his life style was better than the other poor PSNP beneficiaries, but he was selected and included in the programme not because he was poor, but the village leader included him in the programme as he was serving as a militia during that time.
- Members of the targeting selection committee were included:
 - the *Kebele* Chair (see above) for his services as militia; he was included for three months and then he graduated voluntarily (see more details below).
 - Others said that the peace/security and good governance representative registered himself as a beneficiary, but he was not eligible to be included in the programme since in terms of wealth he is better off.
- Some richer people reported not being included (e.g. a rich woman reported that her household was not selected as a beneficiary of PSNP programme as they are better off than those included in the programme); some other better off households reported being included, sometimes for a number of months.
- Other respondents reported that they thought the selection process was fair even if not everyone who needed PSNP support gets it:
 - A PW man (30, 4 member household) said that the beneficiaries recently included in the PSNP are so poor and they deserve the support. Of course not everyone does deserve it but the selection has been conducted fairly and there is nothing like bias or unfairness. Not everyone who needs PSNP support receives it as the quota is very small and it is given only to some households under a quota. Also, among the total members of the households, only a few members of beneficiaries' households' are included as the quota is very small.
- A few reported an improvement in the selection since 2009/10:
 - A PSNP beneficiary (m, 17) said the recent change is that starting from 2009/10, there is a great change in that only the poor are included, unlike the former times. ... There are no bad relations with officials unlike the former times as the inclusion is now somewhat transparent

and inclusive. ... the recent change is that the selection is being done by the committee organised by a different body - government and the community itself.

Graduation

Wereda officials said that Adele Keke has better food security than some other *kebeles* in the *wereda*. They even think that Adele Keke may not need PSNP in the future. According to the NRM DA, the Crops DA and CISP officials working on PSNP, 509 people have graduated since 2009: 290 people graduated in 2010 (97 households) and 219 people (114 households: 111 male headed household and 3 female household heads) in 2011. The NRM DA also provided conflicting information that in 2011, 510 household members were graduated. The Crops DA said that in 2011 219 people graduated but this was only 73 households rather than 114 households.

The women and children's representative said the graduation benchmark was for the value of productive assets of the household to be 17,000 *birr* or above. In practice no beneficiary household accumulated or allowed others to see such productive assets (especially income from the sale of chat) because most of them want to continue getting the support; they do not spend their income on observable assets in order not to graduate. The NRM DA said the graduation benchmarks are for households that 1) are able to secure food needs; 2) assessment of how many livestock the beneficiary has, how his/her farm is, about the NRM activities in his/her compound, farm, home goods like TV, radio, different utensils etc.

There is a quota for graduation. The *wereda* has not yet decided and informed the *kebele* about the quota for this year. They select the number of households to graduate based on the *wereda* quota for graduation. After these households are removed from the programme the quota for PSNP support is reduced. Last year the selection process for graduates was that the targeting decision makers told the leaders of the villages and development groups to identify those households whose living conditions have improved from their respective villages. The leaders discussed with the 1-5 household network leaders and identified such households, reporting to the DA who then presented to the targeting decision making body. Some households tried to refuse to graduate by arguing that their living condition was similar to the time they were included in the programme, but they were forced to graduate. Some even appealed to the *wereda* last year but the *wereda* sent them back to the *kebele* and finally the *kebele* DAs and other *kebele* officials convinced them to graduate. There are some self-reported voluntary graduates, but others say that they put themselves forward for graduation after hearing rumours that they had to graduate.

There used to be incentives (prizes, money, credit) given to graduates. Either two years or one year ago (according to different respondents) the incentives stopped and graduates got nothing. There also used to be a ceremony but this has not happened recently. The NRM DA said that in 2010 PSNP graduates were given one month's additional support in cash, and credit (4,340 *birr*) by the NGO CISP while they received PSNP and also after they graduated. According to the women and children's representative some credit was also given to 2011 graduates; NRM DA thought that it was not. Both the women and children's representative and the NRM DA recommended that the incentive should be given as it encourages the graduates and other non-graduates of the PSNP to work hard to improve their life styles.

Wereda officials said that they carry out close monitoring of graduates for two years after they graduate. The NRM DA said that there are some graduates who achieved sustainable food security and a few who returned to food insecurity. There are no graduated households who were readmitted to PSNP after suffering a food shock. The recent change is that the majority of the graduates have improved their life style or secured their food needs. If any of the graduate households suffer from crop failure they will be supported by emergency food aid; of those who graduated in 2010 some got emergency food aid in 2011 when their crop failed due to lack of rain. The women and children's representative said that of those who graduated some have woken up and immediately after they were informed that they would be cancelled from PSNP they started to

work harder and because of such hard work they got good yields and their living condition has improved.

Here are some examples of some graduate households:

- The household that was in PSNP to reward the husband for his carpentry work on the *kebele* schools, graduated in 2011 not because their household was identified for graduation but because they wanted to graduate as their living condition had improved and they wanted another poor household to benefit in their place. There was no big graduation ceremony like the year before; *wereda* officials came to the *kebele* with soft drinks. She said there was no support given to the household when they graduated. She mentioned that there are a few who graduated from the programme without improving their living condition. This is because she expects in every year there is a rule to graduate a certain number of households.
- Another household did not want to graduate but was told in 2011 they had to as their living condition had improved a lot. The mother thinks they still need to the support because her son (a driver) has had three car accidents, and as a result of one was in prison for 4 years; as a result they have had many expenses and they have to care for his children. Upon graduation she got 4,000 *birr* interest free credit. After she graduated even though her family size is large they have not faced food shortage as she has income from selling milk from her three excellent modern milking cows. The only thing that makes her feel sad is that the bigger house, which they built recently, has not been completed due to shortage of money. She hopes that when she gets money from 2 *equbs* she will complete the home. She mentioned that she has been contributing 200 *birr* monthly to each of the *equbs*. When her turn comes she hopes she will get about 30,000 *birr*.
- Another 2011 graduate household has been less successful. The mother was told by the *kebele* officials that they has farmland and if she and the other household members worked hard the yield would be enough for her household members as her household size is small. She said there was no process to graduate and they did not even inform her in advance. Upon graduation she did not get credit, unlike other households, because, she perceives that those who provide the credit give the credit to those who are closer to them, their relatives or those who have good relations with them. Thus, as she did not have good relations she thinks she encountered forced graduation and was excluded from the credit that she thinks she should have got. After she graduated she faced food shortages, especially last summer as her crop failed due to lack of rain. She got emergency food aid of 45 kg of sorghum and since she was suffering from food shortage in October she was allowed to participate in NRM activities: she worked for 12 days and got cash a support of 370 *birr*.
- A man receiving PW support said recently he was told by the NRM DA that he will graduate as he is not obliging and attending the meetings and punctual in his work. But, after negotiation, the NRM DA has decided that the poor beneficiary should stay in the programme.
- Another man said that he was out of the programme after 5 months as the *kebele* officials told him and others that they were trained as model farmers so they should be out of PSNP. So, he said that it is not graduation; rather it was unclear on what basis the DAs and other *kebele* officials made him quit the programme. However, he and other beneficiaries who were told to graduate soon complained, wanting to continue but were not heard and finally were made to graduate within five months.
- The *Kebele* chairman said he graduated in 2010 voluntarily after three months as his life style had improved and he had become middle wealthy. Nowadays, he is one of the rich farmers in the *kebele*. He got a wonderful prize awarded by the former Oromiya Regional Government President at the graduation ceremony held in Harar town in 2010.

Some households who are not ready to graduate completely but improve their economic status may get fewer households members covered under PSNP but still remain with some members still receiving PSNP support:

- The successful female household head (EE) said the household is a beneficiary of PSNP. Last year she was involved in public works, involved in making stone bunds on Mount Keke and Gole. She used to get support for six household members but a year ago the PSNP organisers reduced their allowance to four members as her living condition has improved.

Direct support selection

The women and children's representative said that one of the selection criteria for PSNP DS beneficiaries is similar to PW beneficiaries, i.e. it deals with wealth status: being poor (landless, those who have very small size farmland, and those who do not have chat crop). The other major criteria are being unable to work on their farmland due to lack of labour or absence of someone to help them (elderly), and infertile farm land that may not give good yield. The difference is that after the households are included in the programme if in these households there is no person able to work the households are taken as direct beneficiaries. For instance, from these households the absence of an able body to work is one cause. Thus, DS beneficiaries are elderly, disabled persons, orphans, etc. who are too old or too young to work.

However, if any able bodied person joins the household that household will be changed to PW beneficiaries since the new household member has to involve in public work. For example, there was an old woman who was a DS beneficiary for two years. Her daughter (who had married and moved to another place) came back to live with her and since then her daughter has been involved in PSNP public work activities and the household has become a PW beneficiary.

In relation to the number of household members provided with support she said the household size of most of the direct support beneficiaries is small and therefore most of them get the support for 1 or 2 household members.

Here are some examples of people who receive PSNP direct support:

- A 67 year old woman who lives with one of her sons (sometimes he falls sick with mental problems a bit), one grandchild and one relative, who serves her as a domestic servant. She has farmland which she sharecrops. She said she has been included in the programme since she is elderly and she does not have labour to involve in farming activities. Other community members said that they used to be rich in the past, one of her sons works in the *wereda* office and his wife is a teacher in one of the *kebele* schools; they live in two rooms of her home which is large and of good quality.
- A 47 year old woman gets DS as she lives with just one of daughters and she sharecrops out her farmland to her sons who have established their own households. She said she was included in the programme in 2009/10 after her husband died because she lost her husband, she has no other household member who can work on farming activities so as to support her life and she has been ill for a long time.
- A 50 year old man is disabled from a car accident and receives DS. All three of his household members receive PSNP support (but it is not known if any of them participate in the public works).

Support provided

Wereda and *kebele* officials said the beneficiary households receive food for three months (January to March) and they receive cash for three months (April to June). One household member (both DS and PW) gets 15kg wheat and 0.45 litre cooking oil, or 50 *birr*. In addition, households who have a pregnant or lactating mother receive 1.5 kg cow peas, according to the women and children's

representative, while the NRM DA said that all household members receive 2kg of pulses. Sometimes in the PSNP transfer for pregnant and breast-feeding mother beneficiaries and those who have children less than 5 years old, fafa/white flour is provided, while the remaining beneficiaries get the normal transfer such as wheat.

The researcher and the Crops DA calculated the total amount of cash and food that has been distributed to PSNP beneficiaries in the *kebele* since 2009/10 – see Table 9 below. As there is no store house in the *kebele* the officials do not bring the food support to the *kebele*; the beneficiaries go to the *wereda* capital to receive the food support. They also go to the *wereda* capital to get the cash support. Sometimes they receive one delivery for two months, in which case they receive the support 3 times per year; if it is ready at the *wereda* level as expected they receive it on a monthly basis.

Table 9 PSNP support distributed since 2009/10

Year	Amount of cash PW and DS beneficiaries received	What food PW and DS beneficiaries Received
2011/12	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,291 people @ 50 <i>birr</i> each= 64,550 <i>birr</i> • This amount will be given three times (programme starting from January) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,291 people @ 15 kg each= 19,365 kg wheat. • This amount will be given three times. (programme starting from January)
2010/11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,510 people @ 50 <i>birr</i> each= 75,500 <i>birr</i> for one month. • 75,500 <i>birr</i> given three times= 226,500 <i>birr</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1,510 people @ 15 kg each= 22,650 kg wheat • 22,650 kg given three times= 67,950 kg
2009/10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1, 800 People @ 50 <i>birr</i> each = 90,000 <i>birr</i> • 90,000 <i>birr</i> given three times= 270,000 <i>birr</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1, 800 People @ 15 kg each = 27,000 kg wheat • 27,000 kg given three times= 81,000 kg

Timeliness

Wereda officials said the aid is given to the beneficiaries according to an agreed schedule. The women and children's representative said beneficiaries know when they will be given the support but commonly it is delayed by about a month and some of them face food shortages as they may not have grain to eat. The NRM DA said the food/cash is normally given on time but, last year, the food for two months was given at together in the second month as the beneficiaries were attending meetings of the GTP and could not work for one month. Both representatives said that the amount the beneficiaries received is as promised. The middle wealth woman (KL) said that sometimes there is a problem with providing the support on time. The elderly woman (67) receiving direct support said that to improve the DS it would be good if the support is given on time when beneficiaries are expecting to get it because sometimes beneficiaries do not have anything to eat while waiting for the support.

Quality

Wereda officials said the PSNP food aid comes from USAID and there has been no problem with it. A man receiving PSNP said the quality was good; no complaints about the quality of the food were shared with the researchers.

Quantity

Respondents' reports of the wheat and cash amounts received were as per the official quantities; there were varying amounts of cooking oil and pulses (cow peas) reported as received per household member. For example, one woman reported receiving 0.33 litres of cooking oil per household member, another reported receiving a litre per person; the same women reported receiving 0.83kg cow peas and 28kg per household member respectively.

No respondent reported receiving less food or cash than promised; no deductions were reported.

A number of respondents say that the PSNP support is useful but it is not enough, in particular when they have larger families with household members that are not registered to receive PSNP support:

- She feels the amount of support provided is a bit inadequate to feed her household but it enables them to greatly increase the frequency of eating as compared with when they did not have the support.
- Some male community members said the support helps poor people but it is not based on the number in their families. At most 100 kg is given to each household. Most of the time, the majority of households are given from 20-60 kg. The people who are harmed are those covered by the PSNP but who could not change their lives with the help they get, and those who could not work hard on their farms so as to improve their life.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that since the implementation of the programme she has been getting support of PSNP for three household members though her family has six members. Thus, she has been getting in-kind support (2 litres cooking oil and 45 kg wheat or sorghum for 3 months) and cash transfers for the other 3 months per annum. She suggested it would be good if another one or two members from her household were included since the support is a bit inadequate.
- A poor man is receiving PSNP support for three of his four household members (his last baby was born after the PSNP registration process). He said that this support of food and cash is not enough as this year he produced only five quintal of sorghum on his very small farm land which is below 1 *qindi* (one eighth of a hectare – or 0.125 ha). He faces food gaps for at least four months till the next PSNP work begins. He has been also working as agricultural labourer in Adele Keke and sometimes in Haramaya *wereda*.

Cash or food

Several women said they preferred food support as the value of the cash support is lower compared with the food support they get; one said that the value of the cash she got is not adequate to buy crops as the price of grain is increasing. One man wanted to take cash instead of food as he wants to buy goods from shops to sell on for profit. Another man, who has since graduated from PSNP for having improved his livelihood, said that he would have preferred cash instead of food as he wanted to buy different agricultural inputs.

The Public Works work

Wereda officials said the work is carried out before harvesting, for six months from January to June. *Kebele* officials said the beneficiaries work on PSNP two days a week and full-time on those days from 10am in the morning to 4pm in the evening; they spend the rest of their time working in their farms. The works are run by the NRM DA in the *kebele*. The DAs take attendance and send work reports to the *wereda*. The militia also reportedly play a role in supervising the activities.

The NRM DA supervises the work by organising the people in groups of 10 and assigning the work and he said that he frequently goes to the work area and supervises it together with the other DAs. He mentioned that the other *wereda* pays incentives to public work organisers but Kersa *wereda* refused to do so and as a result his morale has been affected negatively.

A public work participant said the work is monitored by the DAs but they do not strictly follow up and they should do this better. He recommended that the DAs are given some incentives so that they can organise the work effectively. Another participant complained that the public works are poorly organised: the beneficiaries go to the mountains but they are not told clearly what to do, while on the other hand when the majority of the beneficiaries do not come on time or ever – they simply go on the day of the food/cash distribution – there has been no strict follow up from the DAs. He said there was a recent change from 2012 that monitoring is improved and the support is given

only to those who fully participate on the PSNP public works. The DA NRM also mentioned that a few people go to collect the food without doing the work and without strict follow up.

The beneficiaries bring their own tools and there are some tools provided by the government, although the same man who complained about the lack of organisation also complained that they did not get tools or training. All beneficiaries work; women tend to do the lighter work. Pregnant women and lactating mothers are exempted from the public works. A woman said that when she was pregnant with her youngest child she used to carry smaller stones, but mostly she used to sit under a tree as they did not force her to work and immediately after she gave birth they exempted her.

It is the household head who usually undertakes the public works. A poor woman (JJ) said that as her husband is involved in wage work she is the one who is involved in public works of PSNP. Another woman said that she was the household member who undertook the public works last year because the *kebele* officials know that her husband is a daily labourer

Some people are exempted from having to undertake the public works. The middle wealth woman (KL) mentioned that her household has been exempted from PSNP public works as her husband is working in the district centre and the household won favour by allowing Hararghe Catholic Secretariat to build the home of the milk processing cooperative '*Amessa Anani*' on their farm land and they have been keeping the home built as well.

Recent work activities of FFW/PSNP include stone and soil bunds on sloping and mountainous areas, road construction, planting trees, road construction and building school latrines. A woman said she worked on mountain bunds to prevent soil erosion, tree planting on Mount Keke, fetching water when an additional classroom was built for the school, and preparing an internal road that went to different villages. Female household heads also work on a seedling nursery as part of their PSNP public works contribution.

The NRM DA said the most recently completed PSNP project was the Risk Finance project in which environmental protection works like stone and soil bunds were constructed to prevent soil erosion, and trees were planted on the Keke Mountain in Adele Keke, to replace the illegally cleared trees were cleared as the area is susceptible to erosion. He said this is a popular and interesting activity and made a difference in the community's lives in such a way that the environmental balance is being maintained, soil erosion is reduced, and the underground water is also enriched in the areas of the mountain. Another reported effect is that farmers living below the mountain were formerly suffering from lack of water and were affected by the gullies and erosion but are now free from this problem. They are able to construct deep water points and water points in the gorge area below the mountain and farmers are using them for irrigating their chat.

One woman said the expansion of classrooms and planting trees are most useful as building new classrooms enables more children to attend school while the trees will benefit the community in the future. She said working on the internal road is least useful as in the summer season the road will become difficult to use as it is not done well. Another said that all the activities undertaken are valuable but expansion of classrooms in the school is the most valuable as she has several children who are attending school as well as another two children she needs to send to school next year. As the *kebele* is vast it is important that there is a school nearer to their village. A man said that his priorities were planting trees, road, health centre, school, bunds; in his opinion, tree planting is the most useful and making bunds is the least useful because tree planting helps for several purposes, in the mountain, on the street, and on farms, and has several purposes (absorbing rain, helping to construct houses etc.) while bunds are only constructed on the mountains and their use is not as wide.

One woman said the support as compared with the time or the kinds of activities done in PW is fair and she does not feel exploited. Another woman whose husband undertakes the public works

thought the support provided is good as the PW is done for a few days and the activities are not very heavy and it does not affect their farming activities; she does not feel a sense of exploitation. A male PW participant said that the work is medium, sometimes easy and even women can do it and he does not feel exploited. A woman (65, living alone) said that as the public work of the PSNP is very easy she mentioned that even those who have good means of livelihood also want to be included in PSNP and get the support. In contrast, a man receiving PSNP for four of his eight member household he gets tired when he passes the day on the work and as a result, he does nothing on his farm. The amount of food/cash given or the wage per day is from 10-13 *birr* and according to him, this is not enough and it is not fair compared with the daily labourer rate of 20 *birr*. Another man who was told to graduate after five months of PSNP support for being a model farmer, said that when he went to the PSNP public works, his farm is not ploughed and crops are lost; as a result, he did not get food for about two months as the food that he got from the PSNP was finished within two weeks.

Contingency PSNP

The *wereda* officials said that contingency food aid is mostly for five months and given in September, January, February, July and August. The Crops DA said that contingency food aid is given in Adele Keke normally for one or two months, tending to be around September time. He said that since 2005 about the same amount has been given each year. According to the NRM DA contingency PSNP is provided for two months when there is food shortage or drought, along with emergency food aid (see below). He said that last year, when the crops of nearly all farmers failed, 59 households received contingency food aid (50 male headed household and 9 female household head) and 200 people (163 male, 37 female).

The DA also said there was 'Risk Financing' which is different from PSNP, supported by one NGO, where any able bodied person can get involved in NRM activities and receive cash support in turn. A woman DS beneficiary said that recently (October 2011) some people who were able to work were involved in public works at Mount Keke (to undertake replanting following the illegal cutting) and they got cash support. However she and other DS beneficiaries were not able to work and therefore did not get this support and she was greatly disappointed and she blamed the officials.

Emergency Food Aid (FFW)

Wereda officials said emergency food aid is provided to non-PSNP beneficiaries in all the 35 *kebeles*. The Crops DA said that emergency food aid is provided to non-PSNP beneficiary households when there crop failure due to natural disasters such as lack of rain. As with the contingency aid, he said that the emergency food aid is given normally for one or two months, tending to be around September time. He said that since 2005 about the same amount has been given each year. The NRM DA said two months of other emergency food aid is during the food shortage or drought and last year 116 households received emergency food aid (85 male headed households, 31 female headed households) with 360 people (273 male, 87 female).

The poor woman (JJ) said that in 2009 the crops of some farmers who used selected maize seed, failed. Non-PSNP households with crop failure got Emergency Food Aid. Similarly, last year some households faced crop failure due to drought. For these crises government has provided Emergency Food Aid for those households, mostly 4 households per village, who were severely affected by the crop failure but were not included in PSNP, and old people who need support.

A successful woman farmer said that last year her maize crop failed as the improved seed she and other community members used was impaired and she had to buy maize for household consumption. Some others households got food aid but she did not as the food providers told her that she could overcome her difficulties as she has better resources than the households who got the aid.

Another richer woman not included in PSNP for being better off, reported that once, like the other community members, their crops were affected by frost. At this time emergency food aid was given

to some community members, mainly poor households, but the *kebele* officers supplying the aid told her that they had assets which help them to cope up that crises. She suggested that even though well-to-do farmers have some assets to use whenever their crop fails encountering these crises has resulted in impoverishment of asset or they lose what they were planning to get.

Compensation aid

This was not mentioned to the researchers.

Impacts on the households and the community

Impact of PSNP and EFA on households

Public Works beneficiaries

Wereda officials said that there have been changes in farmers' livelihoods as a result of PSNP and that when the harvest was not ready, farmers were given food security and saved from hunger disaster. *Kebele* officials said that a recent change is that poor people used to go to towns for labour work but now they stay at home and work on their farms as a result of the support they got from the PSNP and emergency food aid.

The women and children's representative said that first and foremost it protected the beneficiaries against food shortage. She said PW and DS beneficiaries used the PSNP support for household consumption and they also used the cash support to buy other consumable commodities or grain. It also enabled beneficiaries to build up or at least prevent them from selling assets and some have bought milking cows and goats/sheep for rearing and fattening and have started to produce milk for sale as well as for consumption. It also helped them to plant chat crops that take 3 years to ripen, and many people mentioned the benefits to being able to wait to sell chat when they can get a good price for it, rather than having to sell immediately for less income. With the cash support some beneficiaries buy educational materials for their children and some are improving their houses, e.g. most households have built a house made with corrugated iron sheets but previously their home was made with grass. Those who were doing wage work so as to get daily income for subsistence started to plough their farmland by living off the PSNP support rather than needing to do daily labour.

The NRM DA explained that the food does not meet the consumption needs of all household members as the food/cash is given only for a limited number of household members. He also said the support has not reduced asset selling in hard times or helped in paying off debt as the support is not enough. The NRM DA said that because the support is not sufficient (as not all members of a household receive it) the families need additional support to meet their food needs. The common strategy is to participate in agricultural labour work either in Adele Keke or other places like Aweday where a lot of chat is grown.

Examples of the impact on individual households include:

- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that besides irrigating their farmland, the support of PSNP and the credit obtained as other PSNP beneficiaries has been improving their livelihood as they built a new home made of corrugated iron sheets (before that they lived in a house of grass made sheets) and a modern milking cow, and they are also arranging another room for livestock.
- The poor woman (JJ) said that before PSNP came to the area she and her husband used to work as daily labourers to fulfil their daily consumption needs and they did not work on their farmland. Since getting PSNP they work on her farm by eating from PSNP and they have started to produce chat.
- An elderly woman (67) receiving DS said she knew about three households that have repaired their homes, separated their sleeping and livestock rooms, and bought cows after they started getting PSNP support. She said she had used the food support for household consumption and

the cash support to buy other consumption goods such as sugar, onions etc. She also used the money for medication for her eye. She said the support prevented her from asking for more support from her children.

- A woman (32) receiving PSNP support for three of a six member household said the PSNP support, especially the cash support, is not sufficient for her household. She asked the organiser to include her youngest child but they refused, telling her that they do not have additional quota. Last year she faced food gaps for four months and she sold the goat that she bought for rearing.
- Another woman (35), categorised as medium wealth, with a nine member household and receiving PSNP support for seven members, said there were times when the household faced shortage of money to buy consumption items like maize and sorghum, and they borrowed money from their relatives to overcome the problem.

Direct beneficiaries

For those receiving DS, in general, receiving the support enabled the elderly to hire daily labourers to work on their farmland and produce crops, saving them from renting or sharecropping out their farmland, which gives them better yields. Even those who were begging on the main internal have stopped begging since they started to eat PSNP support.

Impact of PSNP and EFA on the community

A number of respondents talked about PSNP saving the community from food shortage, preventing deterioration of people's living standards, and for some, enabling them to improve their assets and embark on new income generating activities. As a result houses with corrugated iron and basic household items like mattresses and plastic mats are becoming common.

The NRM DA said that to some extent PSNP has protected the community against food insecurity and prevented the selling of assets and getting into debt. The programme also helped the community to work on the environment and protect natural resources and this has positively impacted on the work culture of the community and contributed to environmental protection. However, as the PSNP only focuses on farming, it did not create other job opportunities for the community. He thinks the PSNP did not create dependency as some of the poor members of the community who formerly used to go for agricultural labour work have now remained on their farms during the PSNP work and also after they are graduated, and have developed a strong working culture on their farm. However, there are still some poor PSNP beneficiary farmers who go for agricultural labour as the support that they get from the PSNP is not enough for their household members. While there are some people who are dependent on the PSNP, he said these people are lazy people who do not have strong commitment and strong working culture to work on their own farms and get out of poverty but want to depend on the PSNP only.

The NRM DA said the community impact would be improved if: 1) PSNP is provided for all members of each beneficiary household; 2) other alternative food security projects should be designed such as large-scale irrigation schemes as there is very high potential of underground water resources especially near Lake Adel; 3) the quantity of food/cash is increased to cover more household members and more households. He also said that, of course, the PSNP beneficiaries should get OFSP/HABP packages to improve their livelihoods as they will not improve their livelihood simply by PSNP.

PSNP has resulted in some conflict in the community, over the selection decisions (see previous section) and when the support is distributed, as some people quarrel with each other when receiving the food as their share is sometimes taken by somebody else that did not participate in the PSNP work and does not deserve the support.

Some community members said they would prefer to receive government support to dig water wells for irrigation rather than PSNP support.

Savings, credit and debt

Savings by individuals

The *wereda* credit and savings leader said he frequently travels to clients in different *kebeles* to give training and awareness raising messages, including on the importance of saving.

The rich woman (32) said that to teach her about saving the *wereda* finance officer came to her home, gave her a small box that she used to put money in. On a monthly basis the official comes to her home and receives the money she put in and then they deposit that money in the bank in her name. Accordingly, she has saved some money in the Bank by opening a book in her name which she will use to improve her livelihood by expanding her business activities.

The rich woman (FE) said that she and her husband have joined informal saving groups ('*equb*') recently; she has joined two and her husband has joined one. The household also saves money at a bank.

Community-organised credit

Many respondents reported being members of *equbs* – rotating savings groups. Here are some examples:

- The successful female household head (EE) said she is a member of a milk *equb* in which she pays 100 *birr* on every 15th day. This week she will get 1,700 *birr*. Those with modern milking cows pay more and get about 5,000 *birr*. She has planned to save this money to use it to pay back the credit or she will buy goats for rearing. She also belongs to another *equb* in which she pays 100 *birr* on every 15th day. Her turn to receive money will be in 4 months. Formerly she received money from an *equb* and she used the money to cover some expenses when her son got married in last summer.
- The *kebele* chair's wife is a member of two *equbs* (milk/women's *equb* and male *equb*) to which she pays 200 *birr* on every 15th day of the month for each, using the money she get from selling milk and water. Last year she has received 15,000 *birr* from one of the *equbs*. She used this money to repair their home and buy some household equipment. She also gave 2,000 *birr* to her son to buy clothes upon graduating from college. When she got money from the other *equb* recently she has planned to buy a modern milking cow. Her husband also belongs to 2 *equbs* to which he pays 300 *birr* on every 15th day of the month for each from the commission he gets from the sale of chat. When his turn comes he will get about 35,000 *birr*. They have planned to build some rooms in the compound where they have rented a house so as to rent out such rooms too.
- The middle wealth man (CC) said that his household is the member of a government employees' *equb*; it has already finished and was going to resume from January 2012. He said the *equb* will build people's financial capacity to maintain their houses, and buy household materials like satellite receivers, TVs. The amount of contribution is based on the profit, and economic capacity of the member. He received 3,500 *birr* in 2010. He used the money for treatment when he was stabbed by his brother with a *mencha* (knife). His wife said she is a member of two *equbs* (milk/women's *equb* and male *equb*) in which she pays 200 *birr* on every 15th day of the month for each. From both *equbs* she received money (20,000 *birr*) last summer. She said this money was spent on her medical treatment, when she had been visiting different health care institutes, including private hospitals in Harar and Dire Dawa for the severe illness she had recently.
- A poor woman in her 30s said that she is a member of one smaller *equb* as she cannot afford the contribution for the larger *equb*. She pays a layout of 10 *birr* every 15th day of the month.

- The rich young man in his 30s said he withdrew from *iddir* and *equb* as he is helping his sister who is attending her diploma programme and as a result, he lacked money.

General government credit

According to *wereda* officials the government-affiliated Oromiya Credit and Saving Institution (OCSI)⁹ gives credit to the rural community. Since 2010/11, OCSI has given 500 *birr*/month credit to 50 employees to be repaid within two years at the interest rate of 10.5%. The second form of credit is long term credit which is given to employees for four months. The interest is 4.50%. This is facilitated by the *wereda* finance bureau.

There are private micro-finance institutions in the *wereda*. These include RuSSACOs that work in credit and saving, and also have additional activities; RuSSACOs in rural areas provide fertiliser and improved seeds to farmers. There are 18 RuSSACOs in Kersa *wereda*, but only seven of them are well established and functioning in a good way. Of the 18, four are operating in towns while 14 are functioning in rural areas. Of the 14 rural RuSSACOs, six of them are completely dormant and have not yet started their duties.

There is no bank in Kersa *wereda* but OCSI has been giving banking services, as do the well-functioning RuSSACOs. There are banks in Aweday and Haramaya where the cooperatives save their money.

The *wereda* savings and credit leader (male, 30, diploma in accounting, in post since 2008/9, also a member of the *wereda* command post in NRM) mentioned another credit of 500 *birr* each given to 100 women who were members of five different cooperatives; it is not clear if this is NGO or government credit. They received the money for two years in a contractual agreement and it is the *wereda* office of the cooperative which gives instructions about the process of this credit.

There are no resources from NGOs for the *wereda* credit and saving office, but recently it has been structured with the other offices in different sectors to work collaboratively: they are using the vehicles together to travel to the field in the *kebeles*.

The leader mentioned the following achievements: (1) people who formerly did not have milk cows have now bought them; (2) people who used to sell their cereal crops have stopped selling them and begun to use them in their homes; (3) people have changed their houses from grass to corrugated sheet. The problems he mentioned were that some beneficiaries receive credit but do not pay the debt back on time. The other problem is the NGO CISP giving credit without following up repayments is killing people's saving culture – see below for more details.

To improve the job, the office is planning to start money transfer just like the banks. He recommends that it would help if the money is deposited in the office of the *wereda* credit and saving as they are currently depositing the money in the bank and this has created problems to circulate the money for different purposes. It would also save time and energy not to have to go frequently to the bank to withdraw money.

He says he is working closely in linkage with *wereda* offices like NRM, small micro-businesses enterprises and technical and vocational office and the like.

Credit for agriculture including OFSP/HABP

The *wereda* saving and credit organisation leader who is also leading savings and credit in Adele Keke, said that there are 155 members (32 men, 123 women) of the savings and credit organisation in Adele Keke. He said that the HABP package has been given to 25 beneficiaries while the remaining 130 beneficiaries are those who have got loans from the *wereda* credit and saving office.

⁹ Elsewhere a Oromiya Credit and Saving Association is mentioned; it is presumed that this refers to the same organisation.

He said that, first the beneficiaries are selected from the *kebele*, their socio-economic data collected and analysed and their credit history studied. The villages' leaders are also involved in selecting and screening the credit and saving beneficiaries. After they have been selected, the *wereda* credit and saving organisation gives credit to them when the farmers submit their business plan to the organisation. The repayment term is one year. There are also group savings.

For the last 2 years OCSI has provided credit for males and females separately. The credit is given on a group basis. Females used the credit to rear sheep and goats, for cattle fattening, and chat and milk trading so as to improve their living condition. The credit has been given to males to prevent them from sale of chat when its price is lower. Thus, as they use the credit for what they need, they do not sell when its price is cheaper rather they sell it when its price increases so as to get better income. Some men also opened a small shop with the loan they got.

A rich woman in her 30s said that in 2007/8 the *wereda* saving and credit organisation gave a credit of 500 *birr* to 25 organised unemployed youth in Adele Keke.

Some poorer respondents explained that they cannot get credit as they have no assets to serve as guarantee for the loan. For example a woman with a physical disability said she and her mother wanted to get credit when some PSNP beneficiaries got credit last year so as to use the loan to buy a cow or to build a home; they did not get the credit and she does not know why but she suspects that as she is disabled and her mother is old, the loan givers may think that they will not use the loan for trading and may face difficulty to repay the loan.

Examples of credit taken and its effects are:

- A successful widow farmer in 2009 got 1,000 *birr* credit from OCSI. She paid 1,100 *birr* within one year (the 100 *birr* is interest). She used the money to buy a water pump costing 4,000 *birr* by adding 3,000 *birr* to the credit. Now the price of water pumps has increased, about double or triple. She also bought a 100 metre water tube for 3,800 *birr*. Since then she has been irrigating her land and getting better chat harvests. To increase her production further she also uses fertiliser and improved seeds. She became a model farmer after she bought a water pump as she started to irrigate her land and got better production.
- The rich woman (FE) (now married to the peace/security and good governance representative) previously got divorced and did not get her share; she had nothing and joined a group of other unemployed youth. Then the *wereda* saving and credit organisation gave a credit of 500 *birr* to the organised unemployed youth. She got this credit and immediately (in 2007/8) she started trading milk. Within a year she paid the loan and she took another loan. Similarly, within a year she paid such loan back. This loan was interest free. However, apart from her, others have not used their loan properly. Because of her hard work in trading milk in the last four years she has become among the most successful business persons in the area. She said that without the credit, which she used as a starting capital to start trading milk she might not be involved in this successful work/trading milk. With the profit she has bought land, built a quality home and bought other household furniture like a spring mattress, which until now no one else in the *kebele* had.
- A rich man in his 30s said that he once received credit of 1,500 *birr* from OCSI and repaid the debt after a year. With the money he hired labourers for his farm and also bought fertiliser
- A middle wealth man in his 30s said he received credit of 1,000, 1,200, 2,000 and 3,000 *birr* in four terms from OCSI and used it to buy improved seeds and fertilisers and to construct a water point. He also bought fuel for the motor that he uses for pumping water for irrigation. This has changed his household's livelihood greatly.
- The poor woman (JJ) explained that while some farmers got credit by taking their chat crop and home as a guarantee her household had not got this credit service as she has nothing to

consider as a guarantee (as her home is very small, old and made from grass) and her farmland is too small. Some of those who get the credit service have benefited as they used the credit to buy livestock for fattening so as to sell it with better income. Some of the credit takers have been harmed as they wasted the loan and finally they sold their livestock to repay the loan. She stated that she knows three persons who were disappointed by wasting the credit and they decided not to take any credit in the future.

Wereda officials said that in 2009 members in five rural *kebeles* were organised in small group and got credit access through the help of CISP and HCS. These women were selected by considering their commitment so that they will benefit from the credit, improve their life and become models for other women. The number of members of this group is about 20. The group members get credit (such as 5,000 *birr* or as to their capacity) individually. These women have been using the credit they get for income generating activities such as cattle fattening, trading chat, trading milk etc. They have a monthly saving. They also establish a local means of saving, an *equb*, whereby members get money turn by turn. Being involved in such activities and earning their own income has made women independent and exercising their rights.

Kebele respondents said that last year CISP with Hararghe Catholic Secretariat (HCS) provided credit for PSNP beneficiaries so as to strengthen their livelihood by involving them in income generating activities so as to prepare them for graduation. 4,000 *birr* interest free was given per household and the beneficiaries have been using it for income-generating activities, mostly on livestock. It is a revolving credit and after a year when this loan is repaid it will be given to other households. At the *wereda* level, *wereda* officials said that in total these organisations have lent 2,604,000 *birr* to 600 people on an individual basis, through cooperatives.

Examples of PSNP beneficiary credit activities are:

- The rich woman (FE) said that recently PSNP beneficiaries have got a credit so as to strengthen their livelihoods so they can cope when they graduate from PSNP; most of these households had bought livestock to rear or to fatten for sale.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that last year the household got a credit of 4,340 *birr* from CISP. Like her, other PSNP beneficiaries who are selected to use the credit to strengthen their livelihoods have got this credit. The credit is interest-free. As her husband is mostly involved in his job at the district capital she is the one who took the credit and decided what activities they used the credit for. With the credit she has bought a modern cow for 6,000 by adding an additional 1,660 *birr*. Now the cow is pregnant and when the cow gives birth the household will get milk both for household consumption as well as for sale. Accordingly, she hopes the credit will benefit the household. She stated that similarly, others who got the credit also have been involved in certain income generating activities such as fattening sheep (most households are involved in this activity), buying and selling milk and chat, and petty trade as to their interests and capacities. Thus, they have been benefiting. In contrast, she mentioned one man like her has bought cow by adding some money to the credit he got but after a certain time the cow died. Now he has reported this case but he is expected to repay the credit.
- Last year the poor woman (JJ) got an interest-free credit of 4,340 *birr* from CSIP. She and other PSNP beneficiaries were selected to get the credit as they are able to engage in productive activities. She said the loan will be paid back next year and when it has been paid back it will be given to other PSNP beneficiaries. Initially with this credit she bought a small ox for 1,300 *birr* and after she fed the ox for a certain time she sold it for 2,200 *birr* (getting a profit of 900 *birr*). Immediately, she bought 3 sheep (modern sheep from Somalia area) with this credit. One of these is on the way to giving birth. She is fattening two of them for sale. In addition, she had taken another person's cow that was ready to give birth. She fed the cow. When the cow gave birth her owners used the milk. After a certain time they took the cow and she kept the calf. With the remaining credit she has been buying consumable items such as onions, tomatoes, etc.

from the nearby town to sell in the *kebele*. She has been living on land belonging to others; now the household has planned to build a better home on their farmland. To do so she has bought and stored 20 corrugated iron sheets from the profit she got from petty trade. When she builds the home she also expects that she would sell consumable items at her home.

Credit for non-farm activities including OFSP/HABP

- A rich teenage girl said that with the income from their mill and a credit of 10,000 *birr* obtained from the *wereda* micro finance institution they bought a minibus in 2009. Her brother drives the car. On average daily they get 200 *birr* from the car. The household also opened a shop, and they buy commodities from the nearby town and sell them in the *kebele*.
- The poor woman (JJ) used part of her CISP credit to buy consumable goods for re-sale (see above for more details).
- The successful man (BB) said he received 14,000 *birr* from an *Iddir* and he used this money to open the Coca-Cola distribution business.
- A woman running a successful shop (her common-in-law husband left her when she found out she was pregnant; her one son is now in the 10th grade) said that she took 4,000 credit from someone she knew – a personal loan – with no interest (because according to the Koran you can't apply interest) and hasn't yet started to pay back. She wants her village to have a road for vehicles connecting it to the main road to give access to market.
- Last year the successful female household head (EE) got credit of 5,000 *birr* from the CISP HABP. Due to drought last year most of the community members were buying grain for food since their crops failed. Therefore with the loan she bought 7 quintal grain and sold it to others; in a month's time when farmers thresh their grain she will receive the grain she lent them last year and from one quintal she will get a mark-up of an additional 10 kg.

Debt

The *wereda* officials said that farmers received credits for two years starting from 2010/11 and all the credits that the farmers were given so far have not been returned. They will be expected to return the debt towards the end of 2012/13. The credit was given by CISP. The money is a revolving fund which is expected to return the debt to the cooperatives' bank account. The cooperatives then will give the money again to other farmers in the form of credit with loan.

However, the *wereda* credit and saving leader said that CISP is giving credit to the members of the community without any follow up and this has been hurting the saving culture of the people. In particular he said it is affecting the work of the *wereda* credit and saving organisation as beneficiaries do not think that they need to repay the debt when they see people who received credit from CLSP not paying back. He bitterly expressed that the NGO CISP should give the money in the form of assistance if considered but if it is considered as a credit, it should give it in the form of credit and have a strategy of following the money, teaching the people how to use and pay back the debt. If this NGO does not resolve this problem, the *wereda* credit and saving is ready to appeal to the National Bank of Ethiopia so that it interferes in the case.

Here are community members' feedback on experiences of debt:

- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that about 10% of community is in debt. The maximum amount owed by a debtor, that she knows is 4,340 *birr*. She stated that the debt will be re-claimed after 3 years. The money paid back will be given to others who did not owe a debt before. Meaning the debt she knows is a revolving one so as to address the majority of the community members. Since the time of settlement will be in the coming year she does not know what will happens to those who can't pay.
- The poor female household head (FF) said that she had no debts.

- The successful female household head (EE) said the household is in debt of 5,000 *birr* for the HABP loan they got from CISP. She said such debt will be paid at the end of next year. The DAs have been advising the loan takers to save a certain amount of money so as to feel at ease then they will pay back the credit. She does not know what action will be taken if someone is not able to pay back the loan.
- The poor man (DD) said he has not paid back the debt of the 4,000 *birr* credit. He plans to sell his sheep or goat or small female cattle to repay the debt. He is aware that if he does not repay the debt, they will punish him but he does not know what actions would be taken against him.
- The poor woman (FF) said the highest amount owed by a debtor is 5,000 *birr*. She mentioned that those who got credit through using their chat crop as a guarantee pay 10 *birr* monthly so as to repay some amount of the debt. She also heard that there is a time period fixed to repay the remaining debt. With regards to the debt owed by PSNP beneficiaries she mentioned it will be repaid in the coming year (after benefiting for 3 years). Until now nothing has been paid. Due to this she does not know what will happen to those who can't pay.

Co-operatives

Service co-operatives

According to *wereda* officials, surveys of farmers' needs for these farming technologies are conducted by DAs and sent to cooperatives to make available inputs like seeds and fertiliser, which they offer to farmers. There is a cooperative known as *Gerbe Dedo* in Adele Keke. This cooperative provides inputs like seeds and fertilisers as well as other household consumption commodities and goods to farmers.

The wife in the successful male headed household (FE) said that in the last four years she and other community members have been buying agricultural inputs and some commodities, from the *Gerbe Dedo* co-operative.

A member of the service cooperative complained that they have not been receiving a regular monthly supply of goods: '*delays often happen*'.

Producer co-operatives

women's co-operatives

Wereda officials said there are two producer cooperatives in the *wereda*. One is an irrigation cooperative called *Haqan Gudina* which works collaboratively with Haramaya University and has been multiplying improved seeds on the land of the cooperative and then distributing them to the farmers. So far potato, wheat, and onion seeds have been multiplied and distributed to farmers.

The other is the milk and milk products women's cooperative known as *Amessa Anani* cooperative in Adele Keke. This is the only women's producer cooperative in the *wereda*. They said it has 52 members: 3 men and 49 women. It has been established with the support of CISP, who gave an initial fund of 30,000 *birr* from CISP; this is a revolving fund as the returned money goes to the *Amessa* cooperative itself which provides different services to its members and non-members. Last year the women's cooperative bought fertiliser from another area and sold it to the community members saving the profit obtained; they plan to repeat this exercise this year. The cooperative plans to buy milk, and process and sell its products (butter and cheese). They have built a house and bought some milk processing equipment. When the remaining equipment is obtained the cooperative will be functional. At the moment the building is empty and the activities have not yet started.

The wife in the successful household (TF) said that when the cooperative becomes functional she will sell the milk she produces at a better price. Similarly, she hopes by then a lot of women will benefit. However she fears that the leaders of the cooperative may not be working hard to achieve

what has been planned and as a result she expects it may take some time to strengthen the activities of the cooperative. She suggested it would be good if the NGO that built the home provides some training for the members to generate interest and inspire them to work as much as they can.

The successful female household head (EE) said that recently she became vice leader of the women's milk processing cooperative. She said some members are not committed to attending meetings when they are called. In the future she fears that unless the members are committed it might take a long time to make the cooperative successful. The *kebele* chair said that the problem is that the managing committee is so weak and there has been no follow up from CISP who had organised the women and offered credit as a starting capital. His wife is the treasurer and she said that she worried that the cooperative will not be successful as leaders are not committed and she perceives they may misuse the capital that the cooperative gets from one NGO (Harerghe Catholic Service) as a credit. She is the one who keeps the money of the cooperative but she is not interested to continue having such position since she mentioned there is some kind of argument with the leaders of the cooperative.

The middle wealth man (CC) said that his wife is the leader of the cooperative. He said the cooperative was inaugurated with interest and the members contributed five *birr* weekly at the start of the cooperative. Then, this NGO CISP gave them 30,000 *birr* in the form of credit as a revolving fund. The problem of the cooperative according to him is that the money they got from CISP was not used as intended. They have 9,000 *birr* from the bank while the remaining 21,000 *birr* is still in the hands of the vice chair of the cooperative. He also said that there is a rumour that the vice chair lady has been running her own business with the money and now the cooperative is planning to return the money to its account to use for its purpose. His wife, the leader, said that she is worried that some members would not be interested to do what is expected from them since whenever they are called to a meeting some do not come and do not paid the contribution they need to pay. They gave their land by the main road for the cooperative to build its house; that is why she became the leader. She hopes that in future her husband can work as a guard for the cooperative.

The rich woman in her 30s is a member of the women's milk processing cooperative. To establish the cooperative, like other members she has paid layouts twice (60 *birr* and 50 *birr* each). She has planned to pay 150 in the near future as the members already agreed and decided to contribute.

A poor woman in her 20s said her participation in the community is very low: she does not participate in the women's organisation as she is not a member. Since she has no modern milking cow she did not join the milk processing cooperative which was established recently.

Youth co-operatives

The community recognises the problem of the lack of opportunities for youth employment and livelihoods. A middle wealth woman (22) said that both adolescent girls and young men face unemployment; there are youngsters who have completed grade 12 but did not get good enough results to join preparatory or college education, and they remain at home, the girls doing household chores while young men sometimes support their family in farm work. She thinks these problems are somewhat the same as those she experienced when she was an adolescent but the magnitude of the problem has greatly increased due to the severe scarcity of farmland.

There are no established youth co-operatives in Adele Keke but recently three groups for unemployed youth are being set up with government support. One of the youth cooperative is called *Garad-Adele* and has 13 members. This initiative is attracting a lot of interest in the community. A rich man in his 20s wants to join the new groups. A middle wealth man in his 20s is already a member. A rich teenage girl said that recently there has been an opportunity for unemployed landless youth to form a group so as to ask for credit and be involved in some activities to support their life with the profit they would get.

One of the groups (all male) is planning to buy consumer goods such as oil, sugar, etc. for the community, buying them from the nearby town, while the second group (all male) plans to work on carpentry related activities. The third group (all female) have yet to identify what they are going to do. They have not contributed money yet. The middle wealth woman (22) hopes that after the government sees the contributed capital they would be able to get credit of up to 100,000 *birr*.

Migration

Migration opportunities and remittances

There is not much seasonal or temporary migration. Respondents stated that there is no one who aspires to town life as there is high unemployment in the towns; everybody wants to stay in the community and work on their farms.

Community members found it difficult to estimate how many migrants leave the community on average per year but they estimated that to date there may have been about 30 migrants who have gone to Dire Dawa, Djibouti, Somalia, Saudi Arabia and the US. There is one man from the community who had been working in Djibouti for about 30 years. He was working in a shop and he used to send remittances to his family and neighbours. Now he has returned and he is involved in trading activities in Dire Dawa. One man went to Jimma and returned as he could not cope with the weather conditions there. There are a few young men who went to Wuchale and then to Berbera (Somaliland) by chat car. Some of them remain in the port area, others travel to Saudi Arabia. They travelled illegally, from Somalia to Art Shake to Hargeisa, to Borena and then by boat to Saudi Arabia. After working there for three years and earning some money three of them have returned and now they are involved in trade related activities. One man who returned to Adele Keke opened a shop with the money he earned there and then went back to Saudi Arabia. One person who came to the area from Jimma got married to a woman from the community. Last year he travelled to Saudi Arabia for work leaving his wife and children in Adele Keke. He has started to send remittances for his family. Five people have gone to America. Two women went through marriage, and one elderly woman with two children went there through the invitation of relatives to live there permanently.

With regards to women's experience, women go to Jijiga, Somali region to do domestic work. After working there for some time they travel on to Somalia. Then they follow the same steps as the men to reach Saudi Arabia. Some travel legally through relatives who live there. In Dire Dawa there is an agency that links work seekers with employers. Women, drivers and those who completed grade 10 are needed to travel to Saudi Arabia for work. Through this agency they travel without cost first, then after they arrive there they will pay the cost of their travel. In 2008 and 2009 about 10 women went there.

Before last year they used rail transport (train) to travel to Djibouti. Over time as the rail transport became weak people started to travel by car. Since Djibouti is a very low land area whenever the weather becomes very hot people from Djibouti come to Dire Dawa and stay for certain times. Djibouti is not very far from Dire Dawa, about 315km. Women work in Djibouti as servants.

Re-settlement experiences

The *wereda* officials said there has been no resettlement policy in Kersa *wereda* but there is migration of people to other areas. At some point,¹⁰ people from Kersa *wereda* were taken to Jimma, Wollega, Bale and Gola Oda (East Hararge) and re-settled. However, this was interrupted for the last three years. This was voluntary re-settlement of the farmers as a result of shortage of land. Many people, even today want to re-settle to other areas as they have shortage of land with high population pressure and it is hard with rain shortages (delayed and unpredictable rains) and

¹⁰ it is not clear if the date given is in Ethiopian or Gregorian calendar; the date is either 1998 or 2005/6 in Gregorian calendar.

flooding in mountainous areas to produce enough to cover food security needs. In particular the officials said that farmers living in mountainous areas move or migrate to other areas.

Today there is no villagisation policy in the *wereda* as the community is already settled.

Theft and burglary

There is a problem with theft of crops from farms and this has been increasing; theft is a common during the night time when chat is ready to be collected. Farmers stay the night on their chat farms to protect their chat; they then sleep in the mornings and this minimises the time they have for day-time work activities. A lot of militia men have been getting training to prevent thefts but a satisfactory result has not yet been obtained; to punish the thief responsible district officials need good evidence, which is difficult unless they are caught while taking the crop.

During the fasting season more thieves take the crops in the night time as during fasting time farmers mostly stay home (since they are eating in the night time). In the last fasting season six thieves were caught while taking chat; they have been punished, with their sentences related to their previous convictions: some will stay in jail for three years, some for one year and some for eight months. There are a couple of community members who were repeatedly caught while stealing maize in the day time. They have been told to stop it but they continue stealing. The militia men plan to take them to the district if they catch them in the act.

As livestock stay in the compound tied up while the owners go to market or other place there are some cases when the thieves steal such livestock. Last year one thief was caught while taking cattle and then he was taken to jail.

There is no house burglary and robbery from people in the community, but when coming from the town thieves steal money when they are inside cars.

The poor female household head (FF) said that now there is no one who helps her in farming and she has to hire daily labourers; as there is no one who keeps her chat in the farmland in the evening she said her chat has been taken by thieves.

Human re/production

Houses and household assets

Irrigation and increased chat sales for higher prices has improved the wealth of a large proportion of the community. A successful female farmer using irrigation said that many people are accumulating assets from opening grain mills and purchasing modern milking cows to building new, larger and better homes and buying household goods, such as TVs, satellite receivers, beds, boxes for cloths, mattresses, blankets, carpets, kitchen equipment, water pumps and mobile phones etc. even though prices for these goods are high. People with more money are also painting and decorating their homes. Some households who have been able to improve their living conditions included:

- A successful milk trader said that she has built a new home and over time she is decorating her home with quality cultural materials and she has bought a spring mattress; no one has bought and used these quality materials till now in the *kebele*.
- In 2009/10 she bought 47 pieces of corrugated iron sheet and, using her eucalyptus trees, built a bigger main house. She bought another 44 pieces of corrugated iron sheet and built a separate home for livestock and a kitchen. The corrugated iron sheets cost 7,000 birr. Then she bought seven carpets at 47 birr each. She also bought various kinds of cooking equipment. Last year she bought more luxurious cultural household tools to decorate the house when her son got married, spending 4,000 birr. The son will take the tools to his new house when he and his wife establish their own separate household.

- The *kebele* chair said that last year they repaired their main living home, covering the wall of their home with cement and painting and decorating it to be ready for the graduation ceremony of their son who completed his college education. They also bought mattress and carpets. In the last five years they have also built about five rooms in another compound which they rent out. They have also bought an MP3 player for 5,000 *birr*.

Wealthier farmers have constructed homes in other towns (Aweday and Haramaya). When building houses people have started to use methods that save corrugated iron, and the design of the houses is changing. Poorer farmers have not yet been able to upgrade their houses, but some have started planning to do so in the future.

Domestic technologies

More people are purchasing grain mills so for most households there is now a grain mill (fuel or electric) close by; this is a big change from before and lessens women's workload in particular. A rich woman in her 30s said that previously there was mill house it was a bit far from her parents' home and sometimes she grinds grain with a stone mill at home but this is hard work and makes her and her mother tired. Over time as more people are buying mills they have minimised using the stone mill. One of her neighbours also bought a new mill house recently. When it becomes functional it will be more accessible for her. A poor man in his 30s said that when he was a teenager, there were no grinding mills in the area and women used to grind cereals by putting the grain in the traditional grinding implement and prepare traditional foods. Now there are many grinding mills in the *kebele* and people are using them and this is a great change that recently has come to the community.

Also, formerly people used traditional clay cooking pots which do not cook economically, but now people use modern metal pans, which are highly economical in terms of time and fuel. There have been attempts to introduce different types of stoves: the 'Mirti Stove' which works with electricity was introduced by DAs and technicians also received training at the *wereda* but it is not functional. Also a biogas stove was tried in the *kebele* but it was not properly followed up by the DAs in rolling it out to households.

Fuel and light

The *kebele* chair's wife (BE) and the middle wealth woman (KL) use dung cakes, wood and sorghum residue, and sometimes charcoal, buying it from the nearby town. The successful female household head (EE) and the poor woman (TF) uses dung cakes and sorghum residue, and sometimes also wood.

Drinking water

Before 2004 there were eight manual hand pumps in the *kebele*, now there are 16 manual pump water points tapping into deep water sources. The district water office has provided technical support while the community members have contributed labour and NGOs have also provided financial and technical support. Some villages have their own manual pump water point and can get as much as water they need. Another three or four villages share a water point and ration households' water allowance to one jerry can (about 20 litres) a day. In these villages people tend to use water from other wells and the lake to wash utensils and clothes. In Kejero Oli and Kejero Gedi villages, there is shortage of water in the dry season. In the remaining two villages, Gelmo Gara and Chifra, people use water from unprotected wells.

Wereda officials said that at community level there are water committees for each point with seven or nine members. The wereda water office has a manual for the water use committee. They give training on how to protect the water source, protect it from animals, and raise money for later use (in rural areas every household contributes one or two *birr* per month whereas in urban centres the water is sold based on jerry-can/water container). They use this money for repair purposes if the water source is broken or faces technical problems. The wereda water office also provides some

materials for repairs. Whenever the water has some smell they report to the wereda water office and the office puts in chlorine. Except for hand-dug wells the water sources have reservoirs and the chlorine is put in the reservoir. In addition, as its depth is high the probability of water pollution is less.

In Adele Keke each water point has its own committee (eight people) which reports to the *kebele* health committee. The village's members who use the manual pumps contribute one *birr* per month per household to cover the cost of technical repairs. The poor woman (JJ) said the issue of exemption from these fees had not been raised as the amount is very small. A drinking water committee leader (male, 30, appointed by community and *kebele* officials) said they had training at the *wereda* and the government advised them to collect 5 *birr* annually from members for the management of the hand pump. In 2011 the committee collected 1,710 *birr* from the hand pump users in five villages and with the money, the hand pump has been maintained and the remaining *birr* saved for future use. In addition, users contribute another five *birr* annually for the guard's salary. The leader wants to convince the users to contribute more money and construct an additional hand pump as the current one is used by five villages and is not enough. This committee works with the *wereda* and zonal water and energy office in Kersa and Harar respectively. It is also working closely with *kebele* officials and the community leaders. Sometimes when the pump is broken, the *wereda* says there are no spare parts and the leader has to go to the zone to request support; the zone then writes a letter to the *wereda* and the *wereda* provides the parts. To improve the work of the committee, the leader recommended that the *wereda* should facilitate repairs and replacements for them.

The *kebele* chair has a private water point in his household compound and charges people 0.50 cents per jerry-can (about 20 litres of water).

Here are some reported experiences with access to drinking water:

- The poor female household head (FF) said that since the manual pump was built in their village her children do not have to go far to fetch water.
- The successful female household head (EE) said that her village has had a manual pump for a long time.
- The wife in the middle wealth household (KL) said she gets water from the hand pump water point found in her village only about 10 minutes from her house. She pays a contribution of two *birr* per month and the committee use the money to repair the water point if it has technical problems. She believes the water is safe; she said it is even safer than the water in Dire Dawa, which is too salty.
- The poor woman (JJ) said that unlike the former times now they no longer wait until they reach their turn for getting water as recently a lot of hand pipes have been constructed in each village. She emphasised that unlike other rural areas there is no problem with water in the *kebele*, as over time the number of pipes has increased giving access to more households.

Domestic work

Women have more time as grain mills and the proximity of drinking water points has freed up time that used to be spent grinding by hand and walking miles daily to fetch water. Some respondents mentioned that women have to do more because their daughters are in school and cannot help them. Another reported view was that the daughters have to do more because their mothers are busy with trading activities and do not have time for domestic work. Also in some households males (husbands and sons) also have started to support their family by fetching water and grinding grain.

The rich woman (FE) said that when she was growing up she used to fetch water from Tabia village to Gole village but it was not far. At that time people used to carry water on their backs but now they use donkeys. Furthermore, now she gets water from the village where she is living (Tabia

village). Thus, the intervention of building a hand pump water point in her village has increased her access to water. When she was young there was mill house but it was a bit far from her parents' home. Sometimes she used to grind grain with a stone mill at home. This was very labour intensive and as a result, she and her mother used to feel tired easily. As she grew up she and her family started to go to the modern mill house.

Leisure and play

Men chew chat in the evenings. Electric light enables community members, mostly male, to meet and relax together in their neighbourhoods, chewing chat together. This means men are chewing more chat and some sleep in in the mornings as they spend about half of the night chewing. Chewing in the evening, sometimes up to midnight, is a new leisure pattern for male youngsters and adults. Boys swim in the water wells by the lake. A young female opinion leader said that in most cases women focus on their own work and they do not need leisure time since they are hard workers.

Preventive health services

The preventive health packages

According to the health extension workers, problem areas are latrines and solid and liquid waste disposal, whereas the community is better at implementing food hygiene, safety, healthy home environment, household pest control, personal hygiene and environmental sanitation activities. A number of experiences with the preventative health packages were reported by women in the community:

- The rich woman (FE) said that due to her efforts in implementing the health extension package after receiving training from the HEWs, last year she graduated with another 19 women as a model family. As her husband has some mental related illness she has to undertake all activities for her household including agricultural activities. She gets recognition from the community members for this and she got a rank of 'A' in implementing health packages. In terms of usefulness for her, she ranked the activities in the following order: latrines, hand-washing, livestock not living in the house, waste disposal, kitchen cupboards, pest and insect control, smoke-free house and water purification tablets.
- The wife in the rich household (FE) said the criteria for household extension package graduation are to construct and use a latrine properly (all household members), to have separate livestock home and kitchen, and to keep the home and surrounding areas clean. By implementing these, the household has to be an example for their neighbours. Her household has been implementing all these packages but they do not teach others as she is busy in trading. Due to this her household has not graduated from the health extension package but in implementing such package the household is categorised as 'A'.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said she heard from HEWs while they were advising people to keep their environment and home clean. She got a rank of 'B' in implementing different health packages. In terms of usefulness she has ranked the activities in the following order: latrines, livestock not living in the house, hand-washing, waste disposal, pest and insect control, smoke-free house, water purification tablets and kitchen cupboards
- The successful female household head (EE) said she has implemented all of health extension activities but her household has not graduated from the packages because she is busy with farming work and so she has not taught and encouraged others, including the households she leads under her network, to implement such packages. Her household is ranked 'B'.
- The poor woman (JJ) said she could not implement different packages due to lack of space and materials. Due to these failures she got the lowest rank (a rank of 'C'). However, she has learnt about the importance of different packages from HEWs and volunteers and she aims to

implement this training; when she builds a new home she hopes she will put into practice some of these packages. In terms of usefulness she has ranked them in the following order: latrines, hand-washing, livestock not living in the house, waste disposal, kitchen cupboards, pest and insect control, smoke-free house, water purification tablets.

- The poor female household head (FF) said her household has not graduated from the health extension packages which means the household is not a model family. She perceives the graduation benchmarks may be to have a latrine, to have separate livestock home, to have a kitchen and to keep the home and surrounding areas clean.

The Health Post

The *wereda* officials said that on average about four or five health posts (HPs) have been constructed per year in the *wereda*. Up until now 28 HPs have been completed and become functional (in 28 *kebeles*) while seven HPs are still under construction (including in Adele Keke) and the health service is given from a HEW's house or a room provided by *kebele* officials. This has affected the quality of the service provided. By the end of this year some of the HPs under construction will be completed.

Adele Keke does not have a functioning HP; the HP is half built, the construction has stalled due to a disagreement with the contractor (who is also building the FTC) and for now the health services are being delivered from the privately rented room of one of the HEWs.

The HEW stated that as Adele Keke is near to some rural towns where they can access health centres, it seems the community do not give due attention to the construction of the HP and only the HEWs and DAs have been following up on this issue. When the construction of the HP started in 2008 the *kebele* chair had a car accident and passed over the responsibility for this work to the vice chair who in turn passed it on to *wereda* health officials who employed a constructor and provided corrugated iron, cement and six tins of paint. Most of the materials supplied have been used but the construction of the HP has not been completed. As a number of people have been involved in managing this project, each one is afraid to accuse the other of mismanagement and misuse of the construction materials. The lack of the HP is a serious constraint on the service the HEWs can provide. As access to homes is very limited the HEW has had to rent a room next to a cattle house, which smells of dung, and does not have shelves so they cannot store materials and drugs properly. The HEW is highly disappointed and hopes the situation will be improved. The HEWs also struggle to cover the whole *kebele* as it is larger than others (with 25 villages) but still only two HEWs are assigned. Another problem is that there is no refrigerator in the *kebele* and on each vaccination day the HEWs have to fetch the vaccination drug from the *wereda* and they have to pay for their transport expenses. The HEW recommended employing an additional two HEWs, completing the construction of the HP and building another HP so as all villages have easy access to a HEW.

The Health Extension Workers

The *wereda* officials said that since 2004 many HEWs have been trained. At first in each *kebele* one HEW was assigned and then over time other HEWs were also trained and an additional HEW was assigned to each *kebele*. Now there are 70 HEWs working in 35 rural *kebeles* (two HEWs per *kebele*). In the three urban *kebeles* HEWs have not yet been assigned. Refreshment training has been given to the HEWs who in turn train the volunteers in their *kebeles*. *Wereda* officials said that for the *wereda* health officers to strengthen these activities they should be given motorbikes to enable them to travel to rural areas.

Previously the health post was supervised by the *wereda* health officer on a quarterly basis. Today one health centre supervises six health posts and a nurse from one of the *wereda* health centres is assigned to the *kebele* and visits the HP and HEWs twice a week. The assigned nurse recently ordered two shelves for the HEWs in Adele Keke to put drugs on and showed the HEWs how to store drugs and files and handle clients properly. The HEW appreciated this and said it was a good start.

The HEW said that a new principle has been introduced that the nurse should stay in the *kebele* like the HEWs.

Both HEWs get a gross monthly salary of 908 *birr*. From this they both pay 18 *birr* each per month for the political party. The HEW that lives in the *kebele* said that she works every day whenever clients need service. In most cases women come after working hours (after 5 pm). The second HEW works every working day up to 5 pm and when there are programmes such as vaccinations she also works on weekends. She lives in another *kebele* (Dhengego) travels to and from that area but recently she was ordered to live in the *kebele* like the other HEW. She has rented a very small house to live there but it is not comfortable. She suggested that if the *kebele* built a home for HEWs, teachers and DA they would serve the community better. She said that as the *kebele* chair has been building rooms to rent out privately and he has been benefiting from the rent he does not want to build a home for government employees working in the *kebele*.

Community health volunteers

In the *wereda* there are 944 (507 male and 437 female) community volunteer health workers who have been working with HEWs in mobilising the community. In Adele Keke HEWs said there is a community volunteer in each village (24 men and one woman) who provide information regarding various disease prevention and family planning services for the community members in their respective villages. Each of them works in their own respective village, covering an average of 50 households. There is no health army in the community and the HEW asked about this did not know this term.

A 23 year old man (a carpenter) said he has been serving as a promoter voluntarily in Mude and Gerbi villages over the last year, covering 50 households. Last month he took the weight measurement of children aged less than two years in his village and reported to the HEWs. He advised mothers to feed their children balanced food properly to prevent the child from malnutrition. He also supported the HEW providing vaccinations for children. On average to accomplish this it took about 10 hours per week. He does not get a salary. In the past volunteers were getting training and getting per diem. Before the HEWs were assigned to the *kebele*, whenever there was provision of Vitamin A twice a year for children less than 5 years old, the promoters used to assist nurses and were paid 800 *birr*. In addition, every six months there was training for three to five days. After the HEWs were assigned to the *kebele* this has stopped and consequently there are some volunteers who stopped working. Formerly one promoter used to work in one village but as some volunteers stopped, the remaining volunteers have to cover two or three villages. He suggested it would be good if promoters get some refreshment training and pocket money so as to enhance their knowledge and serve the community better.

Hygiene and environmental sanitation

Latrines

Wereda officials said that since HEWs started working in the community (2005), awareness-raising education about the importance of having a toilet has been provided to the community by different means. About 64-70% of the *wereda* population has a latrine made of local resources (no roof and made of wood) and an estimated 40% are using their latrine through the enforcement of HEWs. In order to increase utilisation home-to-home education has been provided but most rural people are resisting using latrines. Some community members even dig wells for latrines because they want it to look like they have accepted the information but in practice they do not like to use latrines as they prefer to defecate in open places or farm areas.

The *wereda* health office head emphasised that if the coverage and utilisation of latrine was 90-100% the community would not be affected by acute watery diarrhoea (AWD). In 2005 there was AWD in Adele Keke and seven people died; there was a reoccurrence in 2009 and a campaign was launched with participation of nurses from the zone. At the time of this research there was an AWD

epidemic in seven *kebeles*. The *wereda* health head said AWD started in rural areas around Dire Dawa and had been carried to other areas by residents visiting Dire Dawa for the feast at the end of Ramadan season. Another cause of the disease is that some people use water from rivers and moreover, at the beginning of September, the rain facilitated the transmission of the disease. The officials were concerned that it could also spread to Adele Keke. To prevent this *wereda* health workers have visited the community twice and informed the HEWs to force the community to construct and use toilets. Adele Keke's health committee recently decided to force most households to dig latrines so as to prevent them from AWD. One of the HEWs said that in the last month (November 2011) 224 new latrines were constructed, which brings the total number of latrines in the *kebele* to 745. This means an estimated 57% of households in Adele Keke have latrines. Due to this achievement no one has been affected yet by AWD this year in the *kebele*.

Reported community experiences with latrines include:

- The rich man (II) and the medium wealth man (HOUSEHOLD) have built latrines with their families and say that they use them. The poor man (GG) has been using the latrine constructed by the *kebele* chair but is planning to construct his own.
- A poor man in his 30s said that previously there was no latrine in the villages and all the people in the *kebele* used to excrete faeces in the farms under the chat. Now the majority have constructed latrines and are using them while babies are using a pot. Formerly, due to the lack of latrines, people used to contract diseases such as diarrhoea and as a result many people died in the *kebele*. Now the hygiene and sanitation of the people and environment has been improved.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said they had a latrine but it is old and now it is not working. She and the rest of her household are using her son's latrine (he lives next door). She plans to build her own latrine. She suggested that to enable more households to build latrines it would be good if there is a supply of materials.
- The wife in the poor household (TF) said that they are dependent on others to provide them for their home, and they have no space or materials to build a latrine. She and her household members have been using open places or sometimes they use the neighbours' latrine. She has six children.
- The wife in the rich household (FE) said the household has had a latrine for a long time and all the household members use it properly. In addition, some of their neighbours without their own latrine also share it. From her household no one has had AWD.
- The poor female household head (FF) said that previously she had not built a latrine 'due to lack of emphasis' but this year she built a latrine as the HEWs and *wereda* officials forced the community to have and use latrines.
- The poor woman (JJ) said the HEWs advised the community to clean their home and compound and use latrines so that their kids do not have diarrhoea. Therefore with one of her neighbours they have dug a latrine and have been using it in common.
- A rich man said that recently the Catholic NGO has brought materials used for construction of latrines which have been kept in his compound but they have not yet been distributed to the community.

Waste disposal

Wereda officials said that regarding waste disposal HEWs have been teaching the community to dispose of solid and liquid wastes separately. Due to this effort about 60% of households are disposing of waste properly by burning unnecessary solid wastes and using other solid wastes to prepare compost.

Kebeles officials said that in coordination with DAs, in Adele Keke the HEWs have taught the community members on how to use solid waste to prepare compost. Almost all households have graduated. However, from the total households, 256 are exemplary as they dispose of waste in better way by preparing compost. The reason why other households have not disposed of waste as well is that people with a small plot of land are resisting digging wells. To solve this problem the HEW suggested it might be better if a communal well for disposal is prepared at village level. Some male community members said that the community digs wells and buries waste in them and waits until it is decomposed and then they use it as compost for their farms and these days everybody has been using this as it is compulsory. The middle wealth woman (KL) said her household has a well in which they burn solid waste.

Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

Wereda officials said that hand-washing has improved a bit due to the HEWs' efforts. Formerly people were complaining that they could not wash their hands because there was water shortage but this is no longer an issue as more water points have been built. Awareness raising education has been provided to the community but the practice of hand-washing is still at earlier stages. The proportion of those who have graduated is not known but it is estimated that about 20-30% of people in the *wereda* are practising hand-washing. As almost all of residents of the *wereda* are Muslim, before praying they wash their hands with water only. In Adele Keke the rich man (GG) is planning to install modern shower rooms in his house and is requesting the *kebele* officials to write him a supporting letter to NGO so that the material will be bought to the *kebele*. The rich woman (FE) said she washed her hands with soap or ash. The community uses the lake and lakeside water wells for washing clothes. A few boys also swim in the wells.

Water purification

Wereda officials said that to make drinking water safe, every 6 months chlorine is put in the water wells. People have been advised to boil water for drinking or to use *weha agar* (water purification tablets) but only about 5% do this. Given the AWD epidemic the zone water bureau is distributing *weha agar* to every household in the affected *kebeles*. However most individuals do not like *weha agar* as they do not like its smell and instead of putting it in their drinking water they put it on their chat crops believing that it kills pests.

The HEW said that before the expansion of the water points the community members often had diarrhoea, but over time the number of people affected by diarrhoea has decreased. Whenever the chlorine is not put in the water points on time the HEWs advise the community to boil the water that they drink but the community members are resistant to do so. Over the last three years some have been using *weha agar* so as to make drinking water safer. Haramaya University has also assigned workers that collect data on major events, such as death, birth etc. and the data collectors have also been providing *weha agar* to 70 households in two villages.

The wife of the male headed household (CC) believes the water from the manual pump is safe but for the water the household uses for drinking she buys and uses *weha agar*. She said she buy 12 small bottles for 120 *birr*. When they run out of *weha agar* and they drink water without it she said she feels stomach pain.

Kitchen cupboards

Use of kitchen cupboards is quite low: only some of the better-off households have a separate place to put kitchen materials in. The middle wealth woman (KL) said they have a separate kitchen used for cooking and a separate room (between their living room and the room for livestock) used to put utensils but they do not have kitchen cupboards.

Healthy home environment

Livestock in the house

Wereda officials said that some rural people have large houses which they share with their livestock, but they do not build a separate shelter for livestock due to fear of theft. Thus, livestock tend to live in people's main house, with a curtain to separate where people sleep. However, about 15% of the population (rich people) have constructed a separate house for their livestock.

In Adele Keke *kebele* officials said that about 52% of households live with their livestock, mainly due to shortage of land or because a few individuals think that if their livestock are far from them hyenas may eat them (apparently this happened to one family). For these reasons people resist having a separate livestock shelter. The HEWs said that a few people have separated the livestock home from living room but in most cases the livestock living room and main living room are very close to each other. Here are some experiences reported by community members:

- The successful female household head (EE) said they are building a new room, which will become their main living room and to leave the livestock with the room they are living in now. Since 2007/8 the livestock have lived within the main house but in another room and the household cook in a separate kitchen.
- The rich woman (FE) said the HEWs have been teaching the community how to keep their environment and homes clean and neat so as to prevent possible diseases. Last year she received awareness raising education about this for seven days from HEWs and *wereda* nurses. She has put into practice what she learned. Formerly her livestock were living in the main house but last year she separated their house. She has also arranged a separate kitchen to keep household utensils clean.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that livestock have not been living in their house for a long time and they have a separate room for the livestock.
- The wife of the poor household (DD) is living on someone else's land in a very small house of one room, with a household of eight (six children), three sheep and one small calf. She also cooks in this room.

Smoke free houses

Wereda officials said that about 80% of households in the *wereda* have a separate kitchen but kitchens tend not to be smoke free as the houses do not have pipes for the smoke to escape. *Kebele* officials said that in the last three years almost all households in Adele Keke have started to use a separate kitchen for cooking. Even poor people cook outside of the main house by shading using local material such as old cloths. Thus they estimated that 90% of the houses found in the area are smoke-free. The HEWs have also been educating the community about the disadvantages of using the leaves of eucalyptus trees and dung cake for fuel as it results in trachoma problems. Due to this, now most households use dry wood and sorghum and maize residue.

Pest control

Wereda officials said that under environmental sanitisation awareness-raising, education on how to keep homes and the environment clean has been provided and this has led to some success in controlling mosquitoes, rats and tsetse flies. In Adele Keke the rich young man in his 30s said that every six months the houses are sprayed with mosquito killing pesticides and there are no mosquitoes.

Illnesses and disease prevention and control

The rich woman (FE) said the introduction and assignment of HEWs in the area has benefited the community as based on the advice and information they provided the community has been practising different disease prevention mechanisms and keeping their families healthier. She ranked the importance of the programmes in the following order: immunisations, HIV/AIDS prevention, bed nets, removing stagnant water, TB prevention and first aid at the HP.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said that along with other households in the *kebele*, she has been implementing all of the HEWs' advice to prevent diseases. As the HP is near her home, whenever she observes a symptom of illness she discusses with the HEWs and practices what the HEW advises her. In terms of usefulness she ranks the interventions in the following order: immunisations, spraying houses, bed nets, HIV/AIDS prevention, removing stagnant water, TB prevention and first aid at the HP.

The poor woman (JJ) said the advice and practice have made the community members healthier. She recommended completing the HP so as to serve the community better. She ranked the importance of the programmes as: immunisations, bed nets, removing stagnant water, HIV/AIDS prevention, spraying houses, first aid at Health Post and TB prevention

Malaria

The *wereda* officials said that previously the prevalence of malaria was severe. Even though malaria is a major killing disease and the *wereda* is classified as a highly malaria prone area, the budget assigned is minimal. However a lot of activities have been done to prevent and control malaria including:

- Removing stagnant water through community participation.
- Spraying every house once a year (or twice a year according to other reports).
- Providing bed nets every three years to every household with the support of Global Fund through the coordination of the Zonal health bureau. A household with three members gets one bed net, a household of seven members gets four bed nets. Last year a total of 30,751 bed nets were distributed and these were 'treated' bed nets with higher chemical application. However some people do not use them properly as some use them only during malaria prone seasons, others expose them to sun, etc.
- Organising village malaria volunteers since 2005, two per *kebele*, to mobilise the community by giving anti malaria drugs and by advising people to get medical treatment if they fall sick and reporting any vital information.

As a result of these activities the incidence of malaria in the *wereda* has reduced by 60-70%. The *wereda* officials said this is a great achievement as malaria was the third top disease in the *wereda* in 2008/9 and 2009/10, but in 2010/11 malaria was not in the first 10 top diseases. With this great success and as the malaria epidemic has reduced, the village malaria volunteers are now not functional. The district health office head emphasised that asking for aid or support only when the epidemic starts is the wrong practice. He recommended strengthening environmental protection, which partly can be done through community participation, and strengthening village malaria volunteers to be involved in the prevention of other diseases as well.

Adele Keke used to be the *kebele* in the *wereda* with the highest incidence of malaria because of Lake Adele, especially during the months of July to October. In 2003 about 100 people died from malaria in the *kebele*, and in 2004 and 2005 a lot of people, mainly children under the age of five and pregnant women, died because of the malaria epidemic. Since then a lot of mitigating activities have been undertaken and as a result the problem of malaria has been much reduced.

The activities include: provision of bed nets every three years, sprinkling DDT twice a year, eradication of stagnant water, and provision of anti-malaria medication and rapid diagnostic treatment at the HP. Every 6 months every house is sprayed, killing pests and insects. However, some people perceive that the spray attracts insects and they close their homes and leave the area while the spraying is under way; in some cases the HEW with volunteers opens the houses to do the spraying. By the lake, where there is grass, chemical is sprayed every six months to kill mosquitoes. Community volunteers have been mobilising the community for prevention and control of malaria by advising people to keep their environment clean and get medical treatment if they fall sick. Under the *kebele* health committee each village has a malaria prevention committee but they have not been very active since the problem has been reduced. Bed nets are also provided to households and about 75% of the community members use the bed nets properly while the rest misuse them as they expose them to the sun and use them as a carpet.

Before anti-malaria treatment was given to people based on observation of their symptoms only, but last year Rapid Diagnostic Treatment (RDT) equipment was supplied to the health post. Due to this first the HEWs test by the RDT whether patients suffer from malaria or not. If there illness is found to be malaria they give them anti malaria drugs. If their illness is not malaria, the HEWs advise them to go to higher health care institutes such as the health centre.

Some community reports on the prevention and treatment of malaria are:

- Some male community members said everybody has bed nets and mosquito prevention or controls like DDT have been applied to walls of houses regularly in six month intervals to prevent mosquitoes from breeding. Water ponds and standing water where mosquitoes are believed to breed are removed by the community with the help of HEWs
- The rich woman (FE) said that to prevent mosquitoes her house has been sprayed and she also uses bed nets, especially in malaria prone seasons. She keeps her compound clean and free from stagnant water.
- The poor woman (JJ) said that to prevent mosquitoes her houses has been sprayed, she has been using bed nets and she cleans her compound.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that by mistake she used the bed nets next to the mattress so as to prevent pests but the HEW advised her to avoid misusing the bed nets in that way. In addition, as she is aware that pregnant mothers and children under 5 years old are susceptible to malaria recently she has been using bed nets properly.
- The poor female household head (FF) said that last year to prevent malaria her house was sprayed twice and she was advised to remove stagnant water. She also has bed nets but as they are old she does not use them but she said there is no prevalence of malaria. In the past (5 years ago) she has been sick with malaria at different times. Since then she falls sick if and only if she goes out in the rain which she tries to avoid doing.

Immunisation

Wereda officials said that in former times people did not like vaccinations as they perceived it creates illness as they saw some side effects of the immunisations such as injuries and some symptoms like fever. HEWs with volunteers have been going house-to-house and in groups providing awareness raising education. As a result most of the community members have now accepted immunisations: about 80% of people now value getting vaccinations but still about 10-15% are resistant. Sometimes nurses from health centres support HEWs and community volunteers in implementing immunisation campaigns in the *kebele*. The only immunisations reported in Adele Keke were for children.

HIV/AIDS

Wereda officials said that in the district capital there are 50 people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) and nowadays PLWHA do not remain at home untreated; they seek the available service. However, unlike other big towns PLWHAs have not disclosed their status to the community because they are afraid of the stigma. The district health office head suggested the need to provide more and better psycho-social support so that PLWHAs accept living with the virus and feel free to disclose their status and teach others by disclosing their own experience, as they do in other areas. According to the coordinator of a HIV/AIDS information centre in Kersa, the *wereda* is considered a high-risk corridor as many people traverse it when working on the chat trade.

Starting last year, 2% of each sector's budget is to be used to support PLWHAs and to mainstream HIV/AIDS. ART service and HIV testing service are available in the health centres. ProPRIDE has established an information centre for youth in the capital of the district (Kersa) to educate youth about HIV and associated consequences. In another two towns in the district there are also information centres. Rural communities' awareness of the importance of testing is increasing. As a prerequisite for marriage some youths have started getting HIV tests. Mobile VCT (Voluntary Counselling and Testing) programmes are arranged in rural areas; however a shortage of kits limits the amount of mobile VCT that can be organised. *Wereda* health officials also provide education about HIV/AIDS to community members. Recreational centres have been constructed in the *wereda* for youths and vulnerable PLWHA. UNICEF has provided a 15,000 birr fund that PLWHA have used to open shops. In addition to this, a shower house with six cubicles has been constructed for PLWHA in Kersa town using the *wereda* 2% budget. Remaining problems are that there have been problems to encourage open disclosure of their status by PLWHA and no work has been done on HIV/AIDS in the rural *kebeles*, especially with women and youths.

There are currently no declared PLWHA in Adele Keke. Some men in the community) said that there are no HIV/AIDS cases in the *kebele* as everybody has his own wife and there is no adultery. When militia training was provided in Adele Keke in December 2011, 470-480 militia men and women (who come from all the *kebeles* in the *wereda*) had HIV tests and all were found to be HIV negative. 38 pregnant women had HIV tests at the same time and were found to be HIV negative. Every three weeks, the HEWs refer pregnant women to the health centre to be tested for HIV. Drugs are given to those who are observed to have symptoms of other sexually transmitted infections. Over time more people in the community are getting tests. The poor (JJ), middle wealth (KK) and rich woman (FE) said they got tested when they were pregnant. The middle wealth woman (KL) said that last summer she was HIV tested with other pregnant women in the arranged mobile VCT in the *kebele* and was found to be HIV negative, but she does not like the way they disclose the status of those who get tested as she said they do not respect the privacy of patients.

TB

Wereda officials said TB prevention activities started in 2006 as one of the health packages. HEWs screen those who have coughs for two weeks and refer them to health centre. Over time the awareness of the community of TB and their health care seeking behaviour has increased. HEWs in Adele Keke said that since last year they have had the TB drug from the health centre and give it to patients at the HP. The rich woman (FE) said she was advised by the HEW to get medication if any of her household members have a cough for more than a week. The poor woman's (JJ) daughter, who is 12 years old, had a cough for a long time and she took her to the HP. The HEW advised them to go to the health centre, informing them that her daughter's illness may be a TB case. At this time the respondent was worried but the health centre diagnosed her as having a cold.

First Aid

Wereda officials said that provision of first aid services at HPs is the 16th health package. There is a first aid kit provided by UNICEF in some HPs but this service is not available in each HP because of a

lack of budget and because HPs are supposed to concentrate on preventive interventions not curative treatments. However, the *wereda* health office head said it is vital to provide first aid at HP so people can get first aid in his/her community to stop bleeding and reduce the likelihood of wounds becoming infected until the person can reach the nearest health centre.

In Adele Keke the HEWs provide first aid to people who have an accident and bleed by washing the wound with soap, applying iodine and sending them to HC. As the availability of some drugs at the HP has increased the provision of first aid at the HP has also increased, but the HP still does not have adequate safety equipment such as gloves, first aid kit, bandages and antiseptic cream.

Food security, diet and malnutrition

Diet

Most of the community still eat only breakfast (around 9 am) and dinner (around 6 pm). As they cook in the morning and late afternoon small children may not get adequate food at lunch time. However, some younger community members started to have lunch at midday. The HEW said that one cause for children's malnourishment in the area is shortage of food and in particular mothers and children may not get adequate food as household heads eat first and are given the best food.

Chewing chat reduces appetite: after men eat in the morning they chew immediately and they do not need to have lunch. Their stomach is empty and they need food but they cannot eat. The HEW said farmers do not give due emphasis to eating on time and to preparing a balanced diet; instead they always eat similar types of food which are not nutritious. If women are pregnant or have a child under six months old they need to eat at least three times a day. However, as their husband does not need lunch women do not prepare lunch and they do not eat properly. Due to this their breast milk reduces, exposing their children to malnutrition. She mentioned that she has come across pregnant women who were malnourished.

The community members reports of the type of food eaten include:

- A successful woman farmer (39 years old) said she has six chickens and she uses the eggs she gets for her children's food.
- The *kebele* chair's wife (BE) said they have started to eat more vegetables such as onions, tomatoes, and potatoes. The household also now eats rice, macaroni and pasta but continues to consume mostly sorghum and maize.
- The wife in the rich household (FE) said there has been some change in the type of food the household eats in the last five years. Recently they have started to mix *tef* with maize and sorghum and eat vegetables such as onion, tomato and potato.
- The poor female household head (FF) said they have totally stopped using onions and tomatoes because of lack of money to buy them. She understands the value of feeding smaller children so as they can be strong and she has been trying her best to feed her youngest children better.
- The wife in the middle wealth household (KL) said that recently they have started to eat onions, tomatoes, rice and potatoes but the household still mainly eats sorghum and maize. Sometimes they also buy and use *tef*. After she fell sick, the physician advised her to eat eggs and milk and she started to eat them more. She said there been no changes in the way that the family eats, as usually the household head eats first, then children and the respondent eat together. Sometimes she will together with her husband. When children are in a hurry to go to school they eat first.
- The wife in the poor household (TF) said they continue to eat mainly maize and sorghum. Since getting PSNP aid they have started to eat the cooking oil and wheat provided in the programme. Sometimes they use onions and tomatoes from what she bought to sell in her shop.

- The rich woman in her 30s said that as her parents are rich she eats different quality food items such as milk and honey.
- The rich man (II) said that his family have injera for breakfast and cook maize and bean stew for supper. However, people living in Adele Tabia, a village near the Lake Adele and the main asphalt road, use ready-made food like pasta and macaroni as there are many shops in the village.
- The poor man (GG) said they drink milk and eat vegetables and potatoes at home in addition to the food aid and nutritious food supplied by the HEWs.

Food in/security

A number of Adele Keke's households suffer persistent food insecurity. 11% of households are landless and many are land-poor: a poor household's farm land is usually very small and no matter how hard they work, they cannot produce enough. Poor families in Adele Keke cannot feed their households all year round. In a good harvest year most households can cover their food consumption for about eight months. In poor years the food gap is for more months and more households. The community has suffered poor harvests recently: respondents reported serious drought leading to crop failure in 2004/5 and 2010; one woman said crops had failed four years out of the last ten due to rain shortage and frost. 25-30% of households are estimated not to have improved their food insecurity in the last five years.

348 (27%) of the *kebele's* 1,306 households and 1,291 (18%) of the total population of 7,098 currently rely on PSNP support. Emergency food aid is normally given for one or two months each year to non-PSNP households that cannot cope with crises such as drought or the failure of improved seeds.

Nutrition interventions

Previously many children suffered from malnutrition. Due to lack of knowledge and negligence parents focused on their own work like trading and did not feed their children properly; some children died. Since 2009/10 the Community Based Nutrition (CBN) Programme has been implemented in different *kebeles* in the *weredas* run by government with the support of UNICEF; it was introduced in Adele Keke in 2010. Since this programme has started the problem has been reduced.

This programme has been implemented by volunteers in each *kebele*; in every village there is one volunteer and under each volunteer there are 50 households. The programme is focused on informing mothers on how to feed and follow up the health of their children under two. Nutritional education is given to mothers on what kind of food to feed their children, and on the importance of sanitation by explaining if they do not keep their personal hygiene and environmental sanitation their children will get diarrhoea which exposes children to malnutrition. The volunteers have weighing scales and weigh the children monthly. Those found to be medium and severe malnourished are sent to HEWs who give the medium malnourished children *plumpynut* (nutritious supplement) and refer severely malnourished children to the health centre for out-patient treatment. In Kersa and Weter health centres there are stabilisation centres where severely malnourished children stay for about 5-10 days to get treatment. UNICEF also has been providing supplementary foods (oil and fafa/white flour) to pregnant mothers (whose pregnancy is more than 6 months) and breast-feeding mothers (with children under six months) whose mid upper arm circumference is less than 21 cm. These mothers get these supplementary foods for six months.

The problem is that the support does not arrive on time and the budget does not cover all the households screened in the *wereda*. The result is a severe shortage of *plumpynut*. Also as the volunteers are farmers they sometimes forget what they are supposed to do and this needs supervision. In addition, it would be good if the *wereda* health bureau had a motorbike so as to

monitor every household. Moreover, the *wereda* health bureau is ordered to provide receipts of how funds assigned were used. They give training, arrange review meetings and do various activities. This process could be improved by giving a certain time for the funds received to be used so as to facilitate using the funds properly, efficiently and effectively. Adele Keke HEWs reported that one problem is that they go to collect the therapeutic food from the *wereda* health office but their transport expense is not reimbursed and then they do not have space to put the supplies as there is no HP.

Other nutrition interventions in the *wereda* are:

- There is a food programme run by Hararghe Catholic Secretariat (HCS), a branch of the Catholic Relief Service (CRS). In the last two years this organisation has provided supplementary food (white flour and oil) three times to pregnant women, breast feeding mothers and children under five. Health centres arrange a programme on "child health day", whereby education about child feeding and child health is provided.
- In 2010 for eight months Goal Ethiopia was supplying supplementary food and *plumpynut* for malnourished children, pregnant women and breast feeding mothers, and big plastic material and weighing scales to the HP. Their programme has phased out and they are working in other districts. There is no feeding centre or a school feeding programme.
- Sometimes in the PSNP transfer for pregnant and breast-feeding mother beneficiaries and those who have children under five, oil and fafa/white flour is provided, while the remaining beneficiaries get the normal transfer such as wheat.
- The *wereda* health office also provides ionised tablets for pregnant women and last year, with the support of UNICEF, children under two years old are provided iodised salt in the form of oil at HPs. This iodine supplementation programme has started since the problem of iodine deficiency or goitre has become more prevalent in school age children.

Before HEWs were employed, *wereda* health centre nurses provided nutrition education to the community. Today the HEWs go to every village to provide nutrition education to mothers on how to prepare a balanced diet by using different grains and to feed their children different kinds of foods such as gruel, porridge, etc. The DA also supports the HEWs in providing information about nutrition and the health volunteers also go house-to-house providing information on nutrition.

In Adele Keke some women have started to prepare balanced diets for their children based on the information they have got from HEWs and volunteers. With most of the farmlands are used to grow chat some farmers produce only a small amount of maize and sorghum for consumption and some women are not able to prepare a balanced diet due to the shortage of grain. Also as adults eat in the morning and late afternoon, some mothers forget to feed their children at the proper time, especially at midday. Respondents emphasised more has to be done on feeding practices so that mothers can feed nutritious food to their children as well as themselves. Here are some reports from community members on the nutrition programmes:

- The middle wealth woman (KL) has been getting advice on how to feed infants and until her children reach six months, she has been practising exclusive breast feeding. Now she plans to prepare flour made from different grains so as to prepare gruel and porridge and feed her child a balanced diet.
- The rich woman (FE) had heard from the HEWs about the value of eating nutritious food to keep mothers and children healthy. Formerly her son had malaria and since then sometimes he does not eat properly. As she is a trader she goes to towns to buy commodities and she did not know whether he ate properly or not. In addition, he had a cough. She took him to the HP and the HEW referred him to the health centre and they told her he has TB and is malnourished, and gave him nutrition supplements and a liquid anti-TB drug. Now she is following up by feeding

him the nutrition supplements and giving him the medicine. As a result now her son, who was very thin, has begun to gain weight. She emphasised that the programme has saved the life of other children in the community.

- The middle wealth woman (KL) said the HEWs and volunteers sometimes teach the community to feed children balanced diets and the importance of nutritious food for pregnant and breastfeeding mothers. She explained that her daughter's body, mainly her face and leg, were very swollen. When the volunteer working in her village saw the swelling she told her to go to the HP. The HEW told her that her child was suffering from a severe lack of balanced diet and she told her to prepare different kinds of food and to feed her properly by using the '*fafa*' (wheat flour) she gave her and by preparing flour made of different kinds of grains. In addition, she gave her *Plumpynut*, and cooking oil. She fed her daughter as she was told, but her child has had the swelling three times. As a result, she took her child to the health post three times and until now the child has been taking the above mentioned supplementary foods. The participants mentioned that she understands the reason that her child (who is four years now) swells frequently is because the child did not get adequate breast feeding as she had another two children soon after her daughter. She also knows other women who got supplementary food and got cured.
- The poor woman (JJ) said HEWs and volunteers have been teaching mothers on how to feed children. She has a nine-month old child. The respondent has seven children. She is living with her mother as her husband went mad and drove her out of their home. As she is dependent on her mother she is not able to feed her children. Last year one of her children's legs swelled up. The volunteer told her to take her child to the health post where the HEW informed her that her child was malnourished. Accordingly the HEW gave her 21 pieces of *plumpynut*, 10 kg of '*fafa*' (wheat flour) and a litre of cooking oil. She has been feeding her child the *plumpynut* and prepared gruel and porridge from the '*fafa*' for about 6 months. After this her child was cured. She explained that the HEW informed her that her child was affected by malnutrition because when she was pregnant and after she delivered she did not get nutritious food. She said that like her other women have benefited from the supply of children's nutrition. As an example, she mentioned one of her neighbours, who is poor like her as they eat only from what her husband earns by working at a mill house as a daily labourer. This woman has five children. When her youngest child looked physically abnormal she took her child to health post and the HEW provided her with supplementary food.

HTPs affecting health

The government has been trying to reduce harmful traditional practices (HTPS) affecting women in the community. At *wereda* level training about the health consequences of HTPs is provided to relevant *kebele* officials, mainly the women and children's representative in the *kebele*, the Women's Association's leader and the HEWs. Then these people in turn arrange awareness-raising education programmes in the *kebeles* to educate the community in general and women in particular.

The HEWs said that information on HTPs has been provided to the community at the *kebele* office whenever there are other general meetings. Sometimes the education has been provided to religious leaders and elders. In turn the religious leaders and elders teach what they acquired at the mosque to others. In most cases the training has been provided to village and network leaders and Women's Association leaders who in turn inform the members of their respective villages, networks and associations. Most importantly, volunteers have been going house-to-house to inform the community, specifically women, about the consequences of HTPs. The HEWs said that due to these efforts over time HTPs have been greatly reduced.

Circumcision

Female circumcision

Wereda officials said that even though great efforts have been made to stop the practice of female circumcision still some community members, including in towns, are practising it secretly. However it is greatly reduced compared to previously. The tradition is for girls to be circumcised at 8-12 years old when they are ready to start sexual intercourse. The officials said that mostly it is mothers who want their daughters to be circumcised. People perceive uncircumcised girls will not control their feelings and will start premarital sex and get aggressive. The *wereda* women's affairs office, HEWs and community volunteers have been working strongly against female circumcision by educating the community. Adele Keke's HEWs said that some mothers still secretly get traditional birth attendants to circumcise their daughters at home. They suggested more organised work and remedial action is needed to stop the community secretly practising female circumcision. Here are some of the reports by community members of their experience with female circumcision:

- The wife in the rich household (FE) said her daughters got circumcised when they were about 10 years old. Now she is aware of the disadvantages and has not allowed her granddaughter to be circumcised. However some people continue to circumcise their daughters for cultural reasons. In order to ban female circumcision she suggests they need to work more to educate the community members about the consequences. She said that so far except for educating the community no measure has been taken against people who have their girls circumcised. Her husband (BB) said the government has been giving advice to stop circumcision but this is not practiced so far as people perform it secretly.
- The poor female household head (FF) said in their area girls used to be circumcised when they were 13 or 14 years old. The government is teaching them to ban circumcision as they tell them it is not good for health but some people in the community are still circumcising their daughters since they have been circumcising them for a long time. She said her older daughters have been circumcised and only her two youngest daughters have not yet been circumcised. If neighbouring children of their age get circumcised she will also have them circumcised. If not, she also will not circumcise them.
- The successful female household head (EE) said in their area girls were circumcised when they are on the way to get married or when they were 17 years old. She said that the *wereda* women and child affairs officer and the *kebele* women and children's representative have been teaching the community to ban circumcision by explaining to them the bad consequences. Due to this she said that the number of girls circumcised has reduced but still a few people are still circumcising their daughters secretly since they perceive that culturally circumcising girls is vital. She said two of her older daughters were circumcised together when her first daughter got married. For the future she said she will prevent her granddaughter from circumcision as she understood the bad impact of FGM on their health.
- The *kebele* chair's wife said that in the area girls had been circumcised when they were 13 or 14 years old. Recently the government has been educating the community about the bad consequences of female circumcision. As a result of this female circumcision has greatly reduced. Two of her eldest daughters have been circumcised as at that time the respondent was not aware of the consequences of female circumcision but now that she is aware of them she has not let her youngest daughter be circumcised.
- The wife of the middle wealth household (KL) said some of the community members, especially those who live in very remote villages, get TBAs to circumcise their daughters secretly. She heard from others that over time the part that the TBAs cut off has reduced so that the girl is cured from the injury sooner because if they cut a larger part the girl may not be cured soon and others may suspect that she was circumcised. The respondent has four daughters (18 years, 12 years,

10 years and six months old). She said none of them has been circumcised; however the eldest daughter said that she was circumcised.

- The wife of the poor male headed household (DD) said she will circumcise her daughter, now 13 years old, when she is 15 years old.
- A rich woman in her 20s said she would circumcise her daughters when they are about 10 years old. She said culturally it is sin (*'haram'*) if a girl is not circumcised.
- A rich teenage girl said that she was circumcised when she was about 10 years old and she circumcised her own daughter when she was one and a half years old.
- A middle wealth teenage girl was circumcised when she was about five years old. She said that now she has been given a good lesson about the disadvantage of female circumcision and because of this she stated that she will not circumcise her daughter.
- The rich woman (FE) said female circumcision is the only severe HTP that affects health. She recommends working more to eradicate or reduce the practice of female circumcision.

Male circumcision

The *wereda* officials said that male circumcision is traditionally undertaken by traditional birth attendants (TBAs) at home, when the boy is 7 or 8 years old or some circumcise when the boy becomes 3 or 2 months old. There has been no practice at all of circumcising boys at health care institutes and even now there has not been any effort to make the community aware of the consequences of circumcising boys at home and the importance of institutional male circumcision. Thus, the head of the district health office suggested it would be good if awareness-raising education is provided so that people start to circumcise boys at health care institutions. Here are some of the reports by community members of their experience with male circumcision:

- The *kebele* chair's wife said that until now boys have been circumcised at home by TBAs and there is nothing done regarding promotion of male circumcision in health facilities. Like other community members her sons were circumcised at home. From the media she heard that it is good to be circumcised in health facilities. She mentioned that the *kebele* peace/security and good governance representative circumcises males secretly but he does not want others to know this.
- The middle wealth woman in her thirties said she understood the bad consequence of circumcising boys at home by TBAs as she worries that the sharp material the TBAs use may not be safe.
- The wife in the successful household (FE) said all of her sons were circumcised at home by TBA as it is a common practice in the *kebele*. She does not know about any promotion by government or NGOs attempting to promote male circumcision in health facilities.
- The poor female household head (FF) said that when her sons were young there was no HEW in their *kebele* and so she vaccinated them at health centre, and when they were there, they got circumcised. She does not know about the attempt of government and other (NGO) to promote male circumcision in health facilities.
- The successful female household head (EE) said two of her eldest sons were circumcised at home. At that time there was no promotion to circumcise males in health facilities. Later on as she was aware of the need to circumcise boys at health facilities since the circumcisers may not cut off properly she circumcised two of her youngest sons in Harar Health Centre.

Traditional medical practices

There are well known traditional medical practitioners in Dire Dawa area (Alhabesh traditional healer), in Langea area, and in Wetera area. People go to these centres for some illnesses like

haemorrhoids. Some people also go to bone setters around Haramaya. The rich woman (FE) said there are some people who seek traditional medication when they do not get cured by modern treatments or they believe the traditional method is better. The poor woman (JJ) said in the past whenever she had some bad dream she used to go to a *sheka* (religious healer) so as to pray for her. But now she has reduced visiting the *sheka* as she goes only for severe cases. For instance, last year when she faced severe headache frequently she visited a *sheka*, she paid 50 *birr* and she got relief. She said others also go to *sheka* for prayers.

Other practices harmful to health

The *wereda* officials said other HTPs like cutting the uvula are also practiced secretly when the child is about three years old. Three years ago the practice of *huduu four* was practiced by some community members when their children became physically thinner. *Huduu four* involves piercing and bleeding the children's mouth with a little stick. Mothers believe that this practice will help the children gain weight. This practice is greatly reduced by the efforts made by HEWs and community volunteers. Respondents stated that there may be very few mothers and TBAs who still practice *huduu four* secretly. When people see this practice no one reports it to responsible bodies. So, in general more promotional work is needed to make the community aware to report cases of HTPs to responsible bodies such as HEWs or community volunteer workers.

The wife in the successful household (FE) and the successful female household head (EE) said that with regards to measures against harmful traditional practices affecting children's health, the community is aware of them and cooperative in implementing them. They agreed that nowadays all mothers do not feed butter to new born infants, remove milk teeth, or apply *huduu four* to their children. The middle wealth man (CC) said sometimes there are practices like removal of milk teeth, and this is usually done when a child becomes thin. The poor man (DD) said that the government has been educating the community not to perform female circumcision, cutting of uvula, tonsils, pulling milk teeth and the like.

A customary practice in the community is to grow and chew chat. Mainly men chew and women are much less likely to chew chat; a few women may chew a little in their fields during the day but they do not tend to join the longer evening chat chewing sessions. Men do a lot of 'chatting': men chew chat three times a day: once in the morning, once after lunch (about 1kg worth) and once in the evening. According to an older male community member, they need to chew chat so that they have enough energy to do the heavy work on the farms in the afternoon. The danger with chat is that when you have chewed it you will then work so hard and not realise it that you will be exhausted afterwards and will not be able to wake up in the morning. Meetings of elders and kebele and wereda officials start by chewing chat together.

The major advantage of chat production is that the community is getting more income; however, chewing chat has adverse health and social effects. It is believed that chewers are susceptible to gastric, liver and kidney problems, in particular because farmers use DDT or malatine pesticide on their chat crops. As the community is producing more chat, and with electricity enabling socialising in the evenings, the quantity, frequency and regularity of chewing has increased. A number of people reported to the researchers that they or a (male) family member had diabetes, gastric or liver problems; some men were reported to have died from liver disease. Both female household heads interviewed (EE and FF) were widows because their husbands had died of liver problems. It is not known if these illnesses were directly caused by chat chewing.

One community member reported that the doctors linked her father-in-law's illness to his chat-chewing: the poor woman in her 20s said that when their wedding ceremony was on the way to be arranged her father-in-law (to be) became very sick. To treat him the household sold so many assets. He slept in Dire Dawa Hospital for two weeks. His illness was kidney related. She heard from others the cause of his illness is chewing chat as he used to chew a lot. After he fell ill the physician advised him to stop chewing but he died.

In Adele Keke it is estimated that 100% and 85% of men are chat chewers and cigarette smokers respectively. Males who face infertility problems are advised to stop chewing chat and smoking cigarettes. However, some men do not do what they have been advised and therefore they do not overcome their infertility problem.

A Muslim religious leader talked in some detail about the community's culture of chat chewing – see below.

Box 1 A Muslim religious leader's views on chat chewing

The religious leader said that every Friday (Juma/Jimate) there is a praying programme. Chat has some similarity and relation with the praying day: chat is called Jima due to the fact that in most cases people chew jima/chat so as to think about Allah and pray deeply.

The religious leader said chat opens up one's mind. In explaining this he said that when a person chews he talks and interacts more. In short it is the source of the individual's strength: chewing chat enables a person to accomplish what s/he plans to do, whether it is work or prayer, as it makes people stronger.

However, the new Wahhabi followers believe that the religion does not allow the chewing of chat. They say that like alcohol chat is prohibited. But in the original Muslim religion he said that in their religious book (Quran) it is mentioned that what is obtained from the ground is to be eaten by human beings or livestock. As chat is obtained from the ground they believe that it has no alcohol content.

He mentioned that in the days when he does not chew he becomes sleepy and unable to work. He mentioned that if he chews before he eats his appetite will cease. To overcome this he eats before he chews. He mentioned that chat has different effects on different individuals and a few people can eat after chewing without difficulty but for most it is an appetite suppressant. He said a few individuals see chat as food. He mentioned that it has no adverse impact and he thinks that it is beneficial.

Reproductive health and services

Infertility

Wereda officials said that an infertility check-up service is provided at hospital (in Harar and Dire Dawa) by gynaecologists: some people living in the town use this service but rural people do not. There is male infertility but most men resist admitting this. Generally, mostly it seems that it is women who are infertile. However, infertility is not a problem in the *wereda* because when a couple does not conceive the husband marries another woman (through the consent of his first wife) and gets a child from the second wife. Infertility sometimes creates disagreement between wife and husband and may result in divorce.

The Adele Keke HEWs said there is an infertility problem in the *kebele*. Mostly it seems the proportion of women's infertility is higher, about 10%. In this case rather than seeking medical treatment men used to marry another wife so as to get a child. If the woman does not agree when her husband wants to marry a second wife to get a child, they get divorced. There is also male infertility though its proportion is lower, about 3%. Some of those who face infertility problems seek treatment from a health care centre and they get drugs that will be taken for about eight months. In Adele Keke it is estimated that 100% and 85% of men are chat chewers and cigarette smokers respectively. Males who face infertility problems are advised to stop chewing chat and smoking cigarettes. However, some men do not do what they have been advised and therefore they do not overcome their infertility problems.

The rich woman in her 30s said that she was with her husband about seven years but when she did not have a baby he banned her from their home and they got divorced; she returned to her parents'

home without any assets because at that time a woman who did not have a child could not ask for her husband's property. Now she is married to the peace and governance officer. She still has not had a child so she went to Harar Hospital to check her fertility. The physician advised her to undergo surgery; she is worried and fears the surgery but she very much wants to have a child.

Contraception

People used to be resistant to using contraceptives because they had to travel far to get them, they thought the side-effects made people sick and they also thought it was against their culture and religion. Since 2007 the coverage of family planning services has increased as more awareness raising education and contraceptive service has been provided by HEWs and community volunteers. People's knowledge about the importance of contraception has increased and more people have been using it. Since children are seen as an asset a few men still do not like contraceptives as they want to have more children. In addition, there is an issue of using contraceptives in proper sequence.

Wereda officials said the types of contraceptives provided (all free of charge) are:¹¹

- **Pills** are available at HC, HP and from community volunteers. Pills last for a month. They need follow up. About 15% of women are using them. Women fear that taking the pill results in illness. Males also do not like it as a side effect is that it changes women's behaviour a bit and as a result of this women do not feel comfortable to use it.
- More women and men like **Dipo** which is given by injection. Dipo lasts for three months. About 50% of women are using it.
- **Implanol** was introduced in 2008 and it lasts for three years. As the implanting process is not painful and it lasts for longer than other contraceptives more women have been changing to this contraceptive and about 40% are using it. The implant can be inserted at the HP but has to be taken out at the health centre. The HEWs suggested if the HEWs got training on how to take it out more women would be using this contraceptive as they would not worry about the need to travel to the health centre when they need to have a child.
- **Norplant** lasts for seven years. It has not been utilised for the last two years as its side effect is severe, and most people, mainly men do not like it. Implanol has been introduced to replace Norplant.
- Use of **condoms** is very low, about 2%, and only people living in towns use them. People do not use condoms for cultural and religious reasons.
- **Abstinence** is not practiced or known by the community members.

Nurses from health centres and HEWs provide health education about contraceptives services and promote and distribute condoms at preparatory, general secondary and primary schools, across 26 schools in total in the *wereda*. Both male and female students get this education but fewer female students attend the awareness raising education. There is.

The HEWs, volunteers and some religious leaders have been teaching the community to use contraceptives. These religious leaders mainly advise mothers to breast feed their child more than for eight hours per day (within 24 hours) since this practice minimises the possibility of getting pregnant. On the other hand, some religious leaders still do not accept contraceptives as they believe it will be Allah (God) who feeds the child.

Before 2007 nurses from the health centre used to come to Adele Keke to provide contraceptives to needy women. After the introduction of the health extension service in 2008 the coverage of use of contraceptive has increased. Different kinds of contraceptives are also available at the HP as well as

¹¹ The percentages are rough estimates and do not add up to 100%.

at volunteers' homes. Due to this good access any women in need of contraceptives easily gets them from the HEWs or the volunteers. The HEWs reported that the type of contraceptives being used in Adele Keke are:

- Of all the kebeles in Kersa wereda, this year Adele Keke was first in utilising the long term contraceptive **implanon**. Because of this performance, the HEW who serves users in her home has been given the opportunity to undertake further education. She will go to Kuyera health college in Shashemene general hospital.
- More women and men like **dipo** and about 50% of women are using it.
- The **Pill** is available at HP and from community volunteers. More women were using it before **dipo** was introduced but now the number of women using it has been greatly reduced. The reason for this reduction is that the pill has its own side effects since it results in anaemia and it varies the time of menstruation. About 18% of women are taking the pill.
- The community members do not use **condoms** mainly for cultural and religious reasons. Furthermore, they perceive that if their children, youths, see condoms at home it may push them to get involved in premarital affairs. Even though youths do not take condoms from the HEWs or volunteers one of the HEWs expects that about 10% of youth are using them

In the main school there are 15 volunteers who with teachers get training on health extension packages and every Friday education about HIV and contraceptives is provided by HEWs and volunteers to the students. There is no condom distribution but the HEWs show grade six students how condoms are used.

Some reported experiences with contraceptives include:

- The wife in the successful household (FE) tells her daughters use contraceptives properly so as to limit the number of children they have.
- The wife in the middle wealth household (KL) said she has been using Injections (once every three months) from the Haramaya health centre. The contraceptive is good as it is effective in controlling pregnancy. However she expects getting the injection continuously may be one cause for the illness she encountered, which is anaemia and uterus related illness. She said the injection does not result in infertility as she conceived her youngest child after she had been taking injections for a long time, about nine years.
- The poor woman in her 30s said that as she has been facing difficulty to feed four of her children she does not want to have any more children. To achieve this goal she said she has used the long lasting family contraceptive (Implanon), which prevents pregnancy for three years which she gets from the HP.

Abortion

There is no trained professional that can provide abortion care service and the provision of this service has not yet started in the *wereda*. Abortions are performed in other HCs in other *weredas* e.g. there is an abortion service in Dire Dawa at Marie Stopes International, a private clinic and a hospital. Needy people from the *wereda* use these available services.

In general, the *wereda* officials thought it seems that the demand for abortion services in the *wereda* is low but it is not clear. There were circumstances when women leave a child, which is delivered early, in the road. These cases indirectly show that rather than aborting some women prefer to deliver and abandon the children so that others can take care of them. Through the cooperation of women and children affairs office, and the social affairs office such children are cared for by orphanages. As there are circumstances when woman want to abort due to various reasons *wereda* officials suggested the need to provide an abortion service in health centres. The respondents do not know about deaths following abortion or other problems caused by abortions.

The HEW thought that there may be some youth who face unwanted pregnancies. In the past to abort these, women drank coca cola with ampicillin pills. Now these women can get abortion service in private clinics and hospitals in Dire Dawa or Harar. As they abort secretly the number of those who have abortions and the numbers of deaths following abortion or other problems caused by abortions are not known but the HEWs expect that the demand for abortions is low and that it is not a problem in the community.

Mother and child services

Pre-natal care

Wereda officials said prenatal advice and monitoring used to be given to pregnant women on a monthly basis and while most women used this service, some did not go every month. In 2008 integrated refresher training on prenatal care was provided to health professionals and a new system of focused antenatal care was introduced, whereby throughout the pregnancy a woman gets antenatal care four times. Accordingly, a new reporting format was designed. Now the proportion of women using prenatal services has increased. Prenatal services include: HIV and STDs testing, psychological advice and medication, maternal vaccination, education about nutrition and breast feeding etc., that enable mothers to be psychologically ready for delivery.

The HEWs said that pre-natal and postnatal services and advice on infant feeding are available at the HP in Adele Keke. Community volunteers also provide pre-natal advice, monitoring, and advice on infant feeding by travelling house-to-house. Maternal vaccinations are also available at the HP. Every three months the HEWs refer pregnant women to get HIV tests at the health centre. 70-80% of women are using these services.

The HEWs recommended providing the HP with stethoscopes so they can see how the baby is placed in the womb, blood pressure measuring instruments and anthropometric measuring tools so as to give better comprehensive prenatal care. Due to this equipment shortage, pregnant mothers are referred to the health centre for check-ups but some of them are reluctant to go.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said that when she was pregnant she got immunisations about five or six times and the baby was vaccinated. Now she is pregnant and since last summer she has been getting iodine from the HP. The HEWs informed her that the reason to take the iodine is to prevent anaemia.

The poor woman (JJ) said that previously she has lost many children. She does not know the cause of death but she expects that it may be due to lack of getting health care follow up during pregnancy and immediately after delivery. Since the HEWs started working in the area she received pre-natal advice and monitoring service, and she has delivered two children at home peacefully who have survived. She feels happy that her children are alive. She also got maternal vaccinations, her children have been getting vaccinations from the HEWs many times and the HEWs have been advising her on how to take care of and feed her children properly. Thus, she appreciates the service she has been getting from the HEWs.

Vaccinations

Immunisations of different kinds have been provided for children, pregnant and breast-feeding mothers. For mothers there is anti-tetanus immunisation five times (which is provided continuously with in a time frame of two months, six months, annual and once per two years). After 45 days from delivery a baby gets BCG immunisation. There is also measles immunisation for children between 9-12 months. In November pneumonia vaccination started for children under five years old: 122 children have been vaccinated.

Some mothers did not come to the HP at the appointed time for the immunisation. To solve this problem the HEWs have arranged an immunisation campaign for four days every month and provide the service travelling home to home, dividing up the villages between them and working with the

help of volunteers. The other reason to arrange the campaign monthly is lack of a refrigerator to store medicine in the HEW's room which serves as the HP. For each of the campaigns the HEWs go to the district health office to get the immunisation drugs.

The rich woman (FE) said that formerly before the HEWs come to the PA she had six of her children immunised at Haramaya health centre but since the HEWs have been working in the area her youngest child, who is 16 months old now, has been immunised by HEWs at different times.

The poor woman (JJ) has four children. Since the HEWs started working in the area two of her youngest kids have been immunised by HEWs at different time. She stated that for immunisations the HEWs inform mothers in advance so as to wait for them when they will be coming to their home and immunising their child.

Delivery

Wereda officials said that almost all mothers (95%) deliver at home with the help of TBAs. Out of the 70 HEWs working in the *wereda* nine have had training on delivery and in two HPs there are delivery kits. However HEWs have not started to provide delivery service yet. The officials suggested that in order to increase institutional delivery more training has to be provided for HEWs and it requires making people aware to value institutional delivery and benefit accordingly.

The Adele Keke HEWs said that most women (85%) continue to deliver at home with TBAs. In the *kebele* there are 14 TBAs, only four with training in delivery. A long time ago the *wereda* health office used to provide plastic bags which were used as gloves by the TBAs. After HEWs were assigned this stopped. The HEW suggested this and other materials should be provided as TBAs are still helping with deliveries.

The rich woman (FE) delivered six of her children at home but as the health workers at the health centre advised her to deliver at the health centre she gave birth to her last child at the health centre.

The middle wealth woman (KL) delivered three of her children at home with the help of TBAs. Recently when her labour pains started she went to Haramaya health centre to get help with delivery but the health workers told her that her delivery time had not arrived and sent her home. After she reached home after some hours she delivered her fourth daughter with the help of the TBAs. She said that in going to the health centre she incurred transport costs and diagnosis fee without getting delivery help

The poor woman in her 30s has been getting anti headache and stomach drugs free of charge from the HEWs. She gave birth to her youngest child at the health centre as she had labour pains for two days and the HEW and TBA advised her to go to the health centre. She has paid for this service.

Infant care

After delivery HEWs and community volunteers provide education and advice to mothers about exclusive breast feeding and mothers' nutrition. There are also a number of nutrition and vaccination interventions for children.

Fistula

Though there is early marriage from age of 13 in the area, *wereda* officials said there was not teenage pregnancy as found in the Somali region and Amhara region, where early marriage is a severe problem as girls get married at much earlier age. Due to this the prevalence of fistula is low in the *wereda* and the demand for fistula services seems less. There is no fistula repair service in the *wereda*. In Harar there is a branch of the Addis Ababa fistula hospital that provides services free of charge including food. This service is provided by the support of Integrated Family Health Programme (IFHP). However, the availability of this service is not well known by rural people. *Wereda* officials said it would be good to introduce this service to people at large and to strengthen the identification of women suffering from fistula.

The HEWs in Adele Keke said they have been teaching women that delivering at home may result in fistula and they advise women to deliver at health care centres. However most women continue to give birth at home. The HEWs tell women to visit the Harar centre when they see a woman suffering from leakage of urine. However, women are resistant to disclose this and get the available service and therefore the prevalence of fistula and the demand for fistula repair services seems low in the *kebele*. The HEWs said that IFHP provided training for *wereda* health officials on fistula and related problems and the *wereda* officials then trained some HEWs working in other *kebeles*. They suggested it will be good if the *wereda* health officials train more HEWs, including themselves so as to enhance their knowledge about fistula, which will help them teach the community about its consequences, identify women with fistula and refer them to the treatment centre.

Other reproductive health

Wereda officials said that for the last six years reproductive health services have been provided at HPs as well as at health centres. At HPs the HEWs together with other district health professionals (through an outreach programme) provide education about how to get family planning services so as to avoid unwanted pregnancy, have a healthier baby, etc. Special counselling and care related to reproduction and sexually transmitted diseases and other technical services, which are not provided at HPs, are provided at health centres. Over time reproductive health related services are being strengthened and the community's knowledge about reproductive health has increased.

The Adele Keke HEWs said that for the last three years reproductive health services have been provided at the HP by the HEWs together with volunteers. Sometimes nurses from the health centre assist. In case of sexually transmitted diseases and other need of medication the HEWs refer clients to the health centres. The women and children's representative also gets involved in the provision of awareness raising education on family planning by explaining to women about her own experience so as to motivate them use it by showing how she has benefited: she has used the long lasting family planning method (*Implanon*).

Curative health services

Government

Generally

As the primary objective of HPs is preventive there curative health care service provided there is limited. There are some drugs, testing and treatment, described by *wereda* officials as including:

- HPs are supplied with anti-malaria drugs and painkillers for headaches such as paracetamol. Sometimes there is a shortage of these drugs due to limited supply.
- Recently HEWs received training and supplies for malaria Rapid Diagnostic Treatment (RDT) and they started testing for malaria.
- This year HEWs have received training from the IFHP on pneumonia treatment. When children under two suffer from pneumonia, rather than travelling a long way to get treatment at health centres, the IFHP makes the treatment service available in HPs, which are closer to the community. The IFHP also assigns a supervisor who follows the treatment service provided by HEWs.
- Recently, the TB drug has been available in HPs so that patients take the drug there rather than travelling to health centres, which takes longer for rural people.
- In general, in most HPs there is shortage of basic equipment.

The Adele Keke HEWs said that at the HP treatment is given to children facing diarrhoea. Since last year curative drugs *amoxicillin*, *amendazol* and anti TB *durg* are also available. Vitamin A for children has been provided in campaigns. Last year Rapid Diagnostic Treatment (RDT) equipment for malaria

was supplied to the HP. If patients are diagnosed as having malaria the HEWs give them either anti malaria drugs. If their illness is not malaria, the HEWs advise them to go to higher health care institutions such as the health centre. The HEW suggested it would good if other equipment such blood measuring instruments and stethoscopes were supplied to the HP. She also suggested that gloves need to be provided so as to avoid blood contamination.

Health centres

Formerly only one health centre (HC) was available, in the capital of the *wereda*. Since 2004 to expand provision of curative health care services five new HCs have been constructed and another is under construction. On average one HC has been constructed and completed per year. Similarly, since 2004 a lot of additional health professionals have been employed. Every HC serves each day for 24 hours. Community volunteers and HEWs inform the community about the need for seeking curative health care services and refer patients to HCs. People have frequently been visiting HCs when they fall sick from certain illnesses. People use the HC closer to their residence area, including HCs located in the neighbouring *weredas*. The HCs are not busy. UNICEF supplies medical equipment for HCs. Currently in each HC they are counting equipment so as to transfer excess equipment from one HC to others that lack such equipment. There is a lack of computers in the HCs.

The health care financing strategy (HCFS) started in 2007/8 in Weter HC, in 2008/9 in Kersa HC, and in 2010 in the other four HCs. The HCFS has its own administrative board composed of HC administration and finance officer, HC head and other selected staff. Since HCFS started the HCs do not wait for the budget assigned by government to buy drugs; rather the HCs open a bank account and use the money obtained from sales of drugs to buy drugs needed in the HC. When selling the drugs an additional mark-up of 30% (to the buying cost of the drug) is added. The HC uses this mark up or profit for transportation and per diem when going to buy the drug, stationery and other administrative purposes. Before the HCFS started there was a shortage of drugs due to budget limitations, delay of budget and inadequate budget. Moreover, the drugs were not bought based on need. As a result patients were buying drugs from private pharmacies at a higher cost. Since HCFS started drugs are bought based on demand (by considering the first 10 top diseases prevalent in the district) and when needed. Within three years HCFS has become effective. As the money obtained from sale of drugs is a rotating fund the capital of the HCs has been increasing, which will make the HCs self-sufficient. In general, HCFS has increased the quality of the service provided at HCs. When rendering HCFS they are supposed to have their own cashier and finance and administrative personnel. Due to budget limitations in four HCs these personnel have not yet been provided.

There is a problem with staffing. The standard is 30 staff per HC. The number of staff is better in Kersa, Lange and Weter HCs since they are pioneer HCs but there are staff gaps in the remaining HCs due to budget shortages. For instance, Dolu and Gola HCs have 10 and nine staff respectively, and that includes guards and cleaners. The *wereda* health office head recommended the assignment of enough budget so as to employ adequate staff. In addition, the *wereda* official suggested the provision of capacity-building training so as to update staff with recent information and technologies. Sometimes NGOs provide training on some issues but it is not adequate. He also mentioned that only very few staff got further educational opportunities. For example last year only one staff member studied for a MA. He suggested giving more educational up grading opportunities so that staff are encouraged and serve effectively.

There is no Health Centre (HC) in Adele Keke. The community members use the Haramaya HC, which is in another *wereda*, as it is the closest HC to Adele Keke. In Kersa there is a lower-grade health centre.

Hospitals

The rich man (BB) is diabetic. His wife said he buys drugs from Dire Dawa government hospital to take every day. On average on a monthly basis they spend 400 *birr* on check-ups and drugs. As

economically they are a well-to-do family, unlike two individuals found in their *kebele*, they are not allowed to get the drugs free of charge. Now he plans to ask the *kebele* to let him get the drug free of charge like others who faced diabetic problems.

The successful female household head's (EE) deceased husband was sick with liver disease for a long time (for seven years) and he went for medical treatment in different hospitals in Harar and Dire Dawa.

The middle wealth woman in her 30s has been sick with gastric, haemorrhoids and uterus related pain and anaemia for a long time. She has visited Harar Hiwot Fana Hospital three times. She said there was a problem to get service on time since the health care workers do not come on time, do not treat properly and do not treat with respect. Then she visited private clinics at Haramaya. The cost of this treatment is expensive: for one diagnosis she paid 700 *birr*. She also bought drugs from private pharmacies, which is also expensive. With this treatment she got a bit better but she was not cured so she visited the government Dil Chora Hospital in Dire Dawa twice. She was told she needed blood from six people as she faced severe lack of blood. She was very worried about how to get the blood. Then through the help of one of the nurses she got the blood from the Red Cross without any payment. After this she returned home and she is getting slowly better.

The poor woman in her 20s said that when their wedding ceremony was on the way to be arranged her father-in-law (to be) became very sick. To treat him the household sold so many assets. He slept in Dire Dawa Hospital for two weeks. His illness was kidney related. She heard from others the cause of his illness is chewing chat as he used to chew a lot. After he fell ill the physician advised him to stop chewing but he died.

Private clinics

In the *wereda* there are nine smaller private clinics, all are found in the towns (three in Kersa town, three in Weter town and three in Lange town). Mostly people have been using these clinics as they can get service whenever they need but they are not well equipped in terms of staff and equipment. Moreover, as they are business-oriented they render services which they are not allowed to. There is an established committee from the district health office that regulates the services provided in these clinics. There is a plan to establish an inspection team comprised of members from different sectors such as district health, administration, police and security, trade, and revenue offices. So far, due to continual meetings, this inspection team has not been established yet. When it is established the team will monitor clinics and other health care giving institutions and check whether they have fulfilled set criteria. For example this monitoring would check that in small clinics two health professionals are available while medium level clinics need to have a health officer and laboratory testing service.

Kebele officials said that when some patients are not satisfied by the health care service they get from health centres they use the service offered at Tesfaye private clinic, found in Kersa. This clinic is popular as the owner has been working in health centres for a long time and people know him very well. A few individuals sometimes go to private clinics in Haramaya.

Pharmacies

There are two private pharmacies, which have been working for the last five years but are not regulated. *Kebele* officials said that whenever people do not get prescribed medicine from the pharmacy at the health centre they buy it from private pharmacies in Haramaya or Kersa.

Traditional practices

There are some traditional practitioners in Dire Dawa, Weter, and Langea area who have licences but they are not certified. They produce drugs from different leaves. People mostly go to these healers for some illnesses like haemorrhoids and skill related problems. In Weter also there is holy

water which people suffering from cold use but it is not considered good quality. Until now these traditional healers have not been regulated.

Kebele officials said that in Adele Keke there was one traditional healer but he has left the area for Jimma. The researchers interviewed a traditional healer in the *kebele* who is also a religious leader. There are also some traditional practitioners in Haramaya, Weter, and Langea areas. These practitioners produce drugs from different leaves. People mostly go to these healers for illnesses like haemorrhoids, lung problems, spider bites and skull and bone related problems. In Weter and Dire Dawa there is holy water which some people suffering from colds use. Most of these traditional practitioners are working secretly.

NGOs

In coordination with the *wereda* health office different NGOs are working on health related issues including:

- Integrated Family Health Programme (IFHP) are working in coordination with the women's affairs office. They provide family planning services, information education in fighting HTPs, and fistula repair services. In order to get women with fistula they inform the HEWs that if they get a woman suffering from leakage of urine to refer such women to the fistula repair centre found in Harar town.
- Over the last 5 years Oromiya Development Association (ODA) also has been working on family planning and outreach services by mobilising the community for disease prevention activities and on other development aspects.
- Harerghe Catholic Secretariat/HCS also have been providing some logistics support, for instance they provide care for outreach services. They sponsor stationery materials for review meetings.
- Essential Health Service in Ethiopia/ESHE also has been working in the *wereda* on FP and nutrition for the last 2 years. Now their programme has been phased out.
- ProPRIDE on youth and HIV/AIDS.

The activities that are implemented by these NGOs have been regulated by the zonal health bureau by contacting the district health office based on their performance report and earlier submitted proposal.

Kebele officials reported the following NGOs and interventions:

- **Management Science for Health (MCH)** has been providing material support such as stationery and drugs (*amoxicillin* and *amendazol*) to the HP. They also give training on malaria prevention and control, child feeding and the causes of anaemia in children under five. MCH also supply medicines for immunisation.
- Since 2010 **UNICEF** has been supplying *amoxicillin* and *amendazol* to the HP and has been supporting nutrition related activities.
- In 2010 for eight months **Goal Ethiopia** was supplying supplementary food and *plumpynut* for malnourished children, pregnant women and breast feeding mothers, and big plastic material and weighing scales to the HP. Their programme has phased out and they are working in other districts.
- **Oromiya Development Association (ODA)** has been working on the motto of building healthier a family in preventing the community from various diseases. To do so ODA has been providing training for HEWs and community volunteers so as to educate community members. ODA supplies some contraceptives for the community. ODA also trained 35 HEWs (one from each *kebele*) on the newly introduced contraceptive (*implanon*).

- Another NGO (which they call **SMS**) since last year has been providing training to HEWs about the prevention and control of malaria. The HEWs report to them by mobile message about how many individuals have been tested through Rapid Diagnostic Treatment and the results (malaria cases found). To do this NGO gives 100 birr monthly allowance for communication (to buy mobile card) to HEWs.
- **Hararghe Catholic Secretariat (HCS)** also provides training for HEWs and community volunteers on child feeding practice.

Child-rearing practices and changes

Kebele officials said that over the last 10 years, especially following the introduction of health extension service in 2008, parents have become aware of the need to give special care to infants. In the past they were giving similar food to small and older children but now they prepare a balanced diet for small children. They have started to wash their child's body and their clothes with soap. This special care continues until children reach seven years old. Then they send them either to religious or formal school. In the past boys ate with their fathers and girls with their mothers, and as mothers eat later girls were not getting quality and adequate food; now parents understand the need to feed children first. Unlike parents children also eat lunch. For adolescent boys and girls those parents who can afford them buy quality personal care items and clothes.

It still seems that priority is given to boys since parents emphasise that it will be the boy who will remain in that area while girls will get married and move away. That is why if a couple only have a girl the husband likes to marry another wife so as to get a boy. But they do not mind if they get boys only. In general it seems that mothers are inclined to give more care to older female youth as they help her in domestic work. Similarly, fathers are inclined to give good care to older male youth.

The wife in the rich household (FE) said that that in the last 10 years there have been changes in child-rearing practices for both boys and girls, with parents providing better care for children (both girls and boys) of different age categories (new born infants, babies, etc.), including feeding their children in better way by preparing different kinds of food.

Education

General

In Adele Keke there are four primary schools but no kindergarten, pre-school, alternative basic education, secondary school, TVET or university.

Pre-school

In 2003 a private kindergarten (KG) opened in the *wereda* capital (Kersa). *Wereda* officials said that children who went to KG performed better in primary school. As it is a private KG the number of students is small and they can care for the children well. The school compound is a safe healthy environment. Children aged four to six are eligible to attend. The problem is that there is no formal text book prepared for KG level.

According to *wereda* officials in 2009 zero grade education started in 35 primary schools in the *wereda*, increasing to 65 schools in 2010 and 70 in 2011. As there is no kindergarten in the 33 rural *kebeles* and two small towns in the *wereda* (apart from the small private one described above), children attending zero grade lessons have been obtaining basic education as a preparation to join grade one. However, there is a lack of teachers for this grade (other teachers teach it when they have free time) and no textbook. Also, most *kebeles* have only one primary school and children who live far away cannot attend. The *wereda* head of education office recommended for zero grade lessons to be provided at the sub *kebele*/village level.

The *kebele* officials said that there is no kindergarten in Adele Keke and while there was a plan to have zero grade classes for pre-school children, it has not been practically possible because of a lack

of classrooms and teachers. Nevertheless children aged four to six who live close to the school have started to come to formal school with their elder siblings and they stay in the classroom, mostly in grade one and in classes their elder siblings attend, for about three hours. However, younger children who live far from a school do not accompany their siblings to school.

Primary education

The primary schools

In the wereda

Wereda officials said that over time there has been improvement of existing primary schools in terms of facilities and construction of new schools. Last year five more schools were constructed, and now each *kebele* has one or more primary schools and enrolment has been increasing. The provision of the school grant has supported improvements. Schools expected to receive the grant in 2008/9 but it was not given on time. All schools received it in 2009/10. In 2009/10 it was 10 *birr* per student, which increased to 15 *birr* per student in 2010/11. The grant was spent based on the School Improvement Programme (SIP) plan and the needs of the schools identified by a committee comprised of teachers, parents, and students. Schools used it to buy stationery materials, chairs, repair classrooms and buy books for school libraries. There have been some improvements of textbooks to take into account the local context; this approach makes the lessons more enjoyable and accessible.

Problems include shortage of teachers due to the limited budget, and shortage of Mathematics, English, and Civics education textbooks. In addition, the quality of the textbooks are not good; they normally only last a year before getting broken. Recently UNICEF has built latrines and provided chairs and repaired the classrooms of some schools. The community members also have been supporting schools with labour as well as by contributing money so the school facilities have been improving over time. However, there are still problems with facilities such as shortage of well-prepared latrines, desks and chairs, and lack of access to water. In principle the teacher-student ratio has to be 1:50 (at maximum). But, due to shortages of teachers, in practice one teacher teaches 80 up to 100 students per class. As the classrooms are small they are very crowded.

Since 2010/11 grades one to four have been self-contained. The benefits of this system are that it enables students to get to know their teacher well and then their attendance improves, and it incentivises teachers to work hard as their performance can be clearly seen based on the performance of their class. On the negative side, if the teacher is absent there is no one who can cover for them, and if the teacher is not good, students will not acquire the knowledge and skills they need or if the teacher is badly behaved and is an addict, students also may develop such bad behaviour.

If a student fails to learn required skills or knowledge he or she will repeat a grade; there are instances when the principle of automatic promotion may not be practical.

Since 2008 three Alternative Basic Education (ABE) centres have opened in areas where most parents do not send children to formal school as they need their labour; the ABE's provide classes when the community prefers, mostly in non-working hours. However, the education office has not encouraged students to attend ABE as there is no qualified teacher. Student drop out is high still and the ABE system has not been successful, and is limited to grade one.

There is religious education. As this education is given at school time it can be one factor for some children not to join formal school. Last year discussions took place between the *wereda* education office and religious teachers to solve this issue and a system whereby a teacher from a formal school goes to a religious school and teaches students for certain time was agreed. However this initiative has not made good progress. The *kebele* formal school teachers recommended it would be good if religious education is provided in the afternoon so that after attending formal school in the morning

children can attend religious education in the afternoon. For now religious education continues to be provided in the morning shift.

In Adele Keke

There are four primary schools in the *kebele*. Three were built recently and the main school is much older. Table 10 provides a summary of the four primary schools. The schools are free but parents are requested to contribute for expansion of schools either in cash, wood or labour. All the grades of the three new schools and grades one to four of the main school use the self-contained teaching system, and through continuous assessment all the schools follow the system of automatic promotion. All four schools operate a half day open in the morning.

Table 10 Primary schools in Adele Keke

School	Year started	Grades	No. students	No. teachers	Teacher: student ratio
Adele main	1985/6	1- 7	679	8 (5 m, 3f)	1:85
Gole	2008/9	1- 2	125	2 (1 m, 1 f)	1:63
Dedo	2009/10	1- 3	207	3 (2 m, 1f)	1:69
Kalu	2010/11	1-2	not known	2 (2 m)	not known

Table 11 shows the boy-girl ratio by grade for the main primary school. Overall the proportion of female student is 47.6%. As grade level increases students', especially girls', enrolment reduces.

Table 11 Gender ratio by grade in the main primary school

grade	m	f	total	percentage f
1	107	108	215	50%
2	71	79	150	53%
3	41	55	96	57%
4	49	43	92	47%
5	40	16	56	29%
6	42	28	70	40%
total	350	329	679	48%

The main primary school receives the *wereda* block grant of 838 *birr* p.a. (spent on pens, stationery; not on text books which are provided by federal government) and the school improvement grant was provided at around 9,000 *birr* p.a.

All the school buildings, especially the recently constructed schools, are not adequate. These schools were built by community participation with labour and wood. The government also provided corrugated iron. The older school classrooms need repairing. Two newly built classrooms have not been finished due to shortage of materials but already being used. There is no electricity in the recently constructed schools; there is electricity in the main school but the school has not started using electric lights. There is no water in the schools; students bring water in small plastic bags from their homes to drink and to clean the classrooms. The main school and Kalu School have latrines but the other schools do not; Kalu School's separate toilets for male and female students were prepared under PSNP public work with the cooperation of HEWs and DAs. The latrines tend to be dirty, given the lack of running water.

In all the schools there is a shortage of textbooks, stationery materials, desks, chairs, classrooms, and teachers. In some grades there are a large number of students per class and in the newly built schools some of the students have to sit on stone floors. Though it is not adequate there have been some achievements by the community in terms of constructing desks and additional classrooms. In the last month the main school was appointed the cluster centre for the other three schools found in

the *kebele*. Supervisors from the *wereda* education office came regularly and discussed with the teachers about what cluster means and on the required teaching aids. So far the required material is not provided and there is no room to use as a cluster centre.

All four schools have Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) who manage the schools and mobilise the community to provide cash and in kind contributions such as labour and wood for construction and improvement of classrooms and other facilities. The PTAs have also been following up and mobilising the community so as to expand grades year by year. However the PTAs of the new schools are not organised.

The school director said the main primary school does not have its own fence, there are not enough seats for the students, there are no seats for teachers, there is no recreational cafeteria for teachers, and the electricity was disconnected as the school could not pay the bill. But there are two latrines and they are relatively good. Cement that was going to be used to improve the classrooms was allowed to expire. Last year a new PTA was established. There had been a severe shortage of chairs and desks for students. Last summer through continuous effort by the newly established PTA the community members brought wood and desks were constructed and now only a few students sit on the floor. Recently they got new textbooks.

Recently, three of the teachers employed in the three new schools are from the community, which increases parents' interest in sending their children to school.

The school director has to cover absent teachers' classes; up to grade four they apply the self-contained system and there are no substitute teachers. On some weekends and after school time she mobilises parents (with PTA members) to send their children to school, identify causes of student dropout and getting them back to school. Her salary is 2,351 *birr*/month. She finds her job challenging; she cannot change everything without the support of others but the *wereda* still blame her for the lack of school improvement. She is highly disappointed by her role because of the lack of community interest in improving the school. She has submitted a letter to *wereda* education office to resign from the post of head teacher; she would prefer to work as a normal teacher.

A male teacher at Gole School said that the teacher/pupil ratio is 1:150. He said some students skip classes. In particular during harvesting time there is a high level of dropouts. With grades one to three self-contained, if the teacher is bad then the students will behave badly. He thinks parents do not appreciate education and they send their children to the school without proper follow up.

The female teacher at Dedo School said the attitude of some parents to school is low and they prefer their children to go to the religious school. The recent achievement is that a new classroom is being constructed so the school will have a grade four in the coming academic year. There are a lot of problems in the school, such as shortage of textbooks, stationery materials and desks. There is no water in the school compound. The teachers want to move to the main school as Dedo School is located far from the centre of the *kebele*. Her salary is 1,172 *birr*/month. The problem related to doing her job is that some students from her class sometimes attend the main school and at other times they attend the religious school. However teachers are evaluated based on the number of students attending their class. Due to this she is not happy by students' behaviour of attending different schools at the same time. To improve this situation she and the other teacher went to the main school and warned them not to allow students who have already started attending in their (Dedo) school.

The poor female household head (FF) and the successful female household head (EE) both said that the expansion of the grades taught at the *kebele* schools is a good thing so that the children do not have to travel to other *weredas* to attend grade 5 upwards.

Until this academic year there has been a religious school in each village, with children aged four to eight being taught religious education under a tree by religious leaders who are volunteers and do not receive payment. This year a new madrasa school opened in Gelan village, built by community

contributions and financial support of rich people from Aweday, the chat trading centre. It has two classrooms and a latrine but no electricity or water. Currently there are 98 students (50 boys, 48 girls) in grade one and 160 students (95 boys, 65 girls) in grade zero. Some of these students are older children who did not join formal school at the right time. The number of students in both classes is extremely high with an estimated 1:150:1 teacher-student ratio; the teachers said the classes were difficult to manage. They have no desks or textbooks. They currently teach mainly religious education; they plan to teach other subjects but they need to get textbooks first.

The head teacher (27 years old, grade 10) teaches the children how to add, subtract, and multiply and about alphabets. When textbooks are available he will teach on a subject basis Maths, English, Oromiffa and science. He supports the other teacher in religious education as the number of students per class is high and it is a bit difficult to manage students, especially in grade zero. He works for half day from Monday to Thursday and Sunday. On Friday they go to the mosque and do not work. He has a salary, paid by students' 10 *birr*/month contribution. As the community has no experience of such contributions it is difficult to collect it and he often does not get his salary on time. In some cases the leaders (*sheka*) of Gelan and Chefra mosques support him financially. The other problem related to doing his job is that sometimes the *wereda* education officer comes to the school and tells them not to teach students who have already joined another formal school. He does not know which of his students have registered at other schools; he has tried to take a list but the students then register under a different name. Previously he worked in a first cycle NGO school in another *wereda*. He came to this school as he prefers the area. He would like to upgrade his education and wants to work in another formal school. Recently the *wereda* education office came to the *kebele* and evaluated the school and said that the number of students is high and recommended that the school should employ more teachers and improve the quality to get permission from *wereda* education office. He said that the problem with the formal schools in the *kebele* are that there is weak rapport between teachers and the community; the students come to the formal schools late - usually at 9:00 am (and this has impacted the Madrassa school too as the children come at this time, copying from the experience of formal schools); and in general, there is weak follow up from the teachers, community and government officials (*kebele* and *wereda*) regarding the formal schools in the *kebele*. Some community members whose children go to the religious school said:

- The poor female household head (FF) said her younger child (five years old) occasionally goes to the madrasa school with neighbouring children but he does not attend regularly because he prefers to stay around the home and play.
- The rich woman (FE) said that two of her children (8 and 6 years old) joined the madrasa school this year. She mentioned the school classrooms are good quality and the school has a toilet. She thinks the school needs chairs and desks. She is pleased that her children are learning in this school as she perceives they get lessons provided at formal school as well as religious education.
- The poor woman (JJ) has one of her children going to the madrasa school because she lives close to it. She said the good thing about the school is the provision of religious education, the toilet and the neatness of the classrooms with cement walls. She said there is a lack of chairs and desks and it would be good if these were provided.
- The wife of the poor male headed household (DD) has children attending the main school found in the *kebele* (two are learning in grade 1 and one is learning in grade 3). The children started to go to the religious school this year but the teachers from the main school forced them to return to the main school. Like her children she would prefer her children to learn at the religious school as it is closer to her home and she thinks the education provided is similar to the formal school.

- The wife in the successful household (FE) said that formerly one of her children was attending religious school but she and her husband made him shift to formal school as they prefer him to learn in formal school.

Despite opening more primary schools in Adele Keke some community members still send their children to the neighbouring *kebele*'s schools, namely Dhengego School and Adele 01 primary school. This is because these schools are better in terms of facilities and they are near for some villages. For instance, students from Kalu village learn in Dhengego primary school and students from Kusho village learn in Adele 01 *kebele* primary school until grade eight. Students in the main school attend grade seven and eight in these two primary schools. Adele 01 primary school is an old school built by the military during Haile Selassie time. It has 2,000 students and good facilities, with the support of the NGO Measure to Measure;¹² there are actually too many classrooms for the school to use. There are latrines, separate for teachers and pupils; the pupils' latrines are very dirty.

PTA

Each school has a separate PTA. The PTA of the main primary school has seven members (one male and one female teacher, and five parents) and meets once every 15 days. The PTA has been undertaking a lot of activities, including encouraging parents to send their children to school, to follow up drop out students and make them to restart attending school, to identify school age children who did not yet join school and get them to join school, to mobilise the community to contribute for school improvement and to collect the contribution and facilitate the work undertaken to improve the school. The PTA also decides on behaviour related problems among students and teachers, punishes a teacher who is absent from school and does not teach properly, and punish students who mal practice at school or who has bad behaviour. As it is the PTA who decides on how to use the school grant obtained, the PTA is powerful. In relation to this, recently the PTA faced a problem when the school director used 4,000 *birr* to repair the smallest room, which the head used as an office. The PTA members perceived that it was unfair to use this amount of money to repair a small room. To solve such kind of misuse of school grants the PTA members have now decided and agreed to open a bank account in the name of three members of the PTA so that it will be only when PTA members decide to use the grant for certain activities that the agreed amount of money would be used.

There was severe shortage of desks in the school. To help overcome this problem last year the PTA mobilised every student to contribute 20 *birr*. Accordingly 4,300 *birr* were contributed and desks for 4 classrooms were constructed using the contributed money.

The PTA chair (male, 32, diploma-level education) was appointed in 2008/9; he is a grade five and six science teacher and parents chose him because he is kind and likes children. He wants to upgrade his education and teach in secondary school. With the *kebele* officials or cabinet members he also goes to different villages to inform parents on the value of education and following up cases of dropout. He also reports to the *kebele* education board when the PTA members face difficulty in deciding on certain cases so that the education board will decide.

Each school also has an education development committee. These committees provide advice to students who face behavioural problems. They refer cases, which are above their capacity, to the PTA.

Experiences of primary school

The poor female household head's (FF) children's experiences of primary school include:

- FF's oldest son is 16 years old and in grade eight in Adele 01 primary school. Sometimes he does not go to school at harvesting time to help in farm related activities.

¹² Sometimes this NGO is also referred to as Mention for Mention.

- Her 18 year old daughter has not got married and is in grade seven in Adele 01 primary school. Neighbouring children who joined school at the same time are now learning in secondary school; she is still in grade 7 because her father got sick (when she was grade four) and she had to drop out school for three years due to lack of educational materials and other necessities.
- Two of her other sons are attending grade 5 and 3 and one of her other daughters grade 4 in the main school. The head of the main school knows the problem FF is in and sometimes she gives exercise books and pens to her children.
- Two other daughters (5 and 8 years old) are not yet at school: FF said she is educating the older children but faces shortage of money to buy educational materials for all her children.

Two of the *kebele* chairs' children are attending grade four and three in the main school, which is found in their village. The *kebele* chair's wife (BE) mentioned that over time the school is expanding to teach more grades and getting desks and chairs. One of her children also attends grade eight in Adele 01 primary school in the neighbouring *kebele*. She has never been to this school and so does not know what it is like.

The middle wealth woman (KL) has two daughters attending grade four and five in Adele 01 primary school. They selected this school because they believe the quality of the education is better there compared with the schools found in the *kebele*. Second, the school is not far from their village. The participant said that the school has so many good things, with a clean school compound, enough chairs and desks, a cleaner for the classrooms (to cover this each student pays 3 *birr* per year) and good teachers. Over time the facilities of the school, such as toilet and playground, have been improving. Due to this she stated that some parents have started to take their children out of the school in the *kebele* and sending them instead to Adele 01 *kebele* primary school. She said her children like going to school and attend regularly. At the beginning of this year when she was in hospital her second daughter was mostly absent from school to look after her at hospital.

A rich teenage girl who has studied at both the main school and Adele 01 primary school emphasised that the quality of education provided in Adele 01 primary school is by far better than what is provided in the main school.

The rich man in his 30s said his children are attending school at Adele Keke primary school and he complained that there is a shortage of teachers, especially in science fields.

Secondary education

In the *wereda*

In 2003 there was only one secondary school, which is found in the *wereda* capital (Kersa town). In 2005 an additional school was built in the Wetera area by the community; government only covered some costs of cement so as to strengthen the classroom built and by hiring teachers.

Before 2010 text books were distributed by regions but since 2010 the distribution is directly by the federal level. In the federal system of distribution there have been some gaps in getting required textbooks. For instance, excess textbooks in some subjects were given to some schools while other schools lack such textbooks. Due to the distribution problem there is a shortage of certain textbooks. This also applies in primary schools. However, the quality of textbooks in terms of content has improved. Teachers also have been upgrading their qualifications. Since 2008 98% of secondary school teachers are degree holders. Thus, the quality of education given is improving.

Since 2008 there have been plasma lessons but the plasma training given to teachers was not adequate. In addition, as most secondary school students of this *wereda* are from rural areas it is difficult for them to get the lesson as the plasma lesson is delivered very fast. In the last academic year there were no plasma lessons due to technical problems.

For Adele Keke students

Access is challenging for Adele Keke students as there is no secondary school in the *kebele*; students attend secondary schools in neighbouring *kebeles* included Adele 01 and Kersa. Those who can afford to rent a house and stay in the nearby school; some come to and from school using public transport and others walk to and from school. Thus, due to distance problems there may be some (maybe 5 %) who do not go to secondary school.

Before 2007 the nearest secondary school was Haramaya secondary school in Haramaya town. Students attending this school used public transport costing about 3 *birr* per trip, while others walked to the school. In 2008 another secondary school was opened nearer to the community in Adele 01 *kebele* of Haramaya district. It takes 90 minutes to walk there). Over time the numbers of boys and girls who joined secondary school has increased. However fewer girls attend (on average 35%), as most girls get married when they reach grade six and seven and then they drop out school. Similarly, immediately after joining secondary school some boys drop out of school as they prefer to work in chat trading. Students are not supposed to pay for secondary school except in the case of school contributions for grade expansion or improvement of school facilities.

Adele 01 secondary school has two shifts, 11 sessions per shift, 50-55 students per shift and 57 teachers; the ratio of teachers-students is 1:50. One of the teachers complained that there was no ICT or laboratory. There are latrines but not kept clean and there is no running water.

After grade 10 students who have passed go to preparatory school in Haramaya town, and some go to the Kersa combined secondary and preparatory school; the directors in Kersa said that they have 40-50 students from Adele Keke in grades eleven and twelve. The school has some good facilities, including a library and a basketball court. At this school in grades nine to twelve they have 1,148 students, 43 teachers, and in grades 11-12 they have 251 students (of which about 30 – 12% - are girls) and 13 teachers. They have 80 students per class in grade nine and about 40 for grades 11-12. 27% of students passed grade 10 exam. Depending on experience teachers get a monthly salary of 1,571–3,300 *birr*/p.a. The directors of this school said the main issues are lack of textbooks and girls dropping out early to get married.

Over time the number of students joining preparatory school has increased. For instance, in this academic year 10 students of the area (all of them male) have joined it. The problem in this regard is that at first most students have difficulty in understanding lessons provided as English is the medium of instruction in post-secondary school.

The successful female household head's (EE) second oldest son is 16 years old and in grade 10 in Adele 01 secondary school. After school he helps the household in agricultural activities. She stated that his future plan is to continue his education. She encourages and supports him to continue learning. She feels good about his school. She mentioned that the school compound and classrooms are clean. However, she does not know about the quality of the education provided.

The *kebele* chair's wife (BE) said her son is learning in grade 10 at secondary school (Adele 01 *kebele*). She has not visited the school yet so she does not know about the quality and facilities.

The rich woman (FE) has a son learning in grade nine at Adele 01 secondary school. As the school is far from their home travelling to and from the school was the problem for her son. As a result, he has been using public transport and spends 6-8 *birr* a day.

Post-secondary education

Government TVET

Up to 2008 students in the *wereda* went to TVET in other towns such as Harar, Haramaya, Dire Dawa, and Chelenko. In 2009 a TVET opened in the *wereda* town (Kersa) inside the secondary school. Economic problems and distance stop some students from attending TVET. In addition, upon completing TVET most graduates do not get a job; there are fewer job opportunities for TVET

graduates because they do not acquire adequate skills. Since 2010 the grade of TVET has changed from 10+1, 10+2 and 10 +3 to Level one to five. This may be an improvement; however, TVET teachers are not qualified and there is a shortage of materials. No one from Adele Keke has attended TVET.

Government colleges and universities

Since 1993 there have been many students from the *wereda* that have graduated from various universities. Students in Adele Keke have gone to colleges and universities such as Haramaya University and Jimma University; one student is at Haramaya and three at Jimma University this year.

Being close to Haramaya University has benefited civil servants, public officials, and others as they can take evening classes there. To make the education accessible for workers classes are provided on weekends in Harar and Dire Dawa town. People pay for their own educational fees and transport expenses. Some respondents said it would be good if the government sponsored them, as has been arranged for the teachers' summer programme. When teachers upgrade their qualifications, they do not get a salary increment.

Instead of continuing on to preparatory school some students prefer to go direct to Teacher Training College (TTC) or get trained to be a HEW. From those who failed grade 10 and grade 12, one woman and six men joined TTC last year. This year six men have also joined TTCs in different parts of the country such as Jimma, Ciro, Asela and Bale.

Starting from 2001 getting a Certificate of Competence (CoC) for teachers and health practitioners is a requirement for getting a job. Once every three months there is an exam for the CoC. The process of giving a CoC is not transparent. Very few pass (about 2%). For the future there is a concern that in order to upgrade their education getting a CoC will be a prerequisite. This worries some teachers and health professionals.

The middle wealth woman's (KK) son is at Haramaya University. He stays the whole year there. Because there is good availability of food and a dormitory, he only comes home during the summer.

The *kebele* chair's wife said that one of their sons attended a government college, Nelgele Borena Nursing College, and graduated last year. Educational fees, food and dormitory were provided by the government. So, except for some personal items such as clothes, shoes, and stationery material, the household has not paid any education related costs.

One man said that there are some youths who have completed their education but who could not get the necessary result to go to college or university and are simply sitting with their families in the *kebele*.

Private colleges

There are private colleges in Harar and Dire Dawa town. Since 2007 government has formulated a policy that teachers, lawyers and health practitioners cannot upgrade in private colleges because of concerns over the quality of the education they provide.

In Adele Keke three students have graduated from private colleges. Currently another three students are attending Dire Dawa and Harar private colleges. Only one of these has been a woman.

The rich woman (FE) said her son graduated last summer from a private college. She heard from him the college provides enough textbooks and supplementary materials, and there are practical lessons to use what they learned in class. The problem is the high cost of tuition fees, which prevents most students from getting a college education. She suggested it would be good if the cost of tuition was reduced so that more students would be able to attend.

Other training

Last year there was training for 15 days continuously for model farmers. At the end of the training about 9,000 *birr* was contributed by the community and they had a graduation ceremony where an oxen was slaughtered and a T-shirt was distributed to DAs and model farmers. The DAs and model farmers were also invited to attend a ceremony prepared at *wereda* level.

Some model farmers resisted participating in training because they wanted to harvest their crops; on the first two days of the training about 30% of the model farmers did not attend the training. The *kebele* chair contacted the *wereda* administration and agricultural officers and they immediately joined him and other *kebele* cabinet members in convincing the farmers to value the training and the problem was resolved.

There was a good experience sharing training for farmers in 2010/11; the poor man (GG) said the training was very interesting as it helped the farmers, especially the poor to work hard using the best experiences of other middle and rich farmers.

Women reported having training in the health extension packages and other health issues, in particular family planning, infant care and nutrition.

Training on tax collection is given once a year to *kebele* chairs and managers by the district revenue office. The officials then relay the information to village representatives so as to make the community aware of the process and collect taxes at the proper time.

Last year a new Practice Based Adult Basic Education programme was introduced in the community. It has a manual prepared by the Ministry of Education. In this programme various government employees are supposed to provide training in their area of expertise. That is, the HEW teaches about health related issues; a teacher teaches basic skills such as addition, subtraction, the alphabet; the DA teaches about agricultural activities; and the *kebele* manager teaches about how to manage their village and about good governance. Some of the employees said they delivered this training in regular programme three days per week for two hours each. Eligible trainees are children over 12 years old who have not joined school and adults. According to the information obtained from DAs and HEWs, last year 53 individuals attended the programme; almost all were men and the participation of women was extremely low, about 2%. After a while most of the attendants and the trainers stopped taking part and the programme was discontinued.

This training is in addition to the officials' routine responsibilities and they recommended it would be good if they got some incentive to work better and develop interest in contributing to the success of the programme. Apart from the education sector, the other sectors do not give due emphasis to this programme. In other areas, for instance, in Dire Dawa, the trainers in this programme get an incentive (which is a small amount that can be used to buy soap) that motivates them to serve better. However, in Adele Keke there is no incentive though government employees were serving in their free time. Combined with this not all the officials get a place to live in the community at no cost, which apparently is their entitlement. In practice only three teachers of the main school and one veterinary worker get a home free of charge in the *kebele* and the DA, HEW and other teachers have to rent small rooms costing 60 up to 100 *birr* per month. It seems that the lack of incentive and lack of residential houses discourages the officials from working effectively.

Contrary to the information from the officials almost all of the ordinary community members stated that except introducing the programme/training, practically it has not delivered.

One of the school principals mentioned that since 2007 students attending secondary school teach small children in the summer seasons. During the academic year also students are contributing one or two *birr* per month. This money contributed is given to the students teaching in summer season.

The *wereda* plans to open a public library; the Sharia (Muslim faith based) court has constructed a new office so the *wereda* plans to turn their old office into a library. A man who was studying his

masters in Haramaya University and is now working at Addis Ababa University has donated 22 books and youth members have contributed money and bought 10 books. Until the library is opened, these books will remain idle. Wereda officials also plan to buy a computer for the library.

Attitudes to education

The main primary school director said the community has low awareness regarding the value of education and most people want their children to remain at home, keep livestock and get married. Recently there has been some improvement as the community awareness has increased a bit from seeing graduate students returning to the community and holding celebrations. However she complained of the lack of ownership by PTA, and said that the parents don't care about education because there is no role model of people who have completed school and then gone on to be successful, so they do not see what difference having education will make. Girls tend to drop out around age 13 to get married. Chat is harvested three or four times a year and at harvest time, especially in November/December and March, student absenteeism is high. The *kebele* chair said that the formal schools in the *kebele* are at a low level in terms of overall quality of teaching and learning. The reason is the low awareness of the community towards education in general.

Some respondents reported that they value education and aspire for their children (or themselves) to get a good education, and that this attitude and the access to education has changed a lot since they were children, and they appreciate the benefits:

- The successful woman (FE) said that due to their education her children know how to subtract or multiply etc. better than her and her husband; they support the household business activities in their Coca-Cola distribution centre and small shop.
- The successful female household head (EE) said that, with other *kebele* officials, she follows up drop out students and encourages parents to educate their children. Her oldest child is 25 years old and she got married in 1998. She did not get formal education because at that time there were very few parents sending their children to school. She said the education her other children has got helps them to be active in many different activities. For instance, her youngest son understands the advantages of new information regarding farming and has started to apply it with confidence and because of this the yields the household has been getting have increased. The other children also share what they have heard about some important things with the household members so as to put them into practice. Thus, she believes education has been benefiting the household in different aspects.
- A middle wealth woman in her 30s said that when she was a child she was stolen by another woman and she was raised by non-biological parents who kept her hidden and did not allow her to go out of their compound. Even though there was a school she did not get chance to join it. She aspires to see the educational success of her daughters, especially her eldest daughter.
- The poor woman in her 30s said that these days adolescent girls and boys have greater opportunity to continue attending school because teachers go village-to-village advising parents of the importance of education. She said that it was due to lack of awareness that she dropped out of school from grade three.
- The rich woman (FE) said that when she was about eight years old the main school was being constructed and she did not go to school and only got religious education.
- The rich teenage boy (19) said that even if some teachers are faded by teaching, some are still energetic and enthusiastic in teaching and the community also has been constructing additional schools and classes even though they have low awareness on education

Others, despite improvements in access and attendance, identify persistent issues with drop-outs, in particular of young girls:

- A rich woman in her 30s said that nowadays some adolescent girls are in a hurry to have a relationship with a young man. She thinks a few of them may start sex earlier and they do not give emphasis to education. She said that one factor for this may be the absence of women who joined university or college. She said until now there is only one girl who has learnt in private college. She also explained that in most cases due to marriage they drop out of school when they reach grade eight. There are some differences compared with the time when she was an adolescent in the sense that adolescent girls drop out school earlier due to marriage, which in some cases happens because of unplanned pregnancy. However, the number of adolescent girls who joined school has increased overall because people's awareness of the importance of education, especially girl's education, was previously very low and access to school was also very low. With regards to young men the proportion continuing schooling has increased greatly. She stated that most young men in the area try to follow in the footsteps of those who started to involve in some non-agricultural activities so as to generate income rather than giving emphasis to their education.

One respondent has gone back to school after having a baby:

- A rich teenage girl said that as her mother, father, and siblings are keen on her schooling after she delivered her daughter she went back to school. Now she is attending grade 8. She aspires to continue education up to university level. Education helps her in her work as she calculates amounts collected from clients easily. Now, after school she is the one who mostly sells at her parent's shop.

Some respondents either said their parents could not afford to send (all of) their children to school, and they could not send all of their children:

- The poor female household head (FF) said that in the future she would like to engage in trading activities such buying and selling milk so as to support her children's schooling. She would have liked to engage in these kinds of activities in the last three years but she could not due to lack of money. Her seventh child (4th daughter) is 8 years old and not joined school yet; her mother said that as she is educating the elder children she does not have enough money to buy educational materials so as to send her to school. The daughter helps her mother by fetching water, cleaning the home and doing other simple domestic works.
- The poor woman in her 20s joined school very late and then her parents made her drop out school when she was in grade 2 to care for her younger siblings. She started to be involved in simple domestic work such as fetching water and cleaning the house when she was 7 years old and over time she got involved in more and heavier activities, including farm related activities. Even though she wanted to go back to school, her parents did not allow her to.

Recently, when their children graduate from university or college parents have started to prepare big feast, at which neighbours and relatives give money. Since this type of celebration has become common practice, parents have become interested in educating their children. However, teachers suggested that a lot still has to be done so that parents develop an interest in educating their children, mainly girls, up to higher educational level.

Community management

Wereda

Wereda structure

Detailed information was not obtained during the research. *Wereda* offices mentioned during interviews include: civil service and good governance, administration and security, agriculture, education, health, youth and sport, HIV/AIDS prevention and control and women and children. There will be other sectors in the *wereda* administration that are not listed here. There is a *wereda* council: each *kebele* has one male and one female representative sitting as *wereda* councillors.

Wereda administration and the party

No information provided.

Justice and security

Any cases that are beyond the remit of the kebele social courts will be taken to the wereda court. Over time more cases are being referred to the wereda court. Unlike other wereda and kebele officials and government employees, people working at the wereda court are not all party members.

The middle wealth woman (KL) said there have been various achievements whereby widows and divorced women have taken cases of rights based violence to the wereda court and been successful in getting their share of properties. She mentioned a case where a woman whose husband's family disliked her after her husband died and who were forcing her to leave her home and property. This woman with the support of the women and child representative of the kebele took the case to wereda court. The court decided that she can stay at her home and she has a right to own the properties she had together with her husband when he was alive. The problem is that some women still fear to take their cases as they perceive they would not be successful.

If people are not happy with the wereda court decision they can appeal to the zonal court. The wife in the rich household (FE) said that in 2009 her husband's half-brother asked her for his share of farmland from the properties of his deceased father). As her husband is not mentally well he could not argue with him and therefore she took the case to the kebele social court. The kebele social court decided to give him his share. As she did not agree with their decision she in turn took the case to the wereda court and then the zonal court to appeal but both were in agreement with the decision of the kebele social court. She said the process took a very long time and it was difficult for her to attend all the different appointments. She is not happy with the decisions as she said until the death of her father-in-law the household and other relatives did not know the person who came to share the farm land. She perceives he has paid some illegal payment so as to help him get the decision for him get his share of land.

The Adele Keke female wereda councillor said that some people who cut down the trees on Mount Keke were not imprisoned because they gave money to the wereda court officer while others who did not cut the trees have been imprisoned. She and the male wereda councillor presented the malpractice of the wereda court officer who was receiving money and the wereda council demoted him to another place.

According to Adele Keke's peace, security and good governance representative, the wereda court recently played a role in structuring the peace and security committee in the kebele at each village level which involves the village leader, development team leader, 1-5 groups, community elders, women, and youths based on the instructions from the Oromiya Regional State. The peace, security and good governance representative said this new structure greatly assists his committee's work and helps him to cover all the 25 villages in the *kebele*.

The kebele militia have a role in taking suspected perpetrators of crimes to the wereda court.

Kebele and party structures

The *kebele* administration is ruled by the *kebele* cabinet and has a number of committees, see Figure 4.

The kebele council

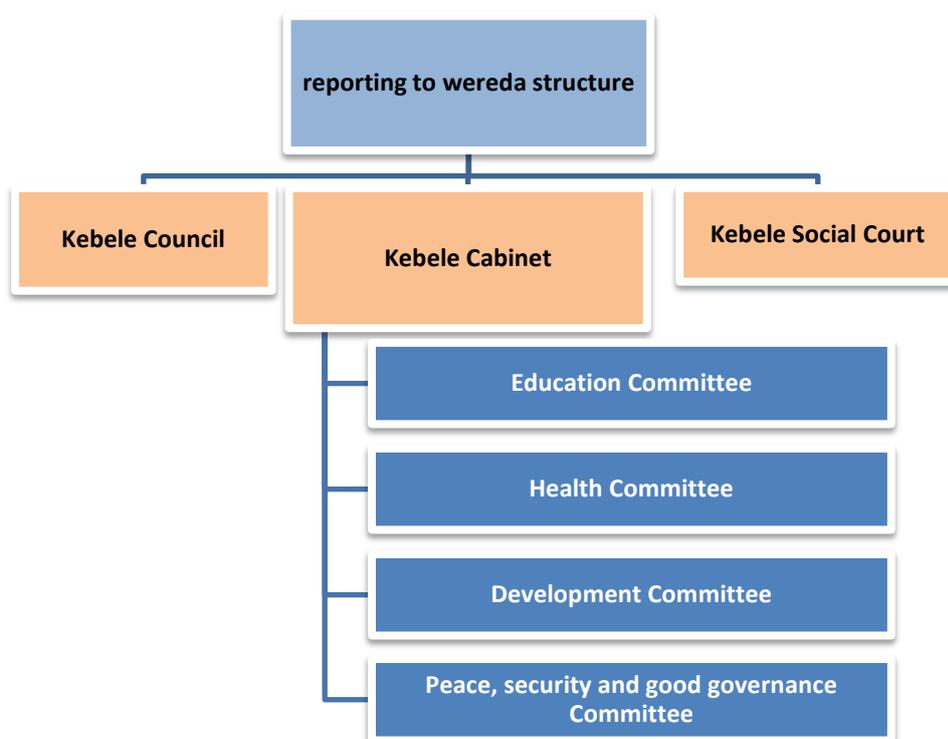
The kebele council has 300 members (230 male and 70 female) and meets every two months, on the 29th day of the month. Some members, especially young men and female members, do not attend the meeting at the arranged time. It is not possible to decide on issues unless two thirds of the members are present. Last year the meeting was held once every month but because of the absenteeism it was changed through discussion with wereda council members to be held once every

two months. Despite such arrangements absenteeism is still the major hindrance in accomplishing expected activities on the planned time. To solve this problem, in the last meeting the members agreed that from now on members would be fined 20 birr when they are absent from the meeting and 5 birr when they are late in joining the meeting.

The kebele council speaker, elected by the community, chairs the meetings. The council evaluates the work performance of all sectors and planned activities. He reports to the speaker of the wereda council what was decided in the meeting. He said that his responsibility includes giving the chance to members speak and to respect and value their ideas.

In the last meeting the major agenda item was about the illegal cutting of eucalyptus trees in Kalu village. The council members decided to sell the trees collected and use the money to repair the kebele office, which has not been repaired for a long time. They also decided to check whether those in jail are guilty and if there are others that were involved that still need to be punished. A recent achievement is that the wereda listened to the kebele council's report of the youth problem in the kebele and now unemployed youth are being organised into three small groups to get credit and start income generating activities.

Figure 4 Kebele structure



The kebele cabinet

The kebele cabinet is composed of eight members (six male and two female) of which four are salaried government employees (the kebele manager, NRM DA, HEW and kebele education representative) and four are unpaid community members (kebele chair, kebele vice chair, kebele women and child affairs representative and peace, security and good governance representative).

Every Monday the cabinet meets and the kebele manager presents the issues that clients have shared over the week and the cabinet members discuss and decide on the actions to take. Mostly when they meet the cabinet members discuss what the leaders of the network or the zone reported, mainly on how the community members are educating their children and keeping their families healthy, how the community is keeping their village peaceful and safe, etc.

The *kebele* manager said that a frequent problem is that not all of the cabinet members are available for the meeting. For example, in November 2011 on some days the *kebele* manager, NRM DA, and the HEW were not available for the meetings as they were called to urgent meetings at the *wereda*. Recent issues dealt with by the cabinet include the militia training and what *kebele* development activities to spend the money obtained from the sale of the confiscated illegally cut trees.

There are four *kebele* committees: education, health, development, peace and good governance committees. All report to the *kebele* cabinet. Each committee decides on issues of their focus. For instance, the health committee recently decided to force most households to dig latrines so as to prevent the spread of AWD, which has recently been affecting communities of the neighbouring *kebeles*, while the education committee has been organising the community members to make cash or in kind contributions for school expansion, mainly for the newly built schools. Each of these committees has a working structure that reaches the community at grassroots level.

The *kebele* chair

The *kebele* chair's main responsibility is administering the community. His work involves disseminating information, rules and regulations provided by the *wereda* to the responsible bodies in all sectors. He supervises the activities of all the sectors in the *kebele*. After the tax is collected by different cabinet members he collates it and gives it to the *wereda* revenue office. There are no set working hours but he works every day. He gets no salary or benefit for doing these works.

The *kebele* vice-chair

His main activity is supporting the *kebele* chair in the administration of the community mainly by substituting for the chair whenever the chair is not available. There are no set working hours but he works on most of the days. He does not get a salary.

***Kebele* manager**

He has an office in the central Adele Tabia village. He is expected to be available in normal working hours. He said that even though sometimes he stays at home, which is close to the *kebele* office, people come to his home, even on non-working hours and. His responsibilities include: maintaining the *kebele* records; reviewing monthly reports from the DAs, teachers and HEWs and identifying gaps; overseeing development activities in different villages and discussing with village leaders how to improve on gaps in the future; and preparing the *kebele* annual plan of the *kebele*. After getting training from the district the *kebele* manager disseminates the plans for the community to the *kebele* cabinet and council, sub-*kebele* and village leaders. He is also one of the 8 *kebele* cabinet members. He is also involved in good governance related activities. For instance, if somebody comes to the office about a dispute with others he refers it to elders and works hard to resolve the issue at village level so as to prevent wasting time in travelling to and from the *wereda* court. If women come to the *kebele* office concerning gender based or rights violation he links the woman with the *kebele* woman and child representative for resolution. If the case is not reconciled he supports them in taking it to the *wereda* court. In case of theft or robbery he assigns a militia man to take the perpetrator to the *wereda* court. As a government employee he gets a monthly salary.

The ruling party

Party organisation and work

According to the *kebele* chair, who is the party chair, the party is structured at local level by enabling model farmers to be members so that these farmers encourage others to join. Not all *kebele* residents are party members; only those who want to join the party.

The *kebele* party chair provides training for the *kebele* party members. He chairs party meetings, passing on the training and information he gets from *wereda* officers, mainly regarding 'certain secrets' such as potential politically related risks to the area's peace. The *kebele* chair said party meetings are not that different from the government meetings as both focus on community

development. The *kebele* officials work on both party and government activities: for example the *kebele* chair is the party chair; the Crops DAs said in the last year he worked on different activities such as party work, community participation, PSNP works; and the assistant vet said as well as his main role he has also been actively participating in different development activities in the *kebele* including political (party) activities, education and agriculture.

Here are some party members' views on what being a party member involves:

- The successful female household head (EE) said the duties of the member are to be energetic so as to participate in development related activities and to pay the annual contribution.
- The rich man (BB) said the duties include participating in meetings and paying membership fees. He said there are different interventions which change the livelihood of the community that have come to the *kebele* through this political party.
- The poor woman (TF) said the duties of all members are to attend meetings organised by the party so as to know their rights and involve in development activities. She also mentioned that members have a duty to pay an annual contribution.
- The rich man (28) is an active party member; he recently received 15 days training in the *kebele* and he has been working as a sub-*kebele* official and working to mobilise the community on the development activities together with the other *kebele* and sub-*kebele* officials. He is currently working as the leader of the *kebele* development committee in his village.

Party membership

The *kebele* chair said there are 573 party members, 8% of the total population (but what percentage of the adult population is not known). The women and children's representative gave a different estimate of around 35%. She said the maximum age limit to be a party member is 60. Members have a duty to pay an annual contribution of 6 birr, which was raised to 12 birr in 2011/12.

The *kebele* chair reported that only party members are selected to community roles because the party members know the rules and regulations of the party well, which is required to undertake their position to serve the community. All *wereda* and *kebele* officials and government employees (except those working in the *wereda* court) are party members. Payment to the party is deducted from government employees' monthly salary. One of the HEWs said she gets a gross monthly salary of 908 birr and from this she pays 18 birr per month for political party (2% of her total salary).

Each party member is expected to encourage five people per year to join the party. However, most party members do not do this. *Wereda* officials said the *kebele* is not active in strengthening the party.

A development team leader said of the 25 households in his team, 11 are party members, but the others are not as membership is not obligatory. He said there is no difference in the duties and benefits of party members and non-members. Some community members reported that only one of their household was a party member: the successful female household head (EE) said that of her household members she is the only one who is a party member; the rich man (BB) said he is a member of OPDO but his wife is not; the poor man (DD) said he is not a party member but his wife is.

There are some women who are reportedly active party members but in general women appear to be less likely to be members and or are less active members. For example the *kebele* chair's wife (BE) said she does not know what the duties of party members are. She only knows each member has a duty to pay an annual contribution. However the middle wealth woman (KL) said that over time the number of women joining the party and the *kebele* council has increased.

A destitute man said he is a member of the ruling party but he is exempted from paying party membership as he is destitute.

Some people reported being party members but not going to party meetings:

- The rich man's wife (FE) said that as her husband works in the fizzy drink distribution centre and has a long-term health problem on the whole he does not attend general meetings.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that in the last year she has attended only a few government and party meetings because she was pregnant and it was not comfortable for her to sit for a long time. She said some farmers did not want to attend the meetings when they were organised during peak agricultural times but were forced to attend. However she said the meetings are useful as they focus on how to enable farmers to participate in development activities that will develop the community situation in general and improve farmers' living conditions in particular.
- The poor woman (TF) said that in the last year she has attended only a very few government and party meetings; as she is involved in petty trade the kebele officials do not force her to attend the meetings. She found the few meetings she attended useful as they focused on how to organise the community into smaller units (the 1-5 household networks) through which people can get updates on the government development planning.

Perceived advantages and disadvantages of party membership

The *kebele* chair said that officially there is no enforcement to become a party member and the stated government policy is for party and non-party members to get the same access to services. Apparently members sometimes complain they pay 12 *birr* annually for party membership but they do not get any tangible benefit. However, in *kebele* council meetings more attention is paid to party members.

The NRM DA said that the selection of PSNP beneficiaries is not based on the status of party membership. There are both party member and non-party member beneficiaries in the programme and non-members are not forced to be party members as they cannot afford to pay the party membership fee.

Here are some views reported by community members who feel they benefit from being a party member:

- He and his wife as well as his children are governing party members. Their duties are of participating in different workshops and trainings and education as a result they have got ample experience from these and able to participate in different development activities. He said there are no problems from party membership, only benefits.
- The successful female household head (EE) said party members have benefited as over time they have got training so as to be aware of government interventions, regulations and principles. She also benefited as it has opened up her mind to try different options that can improve her social and economic condition.
- The middle wealth man (CC) said the benefits of the spread of the party and party membership are that as many people support the ruling party's policies and programmes, they are easily implemented.
- The poor man (DD) said that party members are selected to be *kebele* officials. Party members attend meetings frequently and evaluate how the *kebele* officials are doing and report it to the *wereda*. If there are problems, the *wereda* officials come to the *kebele* and discuss with the whole community.

- The poor woman (TF) said that initially she was not selected for PSNP but she was included after she became a member of the Oromo Political Democratic Organisation (OPDO). This is because joining OPDO opened the door to contacting village representatives and then she was able to relay her economic problems to the village leader who in turn reported her problem to the *kebele* chair. She is happy to be a party member as she was not quite sure if without being a member they would have given her the credit which was provided for a few PNSP beneficiaries. At party meetings she has also learned about GTP and other newly introduced or planned development activities.
- The women and children's representative encourages women to become party members by explaining the advantages, which are mostly about protecting their rights.
- The destitute man said his party membership has given him the opportunity to discuss with other members, particularly in his 1-5 network, how to work together, plant different trees in their compound, and help each other and prosper together.
- A physically disabled man said he benefited from great education and experience from the party meetings and discussions in the *kebele* as well as from the *wereda* and sometimes also from the zone. He frequently travels to the *wereda* and zone capitals as he is a member and leader of different committees in the *kebele*.

Some other people reported that they did not think they benefit from being a party member:

- The *kebele* chair's wife (BE) said that because her husband is the party leader and *kebele* chair her household has been affected greatly since her husband is wasting time by serving the community, and he does not have time to manage farming activities and trade chat.

Some were agnostic:

- The rich man's wife (FE) said the household has not had any benefit or problem from her husband being a party member.

Opposition party activity

The *kebele* chair and other *kebele* officials said there are no opposition parties active in the *kebele*.

Committees

Natural Resources Management Committee

The members of this committee are the three DAs (the NRM DA as chair), the Women's Association head and another member. The NRM DA said the committee meets once a week and discusses where and what NRM activities should be carried out. He said the problem is that there is no incentive for the committee members as there is weak follow up from the *wereda*, and some of the *kebele* officials also give less emphasis to NRM works in terms of protecting the forests and ensuring community participation on NRM activities. Also working on this NRM committee means he has less time for his regular DA work and he has to work overnight and on his time off. He has been working closely with the *wereda* management committee under the *wereda* agriculture office as well as with the *wereda* agriculture office supervisors.

The NRM DA first discusses NRM issues with the *kebele* officials, then with community leaders and sub-*kebele* officials, who will in turn discuss with the community in their respective villages and mobilise them for NRM activities. The NRM DA together with other *kebele* and sub-*kebele* officials as well as the community leaders go to each village and select the NRM activities to be accomplished by the community. In this they have been using 'the participatory NRM approach' in which the community itself decides the kinds of NRM activities to be done and takes responsibility to conserve it in the future.

Development committee

The *kebele* chair is the development committee head. The zonal development teams and 1-5 groups report progress and problems up to the *kebele* cabinet through the development committee. Each zone has its own development committee to coordinate and monitor development activities in that area.

Drinking water committee

There is a drinking water committee in each village, who manage the water points in their respective villages. They report to the health committee.

Education committee

The *kebele*-level education committee is referred to as the education board. The head of the main school is the chair and there are 14 other members: two teachers and PTA members, the women and children representative, one exemplary woman, a DA, a HEW, six parents (male and female), *kebele* chair and *kebele* vice chair. The board discusses and decides on issues which are above the capacity of individual school PTAs and meets once a month.

The *kebele* cabinet members, the education board members, officers from the *wereda* education office and the cluster supervisor assigned in the *kebele* have discussed, decided and signed that the madrasa school is not a legal formal school as it did not get permission from the *wereda* education office. They decided that it is only children who have not yet joined the formal school who can attend the madrasa school. Those who joined formal school but moved to this school should go back to the formal school. However, if the community or *wereda* education office employs a qualified teacher and provides basic materials such as chairs, desks and textbooks the madrasa school can qualify to be a formal school.

The education board chair (the main primary school director) visits each village to make sure the community is aware of their role in improving the schools. One problem is that some community members do not participate in expansion of classrooms and building new schools. Most classrooms are not completed but they have to start using them as they have no other option. In mobilising the community to value for education and send their children to school she works with *kebele* officials, cabinet members, elders and religious leaders. A problem she faced recently is that although she has been working very hard to get students who have started at the madrasa school to return to formal school, the *wereda* officials think she has not worked hard enough as some students still continue to go to the madrasa school.

Health committee

The health committee chair (male, 60, grade 12) was *kebele* chair during the *Derg* time. As chair of the committee he tries to identify what are urgent issues, on which the committee members and volunteers need to work. Sometimes he mobilises the volunteers to attend meetings run by the HEWs to discuss prevalent conditions in their *kebele* and on what things they may focus. There is no arranged time to do this, rather he involves on such activities whenever the need arises. He has no salary or other benefits to do these activities. The problem related to his work is that whenever people are called for a meeting they are resistant. To improve this he suggested that people need to value the activities the committee is doing to enhance the health of the community members in general.

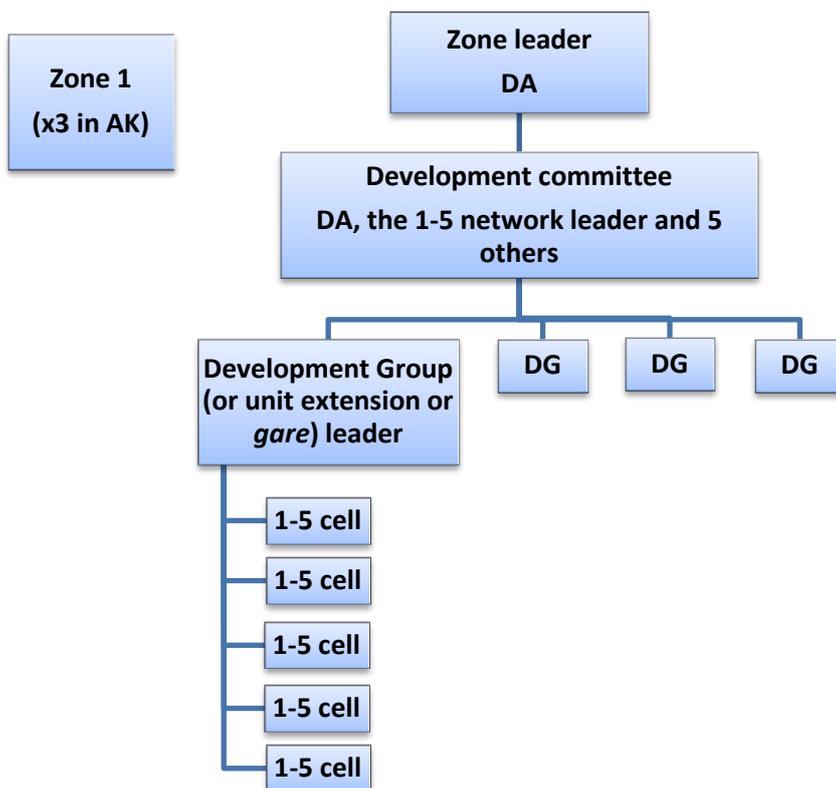
As the *kebele* is vast the committee finds it difficult to mobilise farmers in all villages. Thus, to improve the work of the committee now they are already on the way to establishing a health committee in each village. Under the health committee are the village malaria prevention committees, drinking water committees and village health volunteers.

Development groups and one-to-five groups

Adele Keke is divided into three zones; each zone is led by a DA and has a development committee chaired by the DA with seven members that report to the overall *kebele* development committee. Last year each zone was organised into four development groups, sometimes referred to as ‘unit extension’ and sometimes as ‘*gare*’. Each development group leader coordinates five 1-5 cells.

The development groups and the 1-5 network were introduced with the aim of making the *kebele* structure work better at the grassroots level. *Kebele* officials said this has brought good changes in informing the community about various principles or laws introduced, especially in informing the community about development activities. Formerly informing each and every household was difficult as the *kebele* is vast with 25 villages. Today information comes from the wereda to the DA organiser, who then passes it to the other DAs and in turn they communicate to the development committee at the *kebele* level. The development committee passes the information on to each of the three zone development committees (which are chaired by the DAs) and they communicate with the development team at the village level and finally to the 1-5 network in each of the villages in the *kebele*.

Figure 5 Sub-kebele structure in Adele Keke



Moreover, due to these new structures households have been sharing experiences with each other, and this facilitates the involvement of the community members in different development activities. Of the five households one household is a model farmer that leads and updates the other four households on various activities. There has been a separate training for model farmers or network leaders on how they are supposed to lead and ‘make aware’ the other households. As the local network leader is a model the other households can get experience on how that household’s living condition has improved, thereby creating the opportunity for the other households to get knowledge and skills from the successful farmers. A poor man said the members of the 1-5 cell network work on each other’s farms in turn.

Also the development group reports the concerns and problems of the community to the *kebele* cabinet through the development committee. This structure has facilitated the developmental activities that have been done in the area such as planting eucalyptus trees, digging water well for irrigation, etc.

Problems have included that those who are selected as development group leader or 1-5 leader sometimes give priority to their own work and they do not know or fulfil their leadership responsibilities. They do not update those that they are supposed to organise and, as a result of this, some community members do not come to arranged meetings and there is delay in implementing certain activities. Efforts have been made to improve the performance of the leaders and coordinators.

Governance interventions

The *wereda* council

There are two *wereda* councilors from the Adele Keke *kebele*, one male and one female.

The male councilor reported that he was assigned to the *kebele* by the *wereda* as he is a political leader in the *wereda* (he is speaker of the *wereda* council) and his role is to build the capacity of the *kebele*. Accordingly he has been giving training, advice and assistance to the *kebele* and sub-*kebele* officials on different activities that are planned in MDGs in the *kebele*, e.g. on NRM, safe water, rural roads, basic adult education, formal education and the 16 health extension packages. Also, he conducts follow up and evaluation on the implementations of various government interventions in the *kebele*. He sends written reports to the *wereda* every three days as well as phoning at least twice a day to communicate with the *wereda* officials regarding his work in Adele Keke.

He said there are two major problems related to the work. These are: 1) the weak capacity of the *kebele* to implement different interventions and perform government activities, and 2) clanship/lineage attitudes which negatively impact on development endeavours. A few *kebele* officials as well as members of the community are trying to use the very limited resources for their own and their network's benefits in the *kebele*, diverting development activities towards their villages and clans/lineages, and as a result, there are some disputes in the community. The job can be improved by educating over and over, and raising the awareness of the *kebele* officials and the community.

In contrast to her male counterpart, the female *wereda* councillor said she was selected by the *kebele* community. She reported that her role is, with the male *wereda* councillor, to present problems identified in their *kebele* which are above the capacity of the *kebele* cabinet and *kebele* council for solution, to the *wereda* council. They have to inform the *wereda* about the needs of the community, the gaps in certain started development activities, and existing problems in the *kebele* that need solution. These could be about the weakness of the *kebele* government employees. With the *wereda* councillors from other *kebeles* she also evaluates the performance of *wereda* civil servants in each and every sector. They also oversee the *wereda* budget allocation among different sectors. If anyone is involved in corruption they will change the position of that servant. With councillors from other *kebeles* she also evaluates the work performance of the *wereda* cabinet members. To do this she participates in *wereda* meetings on a quarterly basis. She also attends the meeting of the *kebele* council once every two months. She also meets with *kebele* cabinet members on timely issues.

She said that at different times they informed the *kebele* of the need to follow up the issue of how the contractor who is building the health post has wasted the allocated budget and take other measures so as to complete the health post but still they have not paid this due attention and as a result the health post has not been completed yet. The FTC also needs more work in completing the construction work and is also not being done well. To make the work of the *wereda* councillor successful she suggested the *wereda* should take prompt action to follow up on such issues.

Accountability

Wereda officials said that a work report from each sector is presented to the *wereda* council, prepared by the *wereda* council house speaker, in principle four times a year and so far undertaken twice. Since 2007/8 Business Process Re-engineering (BPR) has been implemented and customers' opinions have been collected in by suggestion boxes, citizen's report card and questionnaires. There is also a customer's satisfaction survey in which customers express their level of satisfaction on the services delivery by the *wereda* offices.

Decisions over crimes which affect the public like theft, rape, cutting of forests, and the like are shared with the community in order to raise awareness. Cases with public interest are communicated to the public through the media, e.g. they use Haramaya FM radio to broadcast court decisions.

According to *kebele* officials in Adele Keke the following accountability activities have undertaken:

- **Gimgema:** Reports on development activities are periodically presented to the *kebele* council as well as to the *kebele* cabinet; they analyse and make recommendations for improvement.
- **Appeals to the *wereda* against decisions:** People have the right to appeal to the *wereda* against decisions made by *kebele* officials including the decisions made by the social courts in the *kebele*. Then the office of the *wereda* to which the appeal is presented contacts the *kebele* officials and discusses and evaluates the issue.
- **Citizens' Report Card:** This is one of the very important ways of discharging accountability, as part of the new structure of BPR. Officials have been encouraging the community to express their level of satisfaction for the services received from the *kebele* both orally and in writing. People prefer to express their ideas orally rather than in writing and there have been encouraging activities in this respect. Most of the *wereda* offices have been using citizens' report cards in which customers write or record concerning the services they received from them.
- **Suggestion box:** There is a suggestion box in the *kebele* office. However, as the officials stated, the community usually uses oral comments instead of written comments.
- **Posting budgets:** They explained that they have been posting budgets allocated to the different development activities in the *kebele*.

Here are some community members' experience and perceptions of accountability in the *kebele*:

- Some male community members said that various government accountability exercises are conducted in the community. These include, self-criticism, in which the *kebele* officials criticise themselves in case of weaknesses, complaints or wrongdoing regarding exercise of power. The *kebele* officials also request the community to present its complaints concerning the *kebele* officials and officials who are ready to improve their weaknesses and acknowledge the wrongdoing can carry on in their role, or they are substituted by others. The men did not know about citizens' report cards, and there is no suggestion box in the *kebele*, but they said that the *kebele* has been transparently posting the budgets in the *kebele* offices and in schools.
- The rich woman (FE) said she did not participate in the government accountability exercise; she did not even attend the meeting. Similarly, as her husband has been ill for a long time he did not attend any meetings.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that reports on the different activities done in the area have been presented and discussed by the *kebele* cabinet and then by the *kebele* council. She has attended in a very few cases.
- The poor woman (JJ) said that as she is always running to work in the petty trade and her husband to be involved in wage work to feed their children they have not participated in the

government accountability exercise. They do not even attend meetings. As the *kebele* officials know her economic problem they do not force her or her husband to attend meetings. She said there is a suggestion box in the *kebele*. She expects there can be a few who put comments in it but she believes that as the community members are open they may tell the official what they feel regarding the service provided at the *kebele*.

There are some reports of officials being replaced when they are found guilty of malpractice:

- The kebele chair said that last year, he participated in an attempt to hold government officials accountable for their deeds when *gimgema* was conducted by the kebele officials and the community and two militias were accused of beating people illegally and they were punished by the community.
- When a wereda court officer was found to have received money to let people off from being imprisoned for cutting down trees on Mount Keke, the female and male wereda councillors presented this malpractice to the wereda council and he was demoted to another place.
- The female wereda councillor also said that three judges who were working on the *wereda* council have been imprisoned, by the decision of *wereda* council members, because they were taking money from farmers of different *kebeles* in handling land related cases.

Planning and consultation

Kebele officials said that discussions and consultations over proposed development interventions are held with the community: they discuss openly with the community and also consult them on various issues concerning development activities. For instance, wide discussions and consultations have been conducted on the Growth and Transformation Plan in general and plans and interventions at the *wereda* and *kebele* levels.

Some community members reported going to meetings and discussing development plans:

- The *Kebele* Chair said he has attended so many government and party meetings and he thinks that they all were useful to the community.
- The successful female household head (EE) has been a member of the *kebele* council and political party over the last 6 years. She is also a leader of a network of 1- 5 households. She gets involved in so many meetings that the government organises to update the community in general and the households under her network in particular on different government rules, regulations and principles.

Other community members reported not going to many meetings:

- The rich man (BB) did not attend many meetings as he has to run his own businesses; he explains his problem to the *kebele* officials and they understand him.
- The rich (FE), middle (KL), and poor (JJ) women all said that at different time in the *kebele* there have been meetings to discuss and consult over proposed development interventions. None of them know the details of the consultation as they did not attend the meetings. They said first the village leaders get the information from *kebele* officials. Then the village leaders inform the network leaders so as to update and discuss with households under their network but some people are resistant to discuss the proposed activities as they focus on their own work.
- The kebele chair's wife (BE) said that in the last year she has not attended any government or party meetings as her husband is the one who involves in such meetings; she is managing farming activities and other household matters.

It appears that the participation of women in *kebele* meeting is practically non-existent. While the researchers were in field there was a continuous meeting for many days and on all of these days there was no woman who attended the meetings.

Security and policing

Militia and community policing

There are 20 members of the militia in the *kebele* who are selected by the community and given weapons. Based on the instructions from the head of administration and security, the militia organiser assigns duties to the militias. There is no incentive to join the militia but they receive annual awareness raising training. Each village has nine community policing volunteers who work closely with the militia; the volunteers in each village are the village head, religious leaders, elders, militia and women.

The militia leader said that since the militia was organised and structured, the peace and security of the community has been maintained well and the society is working peacefully on the development activities in the *kebele*. The leader said that one problem is that there is weak follow up and response from the *wereda* administration and security office. For example, during disputes e.g. over land boundaries, the militia come between the parties and keep the peace and security of the individuals as well as their properties but during this time the militia get no food.

The Adele Keke militia keep the peace during the celebration of '*Kulubi Gabriel*' by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church when pilgrims from towns like Haramaya, Harar, and Awoday go to Kulubi town on foot and car, passing through Adele Keke during the day and night time. The militia are given food for this work. The militia also organise PSNP beneficiaries for public works.

In December 2011 there was a 15 day training for the militia of all 38 *kebeles* of the *wereda* conducted in Adele Keke, in total about 400 militia. According to *kebele* manager, militia are chosen by their communities as people who can be trusted and once they are chosen it is not possible for people to refuse to be militia. They are not paid. Adele Keke was chosen as a training centre because it has good transport links (on main road and close to Haramaya town) and a natural flat plain by lake and in the *kebele* centre that can be used for parade and training ground. The militia training session takes over the centre of the *kebele* (the *kebele* office was turned into the female militia's dormitory). The community contributed 1,500 *birr* for the training. The training was successful and the contribution of the *kebele* was acknowledged.

Recently the cabinet members decided that it was unfair for militia to take 50-200 *birr* a day when taking suspected criminals to the *wereda* court and they should stop. The cabinet also decided to replace two militia men who had extramarital affairs and whose standing in the community was undermined as a result.

Some community members' views and experiences of the militia are:

- The wife in the poor household (TF) said that recently she and another woman have been selected to be militia woman in the *kebele*. First she worried how she would serve the community as she is involved in petty trade to earn living but she decided to do it hoping that she would get certain benefit being a militia woman. She attended the training provided for the militia of all the *kebele* in the *wereda* in Adele Keke (in December) and she graduated, becoming the first militia woman in the *kebele*. She got a gun, militia clothes (bought for 700 *birr*). She has taken some perpetrators to the *wereda* court. Her husband says that she spends most of her time in keeping the security and as a result they sometimes quarrel with each other; once he hid her militia uniform to stop her working, and an elder had to intervene to negotiate between them.
- The rich man (BB) said that in the last year, a motor pump was stolen from his Coca Cola distribution house and he appealed to the militia to follow the thief and catch him. He said the militia are effective but they have some weaknesses as they sometimes do not accept instructions and sometimes they focus on the cases of people in their networks but not for people outside their network.

- The poor female household head (FF) said that the local militia are not working well. Several different times she has told them that thieves have taken her chat but they have not made a great effort to identify the thief and take action. As she has no militia relative she said they do not pay attention to her problem.
- The successful female household head (EE) said that the local militia have been getting refresher trainings and she thinks in the future they will serve better although they have been serving fairly up to now.
- The middle wealth man (CC) said that once when he quarrelled with his brother that the militia arrived and detained his brother as he stabbed him. He stated the militia's work is good but they take some money when they arrive and detain a suspect during the conflict. They are not extremely biased but it is obvious that sometimes they may favour more those persons who have money than the poor.
- The rich woman (FE) has a relative who has been working as a militia man. When two of her neighbours entered into a dispute on boundaries of farmland she called him and efforts were made to reconcile them with the help of elders. But elders were not able to do that. At this time the militia man warned both of them to take the case to court without creating any harm such as beating or insulting each other. Due to this they took the case to the district court and the case was solved peacefully. From this the good thing she explained is that unlike the former times the households who entered into conflict did not harm each other and the case got a solution peacefully. She stated that as the militia men have been working in a good way, she suggested the government could provide them some means such as pocket money to encourage them work more as they have been serving the community by leaving their own work.

Security in the *kebele* and *wereda*

Kebele officials said that formerly there was a problem of security, in particular of theft and burglary. Now, however, the new security structure has been working well and as a result there are no security problems in the *kebele* currently. In cases of some crimes and allegations which are being pursued by the *wereda* court as well as cases beyond the capacity of the *kebele* militia, the *wereda* police come with the arrest warrant from the *wereda* court and detain the person concerned.

Three weeks prior to this research, eucalyptus trees planted on the Keke Mountain were cleared illegally by community members. Formerly, this forest was protected by guards who were paid by being given some eucalyptus trees, but this illegal cutting happened when the guards were no longer being deployed. The cut wood has been confiscated and the suspected perpetrators caught: around 4,000 eucalyptus trees have been collected and 22 individuals detained and accused by the prosecutors at *wereda* level. The case is under investigation.

There is no special room for detaining prisoners in the *kebele*; there is one at *wereda* level. Any suspect who is detained by *kebele* security bodies will be sent to the *wereda* police. As the *kebele* officials explained, they rigorously work to prevent crimes with the 1 to 5 committees or networks of the community.

Men carry big knives (*mencah*) which are used for hoeing and cutting crops. They also use these knives to protect themselves and to prevent theft of their chat, etc. There have been many crimes involving this tool. For instance, last year over a land dispute two men fought and one was seriously injured; he got medical treatment but still he cannot work. The perpetrator was jailed for 5 years.

Recently the education board decided to employ a guard so as to protect the resources of the main primary school. As the school has no fence or main gate thieves used to take the wood contributed by the community for building additional classrooms and desks. To cover the salary of the guard the board decided that each parent should pay 20 *birr*.

Views of community members

On the whole many community members said the community is safer, helped by having electric light which makes it safer to move about in the evening (this was mentioned by a number of women). However some people pointed out that there is still a lot of theft of chat and other assets and there are mixed views on whether theft is decreasing or increasing for various reasons e.g. because there are more disaffected youth or because chat is worth more and people have less. Several people think the militia do not help farmers guard their chat. There were no reports of gender-based violence. Here is some more detail:

- The *kebele* chair said the community is safe but sometimes there are minor clashes among the people in the *kebele*. For example, there are robbers who steal chat products especially during the night time. However there are no sexual attacks on women as the community is religious based and there are also traditional norms in the community. There are no threats of violence from other communities so far.
- The wife in the rich household (FE) said that with electric light they feel safe while working in their shops in the evening till 9 pm. However at night time they still fear thieves; her son sleeps at night in their Coca Cola distribution centre to guard it.
- The poor female household head (FF) thinks the community has become a bit more difficult to live in for her than it was five years ago. This is because due to the increase in living costs there are some people who take the chat of others in the night time. As she does not have anyone to stay in the night after the death of her husband her crop is stolen by thieves. She also perceives her stepson is also taking her chat as he does not like her or her children.
- The successful female household head (EE) said as compared with before the last five years the community has become a safer place to live. This is because the community infrastructure has improved and more militia have been recruited so as to create peace in the *kebele*. Such militia have been getting trainings on how to fight against robbers or thieves that may affect the community. In each village also about 8 or 9 individuals have been selected so as to create peace in their village. Due to this she thinks the problem of theft of chat from farm land has been reduced a bit unless individuals from other areas come and steal.
- The middle wealth man (CC) said that five years ago, there was violence between the clans in the community, including destruction of houses up to murder. Recently this has stopped and there is no form of violence in the community. However, there are sometimes robberies of chat and cattle; sometimes when the thieves are caught, they are beaten and taken to the *wereda* court. His wife said that over time the community has become a safer place to live in because as there is electricity people do not fear when they travel in evening time. On the other hand, she said that as the number of landless or jobless people, mainly young men, has been increasing until now, unless people guard their chat at night thieves take it, even though in order to create peace in the community there are militia who have got training, but they usually work cases of conflict between community members and do not support farmers to guard their chat crop from thieves.
- The poor man (DD) said the chat thieves were none other than the chat traders themselves.

Justice

Here are some examples of crimes and measures taken:

- One man living in Kejero Oli village has been challenged in a dispute over a land boundary with his sister and brother. His wife took the case to *kebele* court. Her brother-in-law insulted her. In 2009 Election Day early morning the man's brother came to the *kebele* and participated in the election process and returned home and slept as he had spent the night by keeping chat in the

farm land. The man went to the home and killed his brother-in-law as he slept. Since then he has been in jail, up to 10 years.

- Last year in the boundary between the *kebele* and Haramaya district a man was found dead in a water well. His siblings and uncle were imprisoned until the perpetrator was found. Later on they were released from the jail as no evidence was obtained on how the deceased died.

Social court

Some kebele officials even said that there was no longer a *kebele* social court. Some community men thought there is a social court in the kebele. When a person accuses another person in the kebele, first he appeals to the kebele officials and then the officials give him a warrant to present it to the owner of the village. The owner of the village then accepts the warrant and then submits it to the accused person and arranges an appointment for both to go to the office of the social court in the kebele. If an accused person is not willing to go to the kebele social court, then he will be brought by force by the police. Then the social court investigates the case by consulting the village head and other people including kebele officials if possible and tries to find a solution to the problem. If the case is beyond the capacity, then it will submit it to the wereda court.

The kebele chair said that recently a bigger role has been given to the sub-kebele structures and to the wereda court, and therefore the social court takes on fewer cases. His wife (BE) said that nowadays the cases handled by the kebele social court are very few as there is a new regulation to take the most severe conflicts to the wereda court. The middle wealth man (CC) said that the social court has limited its roles to the cases below 1000 birr which are cases under the civil code like insults, disputes over land boundaries, disputes between husbands and wives and the like. Other respondents said that formerly the *kebele* social court was handling simple land related cases but for the last two such cases have been taken to the *wereda* court. The successful man (BB) said five years ago when as many as 50 people a day would go to the social court to accuse each other but with the new government structure, these days, if a certain matter happens, it is immediately settled by the sub-*kebele* structure and the community leaders.

Here are some community members' reported experiences and views of the social court:

- The rich man (BB) mentioned that once he quarrelled with a person over the land boundary. That person accused him in the *kebele* and finally he was punished by the *kebele* social court.
- His wife (FE) said that it is only in rare cases that the social court resolves disputes created between community members. The members who work in social court are not available in most cases. Due to this most disputes are taken to elders.
- The poor female household head (FF) said the social court is not working properly as there are some days when she went to the kebele and did not find them. Last year she contacted the individuals working at the kebele social court by applying to punish the person she suspected of stealing her chat in the night. They called that person and told him not to take the chat in the future but they did not take any action as a punishment. She also told them about the abuse she has been facing from her stepson but they did not give due value to the issue. For these reasons she said their service is not effective.
- The successful female household head (EE) also said that in most cases the social court members are not found when needed. Due to this they are not dealing with all cases they might need to work on.
- The kebele chair said that a recent problem was that the kebele social court passed a verdict on a certain case but in the middle, elders entered into the case and negotiated with the social court and the social court changed its decision. Then, the person affected by the case appealed to the wereda court and the wereda court asked the kebele social court to explain.

- The kebele chair's wife (BE) said that in general, while handling simple cases she thinks the social court is not biased against women rather they are encouraging women to exercise their rights.
- The middle wealth man (CC) said that the social court does not have extreme bias and it is so effective as people do not have to go to the wereda court for small civil code cases. The other good things it has achieved is that when poor people are sick, it is this social court that writes a letter to hospital/s so that the person gets free medical services.
- His wife (KL) said that over time the service provided by the social court is getting less. She thinks those who work there have no salary or other benefit and they are not interested in working regularly. She said it is only sometimes that they serve people with cases, for example a woman who divorced from her husband visited the kebele social court for their assistance but in most cases she did not find them. However, she thinks that when they are available they are not biased against women.

Elders and dispute resolution

The elders committee has three members who negotiate with people in case of disputes and they connect the government and the community. The leader said that their work has been successful so far and they have had no problem as they negotiate with people and save their time, cost and energy from going to the *wereda* court.

Peace, security and good governance committee

There is a peace, security and good governance committee with 20 members (18 men, two women) who are militia. The committee aims to: secure peace in the community; mobilise and encourage the community in the development activities; and mobilise and encourage the members of the committee to work hard on their farms and be exemplary for others. The committee leader said the work of the committee so far is successful as it works day and night to maintain peace and security in the community.

Under the peace, security and good governance committee there is community policing at village level, whereby nine farmers (eight men and one woman) start mobilise the community to prevent crime and create peace in their area. The community policing volunteers refer cases which are above their capacity to the command post at *kebele* level. The command post has 5 members: *kebele* chairman, manager and three militia men.

NGOs

NGOs working on health related issues in the *wereda* include: **Integrated Family Health Programme** (IFHP) providing family planning services, information education in fighting HTPs, and fistula repair services; **Oromiya Development Association** (ODA) on family planning and outreach services by mobilising the community for disease prevention activities and on other development aspects; **Hararghe Catholic Secretariat** providing support to outreach services; Essential Health Service in Ethiopia on family planning and nutrition (now phased out); **ProPRIDE** on youth and HIV/AIDS.

NGOs reported to be working in the kebele on health related issues include: **Management Science for Health** (MCH) on drugs and training support to HP and HEWs; **UNICEF** on HP supplies and nutrition programmes; **Goal Ethiopia** on nutrition programme (now phased out); **Oromiya Development Association** (ODA) on family planning, general support and training including to community volunteers; **SMS**¹³ on training and monitoring to HEWs about the prevention and control of malaria; **Hararghe Catholic Secretariat** (HCS) on nutrition.

NGOs mentioned working in other areas include: CISP who supports PSNP and the household asset building programme; the NGO Mention For Mention in the education sector; ProPRIDE and Mission

¹³ This is the name the community knows the NGO by, but this may refer to the technique for monitoring (use of text messages) rather than the actual name of the NGO.

supporting orphans; and Hararghe Catholic Secretariat in the livelihoods sector, working in Adele Keke most recently on supporting the women's milk cooperative.

Community structures involved in implementation of government policies

Clan contributions for the implementation of government policies

Clan leaders used to work on dispute and conflict. Today the government is not encouraging clan-based work as clans may make activities ethnic-based. Different respondents stated that over time government has been preventing working on a clan basis since it is unfair for the majority of the community. Due to this activities by clan leaders have greatly reduced. Thus, it is difficult to conclude that clan leaders – and the clans – are still functional in influencing the implementation of government policies. However, one clan leader said that clan leaders are still informally working with the community and the government on various issues like development, security, disputes, and elections and so on. He said that he also is involved in negotiations in cases of disputes in Adele Keke as well as other kebeles and towns before the case is seen by the government offices and court.

Elders involvement in implementation of government policies

For a long time elders have had a vital role in creating peace in the community by resolving conflicts. They are very active in protecting the community from entering into conflicts with each other. With religious leaders, elders also provide education on HTPs. Elders are chosen from clans and so in this way the clans can still be seen to be involved in practice in community management.

Some male community members said that the government is encouraging the elders of the community to work closely with the government to implement its interventions. For example, recently, the government has issued full authority to the local elders of the community to discuss and resolve any kind of problem in the community and if the problem is beyond their capacity it was agreed that the elders would submit it to the government.

Iddir involvement in implementation of government policies

Iddirs provide their plastic mats for people sit on whenever there is awareness raising education for the community. Some *iddirs* have developed into *equbs* which implement the government policies on saving and investing in income generating activities.

Religious leaders' involvement in implementation of government policies

Wereda officials said that religious leaders provide awareness raising education to community members to eradicate HTPs. Recently this system has been strengthened as it is an important dissemination strategy as the society mostly accepts the ideas supported by religious leaders. *Kebele* officials said religious leaders are also involved, with elders, in working on resolving any conflicts that arise in the community. They are also very active in informing the community about the value of education. Information about the different development intervention activities is provided at each of the 22 mosques in the *kebele*.

Some religious leaders have been working with HEWs and health volunteers to teach the community to use contraceptives. These religious leaders mainly advise mothers to breast feed their child more than for eight hours per day (within 24 hours) since this practice minimises the possibility of getting pregnant. Some religious leaders still do not accept contraceptives as they believe it will be Allah (God) who feeds the child.

Community contributions for the implementation of government policies

Tax

The *wereda* revenue office said there are two kinds of payment: agricultural income tax and land use fee. However farmers and collectors are not aware of these details and just know it as land tax.

There are two different kinds of tax rate, one for rain fed land and the other for irrigated land. The irrigated land tax rate is a new initiative and has not yet been put into practice.

Every farmer who owns land pays land tax annually. The kebele chair said that people with 0.5 hectares pay 15 birr and those who own more than half a hectare pay 20 birr. However the kebele manager said that maximum rate was 60 *birr*. The tax is collected in December and January at harvest time when the farmers can pay more easily. The *kebele* chair coordinates the tax collection, assigning cabinet members to collect it from the sub-*kebeles*. Training on tax collection processes is given once a year to *kebele* chairs and managers by the district revenue office. The officials then tell village representatives about the process so as to be able to collect the taxes at the proper time.

The *wereda* revenue office said that urban dwellers are also called and informed about the recent change of status of tax payments for them and about the selling price of goods, which needs to be uniform. When the urban dwellers were told about the change of their tax payment status to a higher level it seems that they are not happy about the amount of tax they are expected to pay as it has increased. Therefore the revenue officer expects there will be problems with the next tax collection.

Adele Keke has paid all tax expected to be collected while other *kebeles* in the *wereda* have not paid all of their tax yet. Thus, the official stated that the tax performance of Adele Keke *kebele* is better than other *kebeles*. The amount collected was 8,770 *birr*. The *kebele* chair said that there have been no complaints over the land tax so far as the farmers know about the land tax and think that it is in their interest to pay it. In some years when farmers do not get a good harvest they become resistant to paying contributions and tax on time. When this happens, payment is postponed for a year.

The *kebele* manager said that one problem is that some farmers are not prepared to pay their tax and the collectors have to stay a long time in the village to get the payments. This year he was assigned to collect tax from Kejero Oli village and he had to stay very late and on the way home he almost got attacked by a hyena. He was afraid because while Hararghe people are familiar with hyenas and do not think that they will attack them there are recent incidents when a hyena ate a sheep and a goat in a village in the *kebele*, a hyena ate a child in Kersa, and a hyena ate six people in Haramaya wereda. After this experience he will not stay long in the evening in remote villages.

Here are some community members' experiences and views on the land tax:

- Some male community members said that formerly the land tax was small but now it has increased a little.
- The poor woman (TF) said they are paying land tax in the name of her mother-in-law as she gave the land to her husband.
- A man with one hectare said he paid 12 birr land tax.
- The kebele chair pays 20 birr land tax and has 2.5 hectares of land.
- A middle wealth woman (17) said her husband (25) pays land tax in the name of his father; it is about 20 birr per year and he has about 0.25 hectares.
- The poor man (DD) has under 0.25 hectares and pays 10 *birr* land tax.

Other contributions in cash and kind

There are no contributions for the Red Cross. Party members pay an annual fee: formerly, it was 0.50 cents per month and 6.00 *birr* annually for a single member and this year it has been increased to 1.00 *birr* monthly and 12.00 *birr* annually. Previously there were membership fees for the Women's Association and Youth Association but they were interrupted; recently an instruction has

come to resume these fees. Some women reported paying a contribution to the Women's Association of 3.25 or 3.50 *birr* a year.

An additional voluntary contribution last year was for the Oromiya Development Association (ODA); the total quota assigned to Adele Keke was 47,000 *birr* which was divided into the 25 villages in the *kebele* based upon the number of households and the wealth status of the people in those villages. The chairman stated that as the farmers are paying the money in different phases and it is not yet finalised, it is difficult to know the gap between the promised and the delivered contributions. The payment has paused because farmers' harvests were affected by drought; they have started again this year to collect in the remaining contributions. The successful man (BB) and the *kebele* chair each reported paying 100 *birr* for ODA. The middle wealth man (CC) – a civil servant at the *wereda* – said he is paying 60% of his salary for the Oromiya Development Association and this is compulsory. He was also asked to contribution for the Blue Nile Millennium Dam and his wife expects this will also be deducted from his salary soon.

The *kebele* chair pays 5 *birr* for youth and sport. The poor woman (TF) said that she pays 2 *birr* a year for the culture and sports newsletter. She said that as the amount of her contributions is not high it does not harm her or the community; rather it helps the community to exercise their rights.

A middle wealth man in his 30s said that the community voluntarily contributes some money to militias on the occasions of festivities to buy things like chat, cigarettes, and the like. There are also a growing number of trainings for model farmers and for militia, normally ending with graduation ceremonies, with feasts prepared from community contributions.

In last year's model farmers training farmers were made aware about the Millennium Dam project. Due to this and the information they heard from TV there are a few farmers who have bought bonds.

Recently the education board decided to employ a guard so as to protect the resources of the main primary school. As the school has no fence or main gate thieves used to take the wood contributed by the community for building additional classrooms and desks. To cover the salary of the guard the board decided that each parent should pay 20 *birr*.

The poor man (DD) said he is paying 10 *birr* for the land tax but he has been exempted from all the contributions as he is poor.

Voluntary public works

Throughout the *wereda*, health posts, schools, drinking water points, internal roads etc. are constructed through community's participation. In 2010/11 around 1 million *birr* was contributed in total by the *wereda* community for construction of additional classrooms in the schools. On roads also, in 2009/10 4km were constructed by the community. In 2010/11 17 km of roads were planned to be constructed, but only 14 km were constructed by community participation. In general, community participation in the form of labour and cash contributions has increased over time in the *wereda*.

At different times the Adele Keke community has undertaken public works for development of the *kebele*. For instance, last year the community dug wells for drinking water, constructed schools desks and built additional classrooms. The government provided materials and equipment. For these kinds of activities some farmers provide cash contributions while others (mainly) poor contribute labour as they do not have cash to contribute. The community constructed the madrasa school by contributing labour as well as cash. Examples include:

- The wife of the male headed household (CC) said that during last year at different times the household gave wood and their son gave support in labour for the construction of new schools as well as for the improvement of the main school. She thinks expanding this school is useful as it enables children get education nearby in their village.

- The poor female household head (FF) said that last year she paid land tax of 20 birr but as she does not have money she did not make any contribution for the expansion of classrooms in the main school. As contribution is on a voluntary basis she said they did not force her to contribute as they know her living conditions.
- The kebele chair's wife (BE) said that as her husband is serving the community as kebele chair and has so many other roles in the community, the household has not made any labour contributions.
- After the middle wealth household (CC and KL) gave some land for the construction of the milk processing cooperative the kebele cabinet discussed such enormous kindness and decided to exempt their household from the PSNP public work and any other labour contributions.
- A poor woman in her 30s said that as they have no farmland she and her husband do not pay tax or other cash contributions but she participates by contributing labour. For instance, last year she assisted the construction of the madrasa, and in constructing a latrine.
- The wife in the poor household (TF) said that as she is poor she contributes labour for the construction of the health post and improvement of schools. Others contribute wood.

Social re/production

Social institutions and organisations

Religions

Over 99% of the population is Muslim and there are five to ten people who are Orthodox Christian. In recent years there has been some intermarriage between Muslims and Christians; the Christians tend to convert to Islam. The middle wealth household converted from Christianity to Muslim in order to curb the husband's drinking and fighting with this wife, and to fit in with the local people. As a result he changed his behaviour and even stopped chewing chat. As converts the middle wealth woman (KL) said they do not go to the mosque.

There is a mosque in every village except for three. The number of attendees varies from mosque to mosque. For example, some have around 200, 100, 150, or 50 attendees. The Imam of one of the mosques said there is a good relationship with local government officials as the community (i.e. Muslim followers) attends meetings in the *kebele* and religious leaders also tell followers to get good things in their life, which encourages people to implement development activities. There are religious connections beyond the community. For the maintenance or construction of mosques, the *wereda*, zone and Federal Muslim religious offices and organisations as well as other Muslim NGOs are involved. There are also Muslim visiting preachers sometimes and they come with their own budget.

Some community members reported not going to the mosque frequently:

- The successful female household head (EE) said she sometimes goes, mainly on Friday, but mostly she prays at home. Her children go to mosque only during fasting seasons.
- The *kebele* chair said that he wants to go to mosque but as he is a businessman and has no time, he cannot. His wife also cannot go as she is busy managing household and farm works but she prays at home.
- The poor man (DD) said he used to pray but no longer. His wife (TF) said the household is poor in terms of attending mosque; except her eldest son no one else from the family goes to mosque.
- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that some young men go to the mosque on Friday and in the fasting season to mosque to pray. She said youth seem to be passive in giving due emphasis to religious affairs.

Some others reported being active worshippers:

- The rich man (BB) said he is an active Muslim and he goes to the mosque in Gelan Village.
- The rich woman (FE) said she is an active follower as whenever she has time she goes to the mosque to pray. Otherwise if she is busy she prays at home.
- The poor woman (32) said that as her elder brother is a religious leader, an '*Imam*', since her childhood period she has been going to Mosque every Friday and she also prays at home.

The rich woman (FE) said the participation of young men and women in religious activities is rather less than adults; mainly old people are the ones who are actively involved in religious affairs. In contrast the poor female household head (FF) said that she is not active in attending mosque but two of her sons are active as on Friday they always attend the mosque praying programme. Furthermore, this year they started to attend religious education at Kusho Mosque in the evening up to midnight, spending the night there. The advantage she gets is after they start attending mosque her children develop good behaviour and they become obedient.

A poor woman excluded from PSNP perceives that as she is non-Muslim (Christian) and originally she came from another area the *kebele* official[s] does not want her to be supported. The selection committee explained to her that they did not include her because her son, who is living close to her home, is a teacher and can support her. She does not believe this to be the real cause as an old woman, who is also her neighbour and lives with her son (who is a civil servant) and his wife (who is a teacher) has been included as a direct beneficiary, and others with better living condition than hers also have been included in the programme.

The religious school in Adele Keke is popular among some parents.

Holidays

Community members said there are three holidays: *Arafa*, *Id-Adaha* and *Molida*. During these holidays, there is no work and no farming except feeding livestock. People stay at home and chew chat with their families, neighbours and friends. Also, they invite each other in their *iddir* and enjoy food. They send food to sick or any vulnerable people in their home.

The rich man (BB) said there are two main celebrations (1) *Arafa* – when all Muslims go to the prayer field and slaughter sheep and eat with neighbours after prayer; (2) *id-Alfatir* – on the night of '*id-Alfatir*', his household gives cereals to the poor on the basis of the number of household members. On the next day the household go to the prayer field and celebrate at home after prayer.

During the celebration of '*Kulubi Gabriel*' by the Ethiopian Orthodox Church pilgrims from towns like Haramaya, Harar, and Awoday go to Kulubi town on foot and car, passing through Adele Keke during the day and night time.

Marriage, divorce, widowhood

Marriage

Wereda officials said that in the past there was abduction and different measures have been taken to punish the abductor. For instance, in 2009 in Sodu kebele an abductor and a person supporting him were caught by police and they stayed 3 years in jail. The girl involved has gone back to school. As over time the law in place has become serious, abduction is not common now. Parentally arranged marriage used to be common and men and women had no right or very little right in choosing their own partner. Recently men have started to exercise their right in choosing wives whereas women's right to choose marriage partners remained low. Even more recently the practice of going together with the consent of both boys and girls has becoming very common. Thus, unlike the past a woman has full right to choose her marriage partner.

Community members reported that there are four types of marriage:

- The first is *Ayama*, which takes place according to the normal procedure, that is, elders go to the parents to negotiate and agree the marriage.
- The second is *Weltensa/Weljeledema*, whereby both the couple agree and stay some place until the normal procedure follows. Others stated that this is the other form of the earlier abduction but the difference is that the man take the girl somewhere with her consent. In this case the wedding ceremony is less than what is arranged for marriage that takes place following normal procedures.
- The third is when a woman voluntarily enters the house of the man. In this case there is no wedding ceremony, only neighbours are invited. If the man sits to the right of the woman it means he has accepted her offer but if he sits on her left, it means that he did not accept her offer. This type of marriage is extremely rare.
- The fourth is *Chebsa*, which is the unexpected arrival of the bridegroom at the girl's parent so as to take the girl. Over ten years ago, unless the girl's parents agreed to give their daughters the bridegroom's team does not leave the girl's home. These days the girl's parents agree only if the girl accepts the offer. Currently this kind of marriage is extremely rare, almost unpractised.

Over time the costs of weddings have been reduced. Gruel and chat for the wedding tends to cost about 4,000 *birr* and it may cost the bridegroom or his parents 2,000 *birr* for personal items of the groom and 5,000 *birr* for household equipment. The bridegroom or his parents initially meet this expense from their own pocket or by borrowing but later on they can ask relatives for *gumata* (support) to contribute money to help them. Adele Keke community members said that there used to be the custom of '*gebera*', whereby the bridegroom gives cattle and some money to the bride's parents and buys traditional clothes for the bride's mother. Over time this gift has become impractical so instead the bridegroom gives money to the bride to buy shoes, clothes, other personal items and household tools.

Here are some reported experiences with how marriages are arranged and celebrated:

- The successful female household head (EE) used money from her *equb* to cover some expenses when her son got married in last summer. The marriage followed normal procedure whereby first elders were sent to the girl's parents so as to ask them their permission. The household spent about 4,000 *birr* to buy cultural household tools. Some people gave her money so as to cover some expenses. She got a total of 6,000 *birr* from others. When their sons get married she will also give them some money in turn so indirectly she will pay back the money they gave her. For clothes, shoes and other personal items the household of the bride the household spent about 2,000 *birr*. For preparing food at home they spent around 2,500 *birr*.
- When her daughter got married it was agreed in the same way. She received 1 quintal sorghum and 400 *birr* from the bridegroom's parents to use it for the feast. For preparing the feast she spent about 1,500 *birr*. On the wedding day also some of her neighbours gave her money so as to support her when she spent some money for the feast.
- The kebele chair's daughter was married four years ago before he became the kebele chair. She was married with a good ceremony as the household contributed to the ceremony. There was no contribution from the household to the family of the spouse. His household gave the couple some household goods and the household, especially the mother, received some money in the form of contributions from the neighbouring women. Though he did not have daughters who got married before this, he did spend less as a result of the government advice regarding minimising the cost of the ceremonies.
- The rich woman (FE) said that her 17 year old daughter who was attending grade 7, got married recently. She and her husband wanted their daughter to continue schooling rather than getting married but the daughter fled away with the man she loved. As she and her husband understood

that their daughter went with the man voluntarily they accepted the offer and organised a medium level wedding ceremony.

- The middle wealth woman (KL) said that around 2008 a man sent elders with chat to ask them to give their daughter. They accepted his offer and chewed his chat. They agreed that she will get married when she has matured. In 2010 when her daughter was in grade 6 (she was about 15 years old) the man sent elders so as to prepare the wedding as agreed so far. Accordingly, a medium level of feast was arranged. She dropped out from school.
- The middle wealth woman in her 20s said that as her husband's village and her village are close they know each other very well. When he was grade 11 she was grade 7 and he was helping her in studying. He became her first boyfriend. They agree to get married when she complete education and they promised not to have premarital sex. After she completed grade 12 they went to Haramaya and they stayed there for some days. Her husband sent elders to her parents to ask their permission to get married. Her father was offended as he was aspiring for her to join college; however since it was her wish he could do nothing and he accepted the offer. Then she went back to her family until the wedding was prepared.

Wereda officials said that over time people understand better the consequences of polygamy and it is no longer common. It exists in rare cases when the couple do not get a child and through the consent of a wife the husband marries another wife to get a child. Kebele officials said that a few people have violated the law and performed marriage over marriage but the law forced them to stop. The community resisted the law at first but now they have accepted and support the law. When the husband gets married to another wife seeking a younger girl there are instances where the first wife takes the case to district court. The women's affairs officer and head of the Women's Association will support the wife to take the case to court. If the husband does not accept to leave his second wife he is ordered to leave more assets for the first wife. Due to this nowadays a man has stopped marrying another wife without the consent of his first wife. The wife of the poor male headed household (DD) said that there is no marrying over marriage (polygamous marriage) unless the first wife is willing. For polygamous marriage there is no wedding ceremony in most cases.

Some other reported opinions on marriage were:

- The women and children's representative (35) is the second wife for her husband and he is much older (55). She said she did not know about the importance of marrying a man of similar age before; now she tells women to avoid getting married to man who is much older as compared with their age.
- A rich businesswoman reported not wanting to get married: She is 25 years old. She started trading in 2008/9 after she got divorced as she wanted to care for her child in better way. As both her father and brother are model farmers they gave her some money to start the trading. Then she became successful and able to build a new home for her parents. When people see her success there are some men who asked her for marriage but she refuses since she likes to carry on the trading and she does not think that if she gets married she may involve in trading freely.

Wereda officials said that though there is early marriage from age of 13 in the area there is no teenage pregnancy as found in the Somali region and Amhara region, where early marriage is a severe problem as girls get married at much earlier age. However they said that in most cases girls in the *wereda* voluntarily get married at age of 15-17 and in remoter places underage marriage is very common.

In Adele Keke underage marriage is reported to be the main cause for girls dropping out of school. HEWs teach the community to reduce underage marriage. The middle wealth man (CC) said that recently, youths are stopping getting married young and focusing on their education. In contrast some other men said that the customary age of marriage for girls was 17 on average in the past. But now the age of marriage has become a bit lower as mostly girls get married when they are 15/16

years old. One of the elders stated that now girls have physically grown faster and they look older than their age, may be because they are eating better (irrespective of inflation). Furthermore, girls become sexually active earlier. The customary age of marriage for young men was at 20-22 years old. The same holds true now but some also get married earlier at age of 18-20. Kebele officials said the community, especially girls themselves are resisting the law to stop underage marriages; the girls try to seem more than 18 years old. Due to this until now there is no organised enforcement of the law.

Some women reported moving away from the kebele or moving to new villages when they get married. Two women have gone to America through marriage.

Wereda officials said that before getting married most couple get tested for HIV but the problem is people do not consider how long it will take as mostly they come for testing just a few days before getting married.

Divorce and widowhood

Wereda officials said that the practice of widow inheritance has been reduced by the continuous efforts made by women's affairs officers. As in most cases the inheritor mainly wastes the assets women are resistant to be inherited. The relatives of the deceased do not force the women to be inherited. However, they do not allow her to marry another man (who is not the brother of the deceased) to prevent the new husband sharing or inheriting the assets of the deceased. Thus, if she does not get married to another man she has full right to use and manage the property. Similarly, unlike the past marriage to dead wife's sister is not prevalent.

Community members also reported that the practice of widow inheritance has been reduced and unlike 10 years ago now women are not forced to be inherited. There are some instances where the husband's brother is married to the widow through her consent or interest. When widows want to remarry another man, who is not the sibling of the deceased, his family argue so as to prevent another man inheriting the property of the deceased. Due to this mostly they do not remarry. However, if there is no property she can remarry. In most cases those who need a second wife marry such widows. The rich woman (FE) said there was a case which a female householder faced a dispute over land with the brother of her deceased husband as he wanted to inherit her as he did not have a son with his wife and he wanted to get a son from her by helping her in farm works. She did not want to be inherited and when he forced her she went to the elders. Finally the elders made him leave her as she did not want to be inherited.

The community members give high value to married life. Due to this divorce seldom takes place, only in about 3-5% of marriages. Some male community members said that love marriages soon end in divorce as the marriage has been based only on the consent of the boy and the girl and not the family. A young female opinion leader said that if women they do not feel at ease to remain in marriage they prefer to divorce so as to be free and happy. The leading adult female role models in the area are divorcees who are involved in trading milk and goods, and through these activities have strengthened their economic condition. Here are some reported experiences with divorce:

- The middle wealth woman (KL) divorced from her husband because he drank a lot and he beat her frequently. As they have no resources she did not get any household property when leaving the area. She moved to Aweday town to live with her sister. She took her child to Asebetefer so her mother will raise the child. After staying for five months at Aweday she got married in another rural area. She delivered a son there. Immediately her husband disliked her and made her leave his home without taking anything. She left the child there and moved to Asebetefer to live with her parents. After staying five months her first husband came to her parents' home and convinced her and her parents to reconcile. As a result she came to Adele Keke with him.
- A 30 year old woman married in 2000 in Haramaya wereda; after they had had five children together, in 2003/4 her husband became mentally ill. He tried modern treatment as well as holy

water but he could not get better. He used to beat her severely; he even tried to kill her so she fled and moved back to her mother's home in Adele Keke in 2010. When she left her home she did not take any property and so now she is destitute

- The rich teenager (17) stayed one year with her husband. She became pregnant, but she was always having arguments with him. He was a trader, buying clothes from Dire Dawa and selling them in Chiro; he did not stay at home but he suspected that she might have extramarital affairs. He beat her and she became unhappy and fled to her parents' home.

When they got divorced, 10 years ago women used to take a cow and some money. Today the rights of divorced women are better respected in the sense that she equally shares the properties that the couple earned together. The law protecting a divorcee's right to property has become serious, mainly by the efforts made by women's affairs officers. Due to this a divorcee's right to get her share on the properties that the couple earned has improved. Even if she has more children she gets a higher share. To promote peoples', mainly women's, rights since 2006 a mobile court has started in major towns so that rural people can make use of it from the centre near to their village.

The community perception is that there has been a big improvement in women's enjoyment of rights to own land and right to property when divorcing or as a widow. Some reported views included:

- The successful man (BB) said there has been a great change in the social equity of women in the community. For example, the government has maintained women's right to own land, get equal share of the property after divorce, own property and lead the household when her husband dies, participating in politics and the like.
- The middle wealth woman said that due to the efforts by the Women's Association there have been various achievements whereby widows and divorced women have taken cases of rights based violence to the wereda court and been successful in getting their share of properties. The problem is that some women still fear to take their cases as they perceive they would not be successful.
- The poor female household head (FF) said that on divorce women have started to claim their right to get a share of the assets. As an example, she knows a woman, whose husband's family dislike her and forced her to leave her home when her husband died but finally she accused them at the wereda court and she was successful.
- A middle wealth teenage girl said that unlike nowadays when her mother got divorced women's rights were not respected; she left her father's home without taking anything and the lack of money exposed her to be illiterate unlike other children in her village.
- A successful female-headed household inherited their chat farm when her husband died and from her profit she has built a house for herself and one for her daughter.

Death ceremonies

Death ceremonies have not changed in the last ten years.

Inheritance

Formerly, if a husband died, it was his brother who inherited but now it is the wife and her children who inherit. The rich woman (FE) said that inheritance of land by a woman upon the death of her husband has become more effective as compared with the past. The middle wealth woman (KL) said that at several meetings there was education about the rights of women (who get married) to inherit their parents' properties like their brothers. However she said that up to now when parents die only the males have been inheriting the properties of parents whereas a woman who has already married has not inherited. The new inheritance law was introduced recently but until now no women has benefited from this inheritance law. She expects one of the reasons for failure of the practical

implementation of this law may be that most women may not know about this law and its introduction is at an early stage.

The poor man (DD) said that because of the severe land shortage fathers do not give “*Miraza*” (land gift) to girls, only to boys.

Dispute resolution

The elders negotiate between people who have disputes. Some examples of experiences with disputes and reconciliation include:

- The middle wealth teenager (17) moved in with her parents-in-law after she got married. After a while she and her husband wanted to live in a separate house so as to establish their own household but his parents were not happy. As a result a kind of dispute was created between them and his parents. As her father-in-law had had a car accident he was not able to work for two years and so they wanted them to stay with them since her husband was doing most of the farming for them. She and her husband eventually moved to her mother’s house but later on they reconciled with her husband’s parents and they gave them farming land and a new home that they had built on their farmland.
- The poor female household head (FF) mentioned that elders were involved in solving disputes created between family members. Last year she told the elders that her stepson was insulting her and also taking her crop. They tried to advise him to stop this but he argued that he did not insult her and he did not take her crop. After this the elders did not try to advise him in this regard again.

Customary organisations

Clans and lineages

There is a clan organisation based on the Gada system of Oromo. There are four major clans in Adele Keke: Huchiro, Tulama, Kalu and Diramu. There are also 17 other small clans who are part of larger clans located elsewhere. All 21 clans in Adele Keke have their own clan leaders, known as Abba Dhiigan (the owner of the blood), who are selected by the sub-clan representatives. The leader in turn appoints Abba Gorba (vice owner of the blood), Sa’illan (guards) and Bokku Karra/Balbal (the owner or head of the village). These form the clan council. Women cannot be clan leaders or vice leaders.

Formerly the community was governed by the clans but today the customary institutions of the Gada system have been almost totally overwhelmed by Islamic rules and traditions and the modern government system. There have been disputes and clashes between the clans and between the clans and the government administration that have interfered with government interventions in the area, among the community as well as between kebele and wereda officials with different views and interests on various issues such as authority, land and the like. The wereda officials reported that Adele Keke’s development potential is put at risk by clan-driven disputes and conflicts. The government is trying to make the government administration stronger by making sure that in one village, and among kebele and wereda officials, the leaders come from more than one clan.

There are some conflicting messages on how strong the clans are today. Certainly their power seems to be less than before, as a result of government action. Some community members reported that the government has acted to lessen the influence of the clans and the leaders are rarely involved in activities. The middle wealth man (CC) said that five years ago, there was violence between the clans in the community, including destruction of houses up to murder, but this does not happen today. Clans still operate to provide clan members with informal social protection.

Elders

Some community members reported that elders are considered to be the leaders or 'go-betweens' of different clans. They also act as go-betweens for the community and the government – they link the goals of the government with the goals of the community and work for the benefit of the community. They strive to settle and negotiate matters but if it becomes beyond their capacity they hand the matter over to the government.

A man living in the remotest village said that there is one community elder from each village and they come together and work on arbitration between people in disputes and also discuss development activities with the kebele officials in their respective villages. The rich woman (FE) said elders have a great role in resolving conflicts created between different community members. She thinks the elders are not biased against women. The middle wealth woman (KL) thinks that some elders want to favour their relatives in handling cases. She mentioned one case when a female household head entered into dispute over farmland boundaries with the brother of her deceased husband. She took the case to elders found in her village but she did not win. The respondent expects the cause may be that the brother-in-law has some kinship relation with the elders. Later on she took the case to the *kebele* social court and was successful.

The rich teenage girl (17) said that in 2004 they had a small car. When her brother was driving near the main road a stone was thrown and hit a boy. Then the boy died. The boy was from this community. The elders decided they should give 15,000 birr to the boy's mother. They paid.

Iddir

In each village there is an *iddir*. Gelan *Iddir* is the largest as its members are from 4 villages, (Gelan, Elemo, Gelmo Gedi and Adele Tabia), but with most of the members of this *iddir* are from Gelan village. When the community organised to get electrification, it was the members of the Gelan *iddir* who contributed money and got electric light first. Other villages got the service thereafter.

Whenever family members of the *iddir* members die, the *iddir* arranges and participates in the burial ceremony. Members prepare and bring food from their home and feed the family of deceased for three days. The poor female household head (FF) said that previously the food was taken for 7 days but the now government has taught them such practice is wasteful and they do it only for 3 days. When there is a death, all the members contribute 2-3 birr (one *iddir* collects 2 birr from elders and 1 birr from teenagers) to cover the burial expenses. The *iddir* has plastic mats to put on the ground for people sit on at the mourning house. These are also used when there is awareness raising education for the community (it is not the custom in Harerghe to sit on chairs) and recently the *kebele* officials borrowed the mats for the militia training.

The *iddirs* do not have any activities for when members fall ill, and they do not tend to provide credit. Thus, except for some kitchen equipment and the mats, the *iddirs* have no money saved. Recently in order to improve the work of the *iddirs* and to get involved in different development related activities, they have planned to discuss with the members to start a monthly contribution as they do in urban areas. From some *iddirs* some members have established a small group for saving (*equb*) – see below for more details.

The successful man (BB) said he received 14,000 birr from an *Iddir* and he used this money to open his Coca-Cola distribution business. His wife belongs to two *iddirs* but he is a member of only one *iddir*. There are three *iddirs* in his village. In his village, when people die, members of the *iddir* instantly contribute money and give to the family of the deceased person. There are also domestic kitchen utensils bought by the *iddir*. The *iddir* includes 129 members altogether and they serve in case of mourning as they are divided into three groups, each having 43 members. So, in turn people from these three groups go to the mourners' house and do domestic work.

Many respondents reported being member of at least one *iddir*.

Equb and other savings

There are about seven *equb* in the *kebele*. The largest *equb* was established in 2008/9. It has 104 members (more than half are male). Most of the members are those who buy and sell milk, those who have good chat and are shop owners. On every 15th day members contribute from 200 up to 400 *birr* (according to their capacity). When receiving the money when their turn comes, the amount they get also varies according to what they have contributed: those who contribute 400 *birr* get 20,000 *birr* while those who contribute 200 *birr* get 10,000 *birr*. The order of getting their turn for the payment is according to the order they joined the *equb*. If someone wants to get his/her turn earlier due to some problem the *equb* members discuss the extent of his/her problem and if the problem is convincing they allow him/her to get the money.

On every 15th day the *equb* members also pay five additional *birr*. This money is saved in the *equb*'s bank account opened in the name of three *equb* members. The leader of the *equb* said that when they have saved a large amount, they plan to form a cooperative to start a business. This capital will also be used to give credit to members so they can expand their business. The problem with the *equb* is that 4 members have stopped paying the contribution after they paid for a certain time; as they have not yet got the money they paid, it will be given to them at the end.

Most of the *equb* members have used the money for many important activities, which include buying a milking cow, building a new home/repairing home, opening a shop, etc.

Mehaber

Not found in this community.

Local informal security regime

Traditionally women ask for money to support recently married daughters: this practice is called *gumata*. When they give the contribution to their daughters, the daughter used to prepare gruel and milk but over the last five years the community has become aware that this is wasteful and they have stopped preparing gruel and milk. In 2009 fathers also started asking for *gumata*. More importantly, recently the community members started asking for *gumata* whenever they encounter some difficulty or need help.

In 2010 there was an interesting new initiative of community contributions for recent graduates. Parents have started celebrate students' graduation and return from college with a feast where the community gives money. People gave 100 or 200 *birr* according to their capacity. Last year the son of the *kebele* chair graduated in nursing; when he came back his parent prepared a feast and he got about 40,000 *birr*, while another two girls who graduated in private college received 18,000 and 20,000 *birr* each. In the past people would take part in the feast without giving anything. Graduates can use the money until they get a job. During these ceremonies parents have retained the value of education, as formerly what they knew about celebration was when their children got married. As one of the teachers, said the aim of giving this money is to encourage parents to give due emphasis to educating their children up to higher educational level while thinking to get back the money they paid when others' children graduated.

Here are some reported perceptions and experience of informal social protection:

- The *kebele* chair said his household regularly cooperates with other households that live nearby. This has increased during the last five years. Apart from farm work, the majority of the households help each other on house building, domestic work, and sharing of farm implements and domestic implements. They also help each other in times of crisis, and celebrating and festivals.
- The rich household sometimes help BB's aunt in Sodu kebele with her farm. They also help some weak and ill people. There is cooperation with other households in domestic works, sharing of

farm implements, livestock and domestic implements but BB said that cooperating with other households living nearby has decreased in the last five years as everybody is looking after his/her own business. There is a poor relative who cannot cultivate his farm due to backache and as a result he frequently helps him by giving money; in addition to this rich man, other relatives also help this poor man, some by helping him work on his farm.

- The husband in the middle wealth household (CC) has good cooperation with neighbours and said this has increased in the last five years. For example, they farm sometimes by '*dabo*'. There is cooperation in house building and domestic work and sharing of some domestic implements. There is also help in times of crisis but this has been decreasing in the last five years as everybody becomes individualistic and the livelihood is difficult. When he quarrelled with his brother and got stabbed with a '*mencha*' and had to be treated at Harar Hospital, his other brothers and his colleagues in the wereda contributed 2,000 birr
- The poor man (DD) said cooperation with other households has increased in the last year. He said that his household sometimes cooperates with friends and relatives that live in other communities. For instance, his mother and father-in-law come to his household and his household also go to them and they help each other on different matters.
- The successful female household head (EE) said that her household regularly co-operates with other households that live nearby. Whenever she asks them to help her in farming by *debo* they cooperate and help her in farming activities. She said that other households helped her in crises e.g. when her husband was sick and when he died they supported her financially. Similarly, when her son married in last summer they brought her sugar and chat. Furthermore, when she built a new home in 2009/10 some of her neighbours who have eucalyptus trees contributed trees and supported her with labour. She also supports others in case of some occasions as well as crises. In general, she said over time the cooperation of the household with other households has increased.
- The poor female household head (FF) said her household co-operation with other households that live nearby is very minimal. As her children are attending school she mostly stays at home doing domestic work as well also working on the farm. She has no time to cooperate with other households. As her husband died and her economic condition has deteriorated she perceives relatives are not interested to see her and her children. She describe the worst household crisis was in 2006/7 when her husband died and she got no help; instead she has been farming her farmland by hiring daily labourers when she has money to pay them.

The clans offer assistance to other clan members in times of crisis and to the poor and vulnerable. A landless woman said that both she and her husband are originally from another area and so they do not have farming or residential land; in 2007/8 a kind man, who belongs to her clan, let them build a living home on his land. According, they have built a small home and have been living independently.

New community-initiated organisations

No new community-initiated organisations were found.

Key social actors and their networks

Government employees

Kebele manager

The *kebele* manager is 26 years old and educated to the level of 10+3. Previously he worked in Golo Wacho *kebele*, which is very close to the capital of the district. After serving there for some years he asked to move because as he was from that *kebele* most of the community members did not accept what he told them to do. He was appointed as manager in Adele Keke in 2009. He started a distance education course at Haramaya University but after he had been enrolled for some time, the

government prohibited all employees from participating in further education while they are employed. He has stopped his course but he would like to continue when the Government allows it. Recently he became the secretary of the Youth Association which has been passive and is now starting to organise some activities. He works with all of the cabinet members and other government employees working in the *kebele*, local elders and religious leaders. He delivers reports to and gets updates from *wereda* administration officials. He would like to continue working in the *kebele* for some years and then move to other better places such as the *wereda* capital. He also wants to pursue his education.

The *kebele* manager is the one responsible to keep the stamp and to use it whenever needed. But the *kebele* chair sometime wants to the stamp and this has created some disagreement between them. The manager reported to the *wereda* administration office that if there is a letter or paper where the chair uses the stamp without letting him know, he will not be responsible. Accordingly, the *wereda* officials called both of them in and convinced them that it is the manager who is responsible for the stamp. After that the disagreement was resolved and only he uses the stamp.

The community appreciates having a *kebele* manager, but some feel that he is not available at all working times, only when there is a meeting at the *kebele*. Sometimes people who come to seek a service have to return another day or time.

DA Crops

A 29 year old man from Kersa, he is a TVET diploma holder in plant science and was appointed in 2006/7. He sometimes gets on-the-job training. He has no other roles in the community. His brother works for the Ethiopian Insurance Company. He wants to continue his education in the plant science field. He also wants to improve his income by doing other private business. He said that a recent problem related to doing the job is that there is some resistance from the community but it was not reported what the resistance was about. In addition the DAs and other *kebele* officials have heavy workloads which impacts on the flow of information. This problem has been resolved by discussing together with all the stakeholders. Community members said they appreciated his work which is excellent, and that since he was assigned he has been serving the community as much as he can. To serve the community better he rented a house so as to be closer to the community. Every day he visits and serves three to four villages.

DA Livestock

A 29 year old man from Kurfa Chele district, he has a diploma in livestock and he was appointed in 2004/5. He has no other role in the community and his family does not have community roles. He wants to continue his further education in livestock, and recently he started a degree in livestock. He also aspires in the future to work hard and get starting capital for investment in setting up a poultry business. Community members said they appreciated his work which is excellent. They think he has been working hard to make the community aware of the importance of livestock rearing in improving livelihoods. In addition, he has been supporting the community by facilitating access to modern cows. As a result, more people have started to buy milking cows and are benefiting from selling milk. He said that the *wereda* has not been giving attention to the DAs. For example, there is no incentive and no stationery. According to him, good governance means equitable enjoyment of the rights of all the government employees. To help them work hard and be effective in their job, the *wereda*, especially the *wereda* agriculture office, should address their questions and pay attention to the problems related to doing their jobs in the *kebele*.

Mobile veterinarian

A 22 year old man from Kersa, he has a veterinary diploma and he was appointed in 2008/9. He did not get any in-service training and he only has the knowledge and skills that he got from his college training. As well as his responsibilities as vet, he has been actively participating in different development activities in the *kebele* including party activities, education and agriculture. He wants

to continue his education as he is currently only assistant vet and cannot perform operations on livestock. There is a fully qualified vet in the *wereda* but he does not come to the *kebele* when he is asked to and this has prevented the assistant vet from getting the experience to perform minor operations on livestock. Community members said they appreciated his work which is excellent. He said that the *wereda* livestock department in the *wereda* agriculture office is not functional: it is not monitoring the *kebele* vets and there is no information exchange or training. He has been working closely with the *kebele* officials and the community leaders.

DA NRM

A 29 or 30 year old man from Haramaya *wereda*, he has a diploma specialising in NRM and has been in post for two years. No one in his family has roles in the community. He wants to work hard on NRM together with the government officials and the community and improve the life style of the community. Community members said they appreciated his work which is excellent. He works closely with the community in informing on the value of protecting natural resources. He also mobilises PSNP beneficiaries to be better involved in public work programme so as to care for the natural resources found in the locality.

School director

A 38 year old woman from Kersa district, she has been the head teacher of Adele Keke's main primary school for 6 years. She has a diploma and previously she worked in other *kebeles* of Kersa *wereda*, also as head teacher. Since 2004/5 she has been working in the main school as director but she did not get any opportunity to improve her qualifications yet. She is saddened by the lack of such opportunities given that she has been serving more than 10 years as a head teacher. She was one of the *kebele* cabinet members, representing education. But in 2002 when a man was assigned as a teacher in the Dedo school, the *kebele* officials made him *kebele* cabinet member representing education. They justified that they made him cabinet member as he is originally from that community. She believes the real reason is because the *kebele* chair is his father-in-law. She is the chair of the *kebele* education board. She wants to upgrade her education and if she can she wants to work in other fields (not in teaching) in the *wereda* capital. Community members said they appreciated her work which is excellent. They appreciate her as she mobilises the community to be involved and contribute to improving the school facilities. She works with PTA and education board members to resolve issues. In mobilising the community to value education and send their children to school, she works with *kebele* officials, cabinet members, elders and religious leaders. She reports the performance of the school to the *kebele* manager. The problem she faced recently is that although she has been making great efforts to improve the school, the *wereda* officials perceive the school has not improved and she thinks they think it is due to her weakness. She is offended by this and has submitted her resignation.

Primary school teacher

A 29 year old male, he has a certificate in teaching (graduated from college) and was appointed in 2003/4. He is currently studying for his diploma. He also teaches adults Basic Education at night. No one else in his family has roles in the community. His future aspiration is to progress in his career and becoming a good teacher. He works eight hours a day. He works on different activities like producing supplementary teaching materials, decorating the school compound, planting flowers, mending the school fences together with the students and so on. This started recently (in 2011) and the other teachers are also involved. During the summer, the government gave him a further education opportunity.

Health Extension Worker 1

A 23 year old woman from Kersa, she has been in post for three years. While she was learning in secondary school she was actively involved in the anti HIV/AIDS club. She did not get the result in her grade 10 exam to join preparatory school. She got training to be HEW because of her active

involvement in the anti HIV/AIDS club and after she completed the training she was assigned as an HEW. She has many roles in the community. She is a cabinet member and secretary of the Women's Association. In the future she aspires to upgrade her education to be a nurse. She communicates with community volunteers in receiving reports from them and in updating them regarding recently introduced planned activities. In most cases she works with the other HEW. As she is one of the cabinet members she works with all of the local government employees and *kebele* cabinet members. With the women and child representative of the *kebele* she informs women to use contraceptive to enhance their and their children's health. The nurse who is assigned to the health post to supervise the activities of the HEWs comes to the health post twice per week. She discusses whatever problem she faces or if she needs advice from her. There is no problem she faced recently. The community members appreciate her highly as she is excellent in providing health education and she stays in the village by renting a house (which she said she pays for from her own wages). Furthermore, she has been serving the community from her home since the health post has been under construction for a long time.

Health Extension Worker 2

A 23 year old woman from Meta district, she has been in post for 3 years. She has been living in another area, *Dhengego kebele*, and has to travel back and forth. As a result, unless there is an arranged programme she is not available on the weekends. This means that the community does not value the service she provides like that provided by the other HEW.

Information

A 28 year old diploma holder (m) is the public relations/information officer, appointed in 2007/8. He was recruited through competitive selection; he is a government employee employed by the *wereda* civil service and good governance office. There is no one in his family who has other roles in the community. His future aspiration is that he wants to be a private businessman. He undertakes various activities including: organising information from the *wereda* passing it to the other concerned bodies; accommodating customers' cases and sending them to the different officials by letter or memo; supervising different activities of sectors in the *kebele*; delegating various roles and responsibilities of the other *kebele* officials; organising reports from the *kebele* to the *wereda*. The community policing in each village first deals with issues; any matters unresolved by this committee come to the *kebele* through the information/public relation officer with the signature of the members of the committee. He works day and night including Saturday and Sunday as the workload is very heavy. His salary is 1,068 *birr*. He does not have a computer, and this has hampered him. In addition the *kebele* is very large with 25 villages and with his large work load, it is difficult for him to deal with all the villages as the only information officer. He recommends buying computers and hiring an additional information officer.

Kebele office-holders recruited from within the community (and recent changes)

Kebele chairs

The *kebele* chair is 45 years old. He learned up to grade 6. He is a model farmer and exemplary in different parts of his life such as working on non-farm activities. The local people think others will follow his experience to improve their living condition and for this reason elected him as *kebele* chair in 2009. He is the party leader. Some of his relatives also have roles in the community: his daughter-in-law is a cabinet member and teacher, his sister-in-law is the leader of a 1-5 cell, his cousin works at the *kebele* social court, his brother is a leader of village development works, and his mother is a traditional birth attendant. If he needs something, wants advice or has a problem with his work he goes to and discusses with other *kebele* official like cabinet members such as *kebele* vice chair, *kebele* manager, DAs, HEWs, teacher, women and children affairs representative, etc. In resolving conflict he works with community leaders such as elders and religious leaders. When he needs advice he goes to the various responsible *wereda* officials from the *wereda* administration and

different sectors. He said that serving as chair has affected his livelihood so he plans to search for someone to replace him and he wants to stop working as chair to focus on his own work. By working as a broker selling chat he used to get about 500 *birr* per day but after he was assigned as chair he has not been able to do as much brokering as before, so he is losing income. Furthermore, he tries his best to serve the community but some members resist doing what they are ordered to do. To improve his job he suggested it would be better if he serves the community on certain nominated days, for instance two days a week, without urgent calls from the *wereda* for meetings or the *wereda* coming to the *kebele* for visits or supervision, so that he can spend the other days on his own work.

Vice chair

The *kebele* vice-chair is 35 years old. He learned up to grade 10. He was appointed in 2009. Before he was vice-chair, from 2005 to 2007 he was the *kebele* chair. He was moved from his role in 2007 when there was a conflict between some people, including someone in his clan. Some community members perceived that he might support his fellow clan member and they elected another man to be chair. However, as he was very active in serving the community, last year he was selected as a vice chair to replace a vice chair who was not working effectively. He has other roles in the community: he is the leader of one zone for development activities. He is also a cabinet member. His cousin leads a 1-5 cell and his uncle is a community elder. If he needs something, want advice or has a problem with his work he goes to and discusses with the *kebele* chair first. Then if it needs further discussion he goes and discusses with other *kebele* officials such as cabinet members, local government employees (DAs, HEWs and some teachers), and community leaders such as elders/religious leaders. Sometimes when the *kebele* chair is unavailable or busy he also seeks the advice of different *wereda* officials. He does not want to continue serving as a vice *kebele* chair, rather he wants to focus on his farming so as to improve his livelihood and do more to support his family life. The problem related to doing his job is that as the chair is away most of the time working in in the chat trading centre Aweday, he has to stand in for him a lot. Similarly as there is no payment for what he does it minimises the benefit he might get from his own work. Sometimes there is also a problem of cooperation from the community in doing what they are informed to do. Thus, to improve his job he suggested that some community members need to accept and apply the advice he and other *kebele* officials provide.

Kebele council chair

He is 48 years old. He learned up to grade primary 8 in Adele 01 primary school in the evening programme. He had a religious education (in Arabic). Previously he and his wife were *wereda* council members. Both were selected by the community members twice (for five years each), serving for 10 years until 2009/10. In 2009/10 they were both replaced because they had served for a long time. Immediately the community elected him to be the *kebele* council speaker as he has pertinent work experience and knowledge to do the job. He is a religious teacher (Imam) in the locality. He also got new job this year in the *wereda* capital as the manager of the Muslim Affairs Agency. For a long time his wife has also been the leader of the Women's Association. If he wants advice or has a problem with his work he discusses with the vice speaker of the *kebele* council, religious leader and *kebele* cabinet. If he does not have sufficient information he discusses with the speaker of the *wereda* council; since recently he spent most of his time in the *wereda* he has good access. There is no problem he or the *kebele* council encountered recently. His vice (the vice speaker of the *kebele* council) is illiterate and therefore he always has to write the reports. He hopes she will be substituted by another person who is able to read and write so his job burden will be reduced. As he has been serving the *kebele* for a long time he would like to be free from this kind of work. He would prefer to focus on the new job he got this year and in his free time to serve the mosque by providing religious education.

Political party appointee

The chair of the political party is the *kebele* Chair. There are no fixed hours and days to do his work rather it depends on the frequency he gets new updates or training from the *wereda* officials. In doing this he has no any salary or benefit. The problem related to doing the job is the time limitation as always before lunch time he has to work in chat trading area as a broker. To improve this he would like it if the political party is led by another *kebele* official, who may work better than him. If he needs further advice or the problem has not been resolved at *kebele* level he goes and discusses with *wereda* political party leaders.

Militia head

A 40 year old man, he was appointed in 2005/6. He got the job as he has much experience in the area of the militia since the downfall of the *Derg*. He has no formal education and has no other roles in the community. His aspiration is to see sustainable peace and security maintained in his community in Adele Keke. The leader of the militia is responsible for maintaining peace and security in the *kebele* and he works day and night, 24 hours. However, there is no incentive for him or the other militias in the *kebele*. A key problem is that the militia is not provided with food during long field deployments in the community; they are given food only during the '*Kulubi Gabriel*' celebration. He works closely with *wereda* and *kebele* officials and the community leaders. He said that the cases that the militia has first dealt with are finalised by the militia itself but the cases which the community leaders/elders intervene in are finished by them. If it is beyond the elders, then the militia gets involved and submits the case to the *kebele* officials.

Women's Association leader

The current leader has been in post for a long time, about 20 years. She got the job as she is active in approaching women. She has not had formal education. Up to 2009 she was also women and child representative of the *kebele*. In 2010 she was substituted by another woman because of the introduction of a new structure with separation of the leader of the Women's Association and women and child representative of the *kebele*. Furthermore, she and her husband had worked as *wereda* councillors for 10 years (up to 2009/10). Her husband is also serving as speaker of the *kebele* council now and he is also a religious teacher (Imam) in the locality. There are no a fixed working hours or days, rather she works whenever she comes across certain cases. If the members of the association value the association she would like to continue working, otherwise she does not want to continue because without the interest of the members the association will not achieve any tangible outcome. She collaborates with the women and child representative of the *kebele*. She works with elders and the *wereda* women and child affairs officer in resolving marital conflicts. She also discusses issues with the HEW. The HEW is the secretary of the association and she prepares reports that are discussed or shared in meetings.

Women's League leader

The Women's League has not yet been implemented in the *kebele*.

Youth Association/Federation leader

He is 35 years old. He attended basic education. He was appointed around 2009/10. He got the job as he is active and the community believe that he would mobilise the youth for different activities. If the Youth Association is not active he prefers not to continue working, but if it becomes active he would like to continue. He has other roles in the community. For instance, he is a leader of 1-5 cell as well as a leader of development groups in his village. He is also the leader of the PTA of Gole School. He has relatives that also lead 1- 5 cells and development groups in other villages. There are no fixed working hours or days to do these activities rather he works whenever he gets them in other instances. He has no salary or benefit in doing this. In most cases he has work relations with *kebele*

cabinets, teachers, village leaders, and elders. It is in rare cases that the *wereda* youth and sport officers contact him.

Holders of customary office

Elders holding office

The leader of the elders' committee (60 years old, male) coordinates and leads the elders' committee so that its members perform their work actively, i.e. negotiating with people in case of conflicts and mediating between the government and the community. He was appointed in 2002/3, selected by the community as well as the *kebele* officials. He has no formal education and training, did not even attend Basic Adult Education; he only has his social experiences and knowledge. His future aspiration is to serve the community in negotiating conflicts. As a leader, he has been working closely with *wereda* and *kebele*, especially social court, and *wereda* court as well as the other community leaders in the *kebele*.

Iddir leader

The *iddir* leader is 45 years old and was selected in 2008. Whenever the family members of the *iddir* members die he collects the contribution from members and facilitates its use for intended burial related expenses. He also follows up the members who come to the mourning home as expected. He involves in these activities whenever family members of the *iddir* die. Thus, there is no other arranged time or day that he works. He has no salary or benefit in doing these things. There is no problem he faced in relation to doing this job. He is also a member of the education committee. He is the only tailor who has a sewing machine and serves the community by sewing clothes in the community since the past 20 years. He also involves in dispute resolution with local elders. He is exemplary in teaching his children. His family have some roles in the community: his sister is a vice leader of the women's milk processing cooperative, and vice women and child's representative of the *kebele*. He wants to continue being leader of *iddir*, especially he will be happy if the *iddir* members pay monthly contributions and involve in some productive works. Whenever he needs something he contacts elders and other members who have certain roles in the *iddir*. He also discuss with the village leaders of the members.

Meskel savings group organiser

There is no meskel group.

Mehaber leader

There is no mehaber.

Equb leader

A 32 year old woman is an *equb* leader. She collects the contributions and gives out the money to members when their turn comes. On every 15th day it takes about half day to handle these activities. She has not got formal education. She has been leading the *equb* for the last 3 years and she is one of the founders. She was selected to be the leader as she is one of the most successful business women in the *kebele*. Her husband is *kebele* representative of peace/security and good governance. She aspires to expand the *equb* and continue to be involved as one of its leaders.

Religious leaders

There is one religious leader for each of the 26 mosques in the *kebele*: 13 lead Friday (Jumaa') prayer and the other 13 take evening prayers. The 49 year old *kebele* council speaker has been an Imam for 25 years in his mosque in Adele Tabia where he leads prayers, and he also teaches Muslim religious doctrines to the community. He is also secretary of the *wereda* Muslim Affairs Executive committee, for which he gets paid a salary. The major problem he raised was the budget problem as the Muslim

followers in the *kebele* are so many that it is very difficult to support them all. To solve this problem, the committee should plan how to generate revenue and help the community.

Other notable people

Rich and successful farmers

A successful widow farmer (39 years old) has 6 *qindi* of land (8 *qindi*=1 hectare). She has planted chat on 4 *kinds*. In the remaining 2 *qindi* she produces sorghum this year, another year she produces maize and sometimes she partly produces vegetables. She planted the chat in 2005 and after three years she started to harvest chat. She has also eucalyptus trees but she does not have any grazing land. She has 3 milking cows but they are not modern cows. She has 6 chickens and she uses the eggs she gets for her children's food. With credit she bought a pump and water pipes and since then she has been irrigating her land and getting better chat harvests. To increase her production further she also uses fertiliser and improved seeds. She became a model/successful farmer after she bought a water pump as she started to irrigate her land and got better production. She also has been buying and fattening goats for resale. As the income she has been getting has increased over time she built a new good quality house, and she bought a TV and DVD player. She has no major role in the community as she focuses on her own agricultural activities. She is a member of the Women's Association but she did not join the women's milk processing cooperative as she does not have modern milking cows. She has relatives who have some roles in the community, which includes her brother-in-law who is a militia man, a leader of development group and 1-5 household network. He also organises PSNP public works. He supports her by guarding her chat from theft in the evening, selling chat in the market and finding agricultural daily labourers. Her home is a bit small so she plans to build another larger house; she has bought 80 corrugated iron sheets at a price of 120 *birr* each, wood for 5,050 *birr* and in addition she will use her own eucalyptus trees. She plans to build on the main road so she can use it for trading in the future. After she builds this home she wants to buy animal fodder and maize from the town so as to sell it in this new house. She also aspires to buy a quality modern milking cow and to open Bank account so as to manage her income in a better way. He supports her by seeking daily labourers so as to accomplish the agricultural related works sooner. She contacts the DA (mostly crop) and other model farmers, who are also her neighbours regarding the use of modern agricultural inputs.

A 22 year old man is a very successful leading youth farmer as he has been using different crops and livestock on his farm. He plants crops like maize, and sorghum; pulses like beans and peas; chat, eucalyptus trees; and vegetables; and he has Holstein Friesian breed cattle. He also uses new technology like irrigation, but not fertiliser as he prepares compost on his farm and uses it. He is also not using improved seeds as he himself conducts research and identifies improved seeds from the local seeds and the improved seeds. What is surprising is that this young farmer has been getting good results and he became a model farmer within a short period of time. He ploughs using ox tractor for the land without chat, and ploughs his chat land using manual ploughs. He has also four female Holstein Friesian breeds and three male oxen (two locals and one Holstein Friesian). He bought these local oxen to fatten them as he is currently fattening them not by buying them the fabricated food, but feeding them vegetables like sweet potatoes, and sells them for a good price as the local oxen are more expensive these days than the Holstein Friesian oxen. He does not yet have chickens but he has planned to rear more than 1000 chickens as he has prepared an 80 corrugated sheet house with three rooms for the chickens to live in. He requested the DAs to offer him chickens but he still could not get them as they have to arrive from the *wereda* agriculture office. This young farmer also has two traditional beehives. He said that the problem of this traditional hive is that it does not give quality honey as it mixes the wax and the pure honey, unlike the modern one. So he is not interested in these traditional hives and wants to change soon. According to him, the farming production in the area will be increased if the government provides them with irrigation pipes at a lower price as they are currently expensive. The other area is the inflation of the price of the oil.

Here is the story of how he became a successful young model farmer: They are four brothers and two have already got married and have their own farm lands. But two are youths and students. Their father is too old to help them. These two youths share the same lands that they got as their own share from their father. They were attending school. However, as their father was too old to work on the farm, their farm was too bad and had no good harvest. Also, their small amount of chat even used to be stolen from the farm. Then, these two young students discussed with each other and agreed and decided that the elder brother (the current Model Young Farmer) should quit school and go back to the farm while the younger one should continue his education. Unfortunately, the land was empty; there were no chat plants and he went to his nephew and requested some chat plants and succeeded and planted the chat on the land that he shares with his younger brother. After two years, the chat grew up but he had no power to irrigate it as he had no water points or motor pump. He went to friends and requested from them a motor pump and got it. But he had to irrigate his friend's land as well as his own and he managed that. After a year, he got a good chat harvest and was able to buy his own motor pump and also constructed a house for himself. Then he formed a network with his friend who gave him motor pump and planted different vegetables for a year and sold them for a good price and they got a total 14,000 *birr* and shared it between the two and each got 7,000 *birr*. This model farmer bought a motor pump with this 7,000 *birr* as well as irrigation pipe with the money that he got from selling his own chat. Side by side he was fattening bulls and sold them and with that money, he completed his house. Then he also planted vegetables and constructed the other additional houses. So, in this case, his life style has been changed over time. He said that price fluctuations made it difficult and it would be good if it balanced. Sometimes he gets only a quarter profit from what he invested as he loses more of his profit to buy items at an expensive price. However, sometimes the market price becomes higher. He did not get credit; though he has access to credit, he did not want to receive it. Recently, he can even give credit to others as he became middle wealth. He has no other roles in the community except that he has been receiving training as a model farmer. No one in his family has roles in the community. His future aspirations are: 1) rearing poultry; 2) rearing bee hives; 3) rearing milking cows; 4) fattening livestock; 5) fattening sheep; 6) installing grinding mills which work with electricity; 7) buying a power generator to use especially for poultry rearing in case of power loss. Above all, he aspires to continue his education and complete grade ten and go back to farm work and work hard using the knowledge that he gets from the school so as to fulfil his future plans. He is confident that he will achieve this in the next two years.

Businessmen and women and traders

A leading cash-crop chat trader (28 years old, male) buys the chat crop from farmers and then he sells it to chat traders in Aweday. When he takes a large amount of chat to Aweday, he uses contract vehicles but in most cases, he uses standard transport. The trader travels daily throughout Hararghe (east and west) to where chat is grown, using chat delalas or other networks. He started trading in chat in 2008/9; he went with experienced chat traders in the area and finally he gained the knowledge and became an independent chat trader. He has no other roles except as chat trader. No other members of his family have roles in the community and none of his children are working in the business. He aspires to work hard and increase his wealth and become transformed from rural to town. He has no contact with *wereda* officials but he has good contacts with the *kebele* officials especially the militias in the different *kebeles* where he travels to buy chat. For example, in case of theft of his chat from the farm, he appeals to the militia in that *kebele* and they follow and detain the thief. If disagreement happens between him and the farmer from whom he bought the chat on the farm, they call him with the other witnesses and finally give their decision. He also borrows money from his friends who have their own businesses like shops either in Adele Keke or other *kebeles*. Then, after he has invested the money and got a profit, he repays what he borrowed. He also has good connections with other community leaders as it is very difficult to him to enter in to that *kebele* to buy chat without their consent.

A 28 year old farmer also trades in animal feed. He started the job in 2009/10. He did not try to get credit as he wanted to run the business using his own money. He uses the standard transport to get the food from Dire Dawa. He has no employees as he and his wife sell the inputs to the clients. He works day to day on his farm as well as running his business. His working hours are 12 hours in the day time and sometimes until midnight. Currently, he is getting 8-10 *birr* profit from one quintal of 'animal food. He mentioned that he has no contact with *wereda*, *kebele* or the community leaders or any other business people as he works only together with his family.

A leading business woman (25 years old) is involved in buying commodities from wholesalers in Haramaya town and selling them in the *kebele* in her shop. She sells soft drinks, salt, sugar, soap, biscuits, dry cells, pasta, cigarettes, matches, pens, pencils, etc. She spends most of her time in the shop, about 10 hours every day. From the profit she gets she has built a new house. The problem in her work is that she does not have anyone who can sell in the shop while she goes to Haramaya to buy the commodities. As she is busy in the shop and has no helper her involvement in different social activities is quite low and she has no other roles in the community. Some of her family members have certain roles in the community such as leader of 1- 5 households and organiser of a group for development activities at village level. She did not get formal education. She started trading in 2011. She got into this work after she was divorced from her second husband; she wanted to get involved in activities so not to be dependent on a male. Accordingly, she built a shop on her parents' land and she started trading to be self-sufficient and feed her child. She aspires to get credit in the near future so as to expand her trading activities. As there is shortage of livestock food in the *kebele* she also aspires to buy fodder from the nearby town to resell. She is a member of two large *equbs*; she pays monthly contributions of 300 *birr* to a males/traders *equb* and 200 *birr* to a women milk traders' *equb*. From the first *equb* she has received 20,000 *birr* and used it to build a home, and she will receive 15, 000 *birr* from the women milk traders' *equb*. When she gets this money she plans to expand her business or to finalise the home she built. If she wants advice or has a problem she goes to other shop owners, with whom she has good relationships in the village, and wholesalers in Haramaya. Once the wholesalers gave commodities to her on credit when she did not have the cash in hand but in most cases the wholesalers do not sell on credit.

A 25 year old woman trades in consumption goods and grain. She buys the grain wholesale, bringing it by car to the *kebele*. She normally buys in January when the price is lower and sells in the summer time until October when the price is higher. She also sells grain for consumption when farmers face food shortage; they then repay her when they harvest. For instance, if she gives them one quintal she will receive 115 quintal. The problem is that sometimes the product of some farmers is not good quality due to different reasons such as shortage of rain. In addition, she also trades milk. She described that in summer she gets more milk; since animal get good food they provide good milk at this time. But during winter the amount they give is lower due to shortage of fodder. She has no employee but her mother and her siblings also support her. She started trading in 2008/9 after she got divorced because she wanted to care for her child better. Both her father and brother are model farmers and they gave her some money to start the trading. She became successful and has been able to build a new home for her parents. When people see her success there are some men who asked her for marriage but she refuses since she likes to be involved in the trading and she thinks that if she got married she would not be able to be involved in trading freely. She aspires to open a shop in the nearby town (Haramaya), where the trading activities are at a peak so as to work hard and further strengthen her economic condition. As she focuses on her trading she has no other roles in the community. But some of her family members have roles in the community. Her brother and her uncle are leaders of 1-5 household cell. Whenever she needs something or wants advice or has a problem she shares and discusses with her siblings and her parents. In addition, if she needs further ideas she also discusses with other business people in the community, mainly milk and grain traders, and other business people outside the community (in Haramaya town)..

A 32 year old woman is a milk trader. She buys milk from the local people starting from 4pm to 7pm in the *kebele* near to the main road. She buys 1 litre of milk for 8-10 *birr* and she sells it of 14/15 *birr* according to the market price. Around 7pm she takes the milk to Aweday to sell and she stays there selling the milk up to midnight or 2am. There is public transport through the night to Aweday (because of the chat trade. On a daily basis she buys and sells about 132 litres. When we calculate her income and expenditure she gets a minimum of 400 *birr* profit per day. From the profit she got she has also bought land on the main road for 12,200 *birr* and built a quality home of 2 rooms (one is a living room and the other is planned to use for a shop). To build this home she has spent about 100,000 *birr*. She sells in an open place and the cloudiness/windy nature of the night weather condition is not good. She would like some arrangement to protect her and other sellers from wind. She started work in 2007/8; At that time she had nothing as she left her home through divorce and did not get her share. At this time she organised with other unemployed youth and she got a credit of 500 *birr* from the *wereda* saving and credit organisation. Within a year she paid the loan and she took another loan. Similarly, within a year she paid such loan back. This loan was interest free. From the *kebele* a total of 25 youths have got this credit but no one had used their loan properly. She is chair of one of the largest *equbs*. Her husband whom she married in 2002 EC is the *kebele* peace/security and good governance representative. He supports her by keeping home when she is away to sell the milk. She wants to expand her business; she plans to buy a minibus and to open a wholesale shop with the money she has saved at the bank. If she wants advice or has a problem with her work, especially regarding the buying or selling price of milk, she contacts other female milk traders found in the *kebele* (there are about 13) as well as other business women outside the community.

There are three delalas operating in the *kebele*. The delala interviewed is 36 years old from Dhengego; he travels to Adele Keke to work every day. He started the job in 2007/8 when he was made redundant from the Customs work in Dangago (when the customs branch in that site was closed down). He has no other roles in the community and also no one in his family has roles in the community. He has no other assets except his daily labour and it is not enough to support his six-member household. His aspiration is to buy a photo camera and work with it as he was formerly working by photographing. Regarding networks, he said that he has good relations with the *kebele* officials and all his work is connected with the community who buy, sell and travel.

Investors

There is no investor in the *kebele*. In 2010 an investor come to the area and proposed to buy 0.5 hectares of land for 80,000 *birr* to open a fuel station. The land he wanted belongs to siblings who are in conflict over the land; the case is still in process at court. There is no other new commercial investment in the area.

Skilled workers

A 55 year old carpenter got into this skilled work during the Derg regime when there were no other carpenters. He did receive any training, just informal experience. He makes doors, windows and uses other carpentry skills for payment. Formerly, he did one corrugated sheet for 5 *birr* but now it is for about 15-20 *birr*. He did not receive any credit so far. He has no carpenter employee but has one in agricultural labour. He stated that this work is profitable for him as it has changed his livelihood together with his farming. He has also competed and worked as the main contractor in the *kebele* as has constructed schools with honesty and without corruption and as a result he received a letter of acknowledgement and thanks from the *wereda*. As he described, all these made him a more competent carpenter than the other carpenters in the *kebele* until recently as he has been working as a main contractor and hires others under him and finishes constructions and finally submits to the owner of the construction. Recently he is not doing his skilled work; he is working on his farm as it is harvest time. He has no other roles in the community and his family members do not have community roles. His general aspiration is to work hard and see development in the Adele Keke

community. The problem he raised was that the carpenters in the *kebele* do not organise together and get more capacity to work. He said there is no trust in working in business in groups as people have emphasised private work. That is why he has been working privately.

Traditional healer

A 40 year old man started working as a traditional healer 10 years ago as he wanted to help people using his traditional knowledge. He said that he learned this from the other people who have experience on how to heal traditionally. He is also a religious leader (Imam) in the mosque in his village. He wants to get permission from the government and continue this work officially. He also aspires for his children to be educated and get their own jobs and be able to help him later on. He is a member of the ruling party and has good relations with the *kebele* officials. For example, the *kebele* officials consider him to be free from coming to *kebele* community meetings as he treats people with illnesses. He has no contact with the other traditional health practitioners in the *kebele* or elsewhere. He treats patients when they come to him, and the other times he reads Quran. His working hours are when service seekers come and the cost of the treatment depends on the consent of the patient. He also added that during the first observation he asks them for 5-10 *birr* but people may pay him more.

Traditional birth attendant

She mentioned that in the *kebele* there are about eight TBAs. All are helping women with delivery. In the past the TBAs were getting about 10-15 *birr* for helping in delivery. But now there is no payment, rather they help women on a neighbourhood basis. None of the TBAs have received government training on delivery. Before the HEWs were assigned to the *kebele* nurses provided gloves for TBAs but they do not do this anymore. Last year an NGO supplied soap for TBAs. She also advises women to avoid practising HTPs according to the training she got from the HEWs and nurses. She advises women with severe or long labour pain to go to the health centre for delivery by explaining to them that the consequences of having long labour pains would be bad. Sometimes also she goes to the health centre with them. She said that if TBAs got training on delivery and got necessary materials like gloves she hopes they would better help women in delivery. She likes to have work linkages with health practitioners. The TBAs meet with the HEWs on a monthly basis and tell them the number of women they assisted in delivery so that the HEWs provide vaccination for the babies. She is 55 years old. She has been serving for the last 10 years. She became a TBA when one of her neighbours faced severe labour pains; there was no one who could assist her (taking someone to the health care centre was not common at that time) and she suffered a lot to give birth. She learnt how to assist a delivery from a woman that she knew in another *kebele*. As she is an old woman she has no other role in the community; she has many relatives in *kebele* roles: her son is the *kebele* chair; her daughter-in-law is a cabinet member and teacher; her son's sister-in-law is a leader of 1-5 network; her nephew works at the *kebele* social court; and her son is a leader of village development works. If she needs something, wants advice or has a problem related to assisting in delivery she contacts other TBAs and HEWs. She discuss with the *kebele* women and child representative regarding the delivery condition and the need of advising women to care for themselves and their children properly. In a few cases she also participates in dispute resolution with local elders.

Ex-soldiers

A 40 year old ex-soldier grew up in Adele Keke, Elemo village. He attended Adult Basic Education before going to the military. He was a farmer and he was forcibly conscripted into the army by the Derg government. They tied his hands back and forced him to be recruited to the military. He was based in the former Ogaden-Galadin in Somali Self-Administration during the Derg. He was trained in Chinaksen Military Training Centre. When he completed his military training, he participated in the battle between Ethiopia and Somalia but he was not injured. He has 0.25 hectares which he shares with his father. He married after he returned from the military and is living with his father and mother. He has no official position in the *kebele* or *wereda* as he is just a farmer. Now he is free;

when he was in the military he was not free. His future aspiration is to work hard and be prosperous. He gets advice from the *kebele* officials who are assigned to his village. At the time of the research one of the HEWs was leading the second round Model Farmers Training with his villagers. He also discusses with the community leaders who are involved in the development group and 1-5 network.

Youth opinion leaders

A male youth opinion leader was not interviewed. The 32 year old successful female milk trader is an opinion leader because when she got divorced from her second husband she was in severe economic problems and now from her hard work she is one of the most successful people. She plans to get involved in more income generating activities. Seeing her success other young women are interested to follow in her footsteps so as to improve their living conditions. That is why from other villages some women also started to involve in trading milk. The same woman has been interviewed as an *equb* leader.

Elite network map

The *kebele* administration are the leaders of the *kebele*, headed by the *kebele* chair. Elders and religious leaders are also influential people in the community. Model farmers and rich business men and women are considered aspirational role models. Models are considered important: the *kebele* chair was chosen for his success at chat trading and hence ability to be a model for others to emulate. Previously clan leaders were also highly influential but less so these days as their authority has been overtaken by the that of the official government structures.

Network exclusions

The middle wealthy man (CC) said that sometimes the elders who are also members of the peace committee demand chat from people and they extend appointments and try to favour those people who have good rapport or networks with them, excluding or favouring others outside their networks less.

Unhappy households excluded from PSNP perceive that the PSNP selection committee has favoured those who have kinship or good relations with them. The NRM DA said that sometimes some members of the committee, especially the leader of the committee, move to favour and include people who buy chat for them, their relatives and people who are in good economic status. There were rumours that the target decision makers have been receiving money or chat from people to include them in PSNP.

The main primary school director was one of the *kebele* cabinet members, representing education. The main primary school director used to be one of the *kebele* cabinet members, representing education. However in 2002 *kebele* officials replaced her with a male teacher from Dedo school (who is also the *kebele* chair's son-in-law), with the justification that this teacher originally is from the community.

A poor man in his 30s said that formerly there was corruption in the *kebele* but recently it has been reduced.

Social interactions within the community

Government-people relations – co-operation, non-co-operation and complexity

Wereda-community relations

The wereda rank Adele Keke as better or average compared with other *kebeles* on most aspects of development progress (see Table 2) except for education access and quality where they are fare worse than other *kebeles*. However, the wereda thinks that Adele Keke is poor in term s of level of participation with the wereda, the *kebele* administration and the *kebele* council. The main issue wereda officials have with Adele Keke is that the development potential has been constrained by disputes and conflicts driven by clans in the *kebele*. These clan conflicts resulted in destruction of

individuals' property and the presentation of false charges and evidence to the courts. Different respondents stated that over time government has been preventing working on a clan basis since it is unfair for the majority of the community.

There is some conflict over the wereda court's handling of the case of the illegally cut trees from Mount Keke. A wereda court officer was found to have received money to let people off from being imprisoned for being involved in this. The female and male wereda councillors presented this malpractice to the wereda council who demoted him to another place. The female wereda councillor also said that three judges who were working on the wereda council have been imprisoned, by the decision of wereda council members, because they were taking money from farmers of different kebeles in handling land related cases.

Kebele-community relations

The male wereda councillor said there are two major problems related to the work. These are: 1) the weak capacity of the *kebele* to implement different interventions and perform government activities, and 2) clanship/lineage attitudes which negatively impact on development endeavours. A few *kebele* officials as well as members of the community are trying to use the very limited resources for their own and their network's benefits in the *kebele*, diverting development activities towards their villages and clans/lineages, and as a result, there are some disputes in the community. The job can be improved by educating over and over, and raising the awareness of the *kebele* officials and the community.

There has been conflict between the community and the administration over the selection of PSNP beneficiaries.

The kebele chair said that last year, he participated in an attempt to hold government officials accountable for their deeds when *gimgema* was conducted by the kebele officials and the community and two militias were accused of beating people illegally and they were punished by the community.

Kebele leaders are selected by the community believing that they will bring change to the community. If they cannot do that, the community lets them resign and instead selects others who are believed to bring changes. The man who served as kebele chair from 2007-2009 was removed from his role by the community for not being an effective role model.

Ethnic/clan relations

The clans have weakened as over time government has been preventing working on a clan basis. The relationship between the formal administration and the clans appears to have come to a head in 2007 when the then *kebele* chair was removed from his role because the government thought he would favour his clan members in a resolving a conflict in the *kebele*.

A review of four male clan leaders and vice clan leaders living in the kebele shows that two are community elders, the other two are not. None have other official roles in the kebele. One vice clan leader works in a 1-5 group led by his neighbour. The leaders of most clans are found in other kebeles.

Where clans still appear to be somewhat stronger is that whenever clan members face problems or accidents they mobilise the clan members to contribute money so as to support the victims. They get involved in conflict resolution whenever clan members face conflict.

Relations among different religious groups

The community is predominantly Muslim; the handful of Orthodox Christians appears on the whole quite assimilated into the community. However a poor woman excluded from PSNP said that since she is non-Muslim most of the community members do not like her though she has lived in the *kebele* for 50 years. She stated that the community members harmed her as during the fall of the

Derg regime the local people took over her farmland. Since then she has been living with the support of her children and what she got from the sale of bread at her small shop. She said that to get influence and own land the few young Christians found in the kebele have changed their religion to Muslim. She also thinks that the way the kebele officials treat Christians also differs as they do not give due value and good service to non-Muslims. Another previously Orthodox Christian couple converted to Islam to stop the husband drinking.

Class relations

A richer class is emerging, identifiable by having household assets and investing their chat profit in diverse business interests such as grain mills, transport (buying mini-buses), soft drink distribution centres, other trading etc. The community perceives that large proportion of the community is benefiting from the chat trade, and increasingly over time as irrigation opportunities are being identified and utilised by more and more farmers. Today most of the community are classified as 'middle wealth': the chat trade appears to be fuelling the rise of a nascent middle class that has enough disposable income in order to be able to invest in better houses and some modern household items. At the same time there are still people who remain food insecure with some continuing malnutrition of children. Poorer people borrow from richer households and work on farms or do domestic labour for richer households. Poorer people tend to be landless and depend on others for support. There is a strong tradition of informal social protection where families and relatives and also neighbours will help poorer people or people suffering crises (e.g. accident, ill-health, failed crop etc.). Richer people tend to have more roles in the community but poorer people can still hold positions of influence (in particular poorer elders).

Interactions affecting gender relations

Violence against women has decreased and women's enjoyment of their economic rights has increased. At the same time women appear still not to participate in government meetings and the local elite are men.

Interactions affecting inter-generational relations

The rich woman (FE) said that the participation of young men and women in religious activities is rather less than adults; mainly old people are the ones who are actively involved in religious affairs. The rich man (29) said that when he was a teen, as the majority of the youths were farmers and herders, they fully participated in community affairs but nowadays some youths are not ready to participate in the community as they lack awareness and simply follow their own ways. The same holds true for religious participation.

External relations

Relations with other communities

Adele Keke has close, friendly relationships with the immediate rural *kebeles* in the same and neighbouring *weredas*. A few respondents mentioned that there was some disagreement between Haramaya district and Kersa district as Haramaya district want to incorporate a few villages of Adele Keke kebele to Adele 01 kebele. However, their efforts were unsuccessful and the boundaries have not changed over the last seven years.

Community – NGO relations

Some respondents appreciated NGO interventions in particular the CISP credit.

Social cohesion in the community and beyond

Kebele officials said there have been no peace and security problems in the area, except the recent illegal cutting of the community forest on Mount Keke.

The *kebele* party chair provides training for the party members at *kebele* level. He chairs meetings with the party members, telling them about his training and information from *wereda* officers, mainly regarding certain secrets such as suspected politically related worries that can have a possibility of affecting the peaceful condition of the area.

The *kebele* chair said he feels that there have been very rapid changes in the community and the community itself is happy and motivated to work hard on different government interventions in the *kebele*. For example, on the concept of the food security, the visible and practical change that has been seen in the community is the idea that if people have worked hard, they are able to bring change in their livelihood.

Ideas in the community

Local customary repertoire

Some male community members said that conservatives are those people who simply like sitting and chewing chat the whole day. These people also want to disturb and make quarrels with people. Such people are weak. They do not want to change their lives by working hard, but they simply oppose others and they like to oppose everything.

Local modern repertoire

Some male community members said there have been recent key messages coming in to the community from the government. These messages include, for example, that if communities cooperate and unite in groups, and participate in different development activities, it is likely that they can achieve development. Also that cooperating together and receiving credits and working and saving from profits, getting improved seeds, fertilisers, from cooperatives with fair prices and the like is good. Some messages from NGOs are that it is good to give credit to cooperatives and individuals.

Books, newspaper, radio and television

Some community members heard on the radio how farmers in other areas were benefiting from irrigation. The *kebele's* wife said she learnt about the health extension packages from the TV, as well as from lessons by the HEWs.

The decisions over crimes which affect the public like theft, rape, cutting of forests, and the like will be posted for the community as they will be assumed to teach the public. In addition, these public interest cases have been communicated to the public through the media. For example, they mostly use Haramaya FM radio to disseminate court decisions over cases on the public interest.

The poor farmer (DD) and his wife read Amharic but not Oromiffa; but their children can read only Oromiffa. Reading Amharic or Oromiffa is helpful for his household to sign and to read different letters and small memos and the like. He likes to tune in to radio but unfortunately his radio was broken since the last year and he has not listened from then. They do not have a TV but sometimes his household watch it in their neighbour's house and elsewhere. He watches programmes like music, news and the like in Oromiffa.

Everyone in the middle wealth household (CC) can read except for KL. CC regularly reads things like newspapers and different books. CC listens to FM radio on his mobile phone; he especially likes programmes transmitted on Saturday. They household listens to the radio; they listen to programmes in the Oromiffa language. Sometimes they listen to news but mostly they listen to music. They also sometimes listen to programmes in Amharic. The household has no TV but CC and the children watch TV at the neighbours. They watch a drama programme every Saturday. The household will buy a TV after they have completed the home they are constructing and rearranged their main living room.

The rich man (BB) bought a TV and radio in 2008 and the household have been getting different valuable information. As they watch TV they do not listen to the radio regularly. His children watch TV sometimes when they should study their education. They watch wrestling and films. He and his wife also sometimes watch TV Oromiya, and Quran (Muslim religion) education on Arabic channels in Arabic. FE said she and her husband watch TV in the evening, in most cases they listen to news and some experiences on livelihood matters. She said listening to it has enabled them to work more to expand their trading. Six of his household members can read; FE cannot read. His children who are at school read regularly. He reads business texts and balance sheets of debt and credit.

The kebele chair said that the availability of electricity helped his household use different electronic goods such as TV, satellite receiver and a MP3 player. The son bought the MP3 player for 5,000 birr after he got money from the community members when he graduated from college. AA said that everyone in the household can read except his wife. AA said the household regularly tune to the radio to listen to different development messages but BE said they do not listen to the radio now they have a more TV. They mainly watch music, drama, and questions and answers transmitted in Oromiffa language. She stated that watching TV is good for her household as based on what they have been watching that they have been trying different means to improve their living condition and they have been successful. There are two TVs (one big and one smaller) in their home.

The successful female household head (EE) and her children watch TV at the neighbours but she plans to buy a TV.

The poor female household head (FF) said they cannot afford to buy electronic goods but sometimes her children watch TV at the neighbours.

Government ideology and interventions

Wereda officials said that the GTP was introduced to them and *kebele* officials through trainings and orientations to *wereda* cabinets, employees, and poverty reducing sectors like agriculture, water, health, education and roads. Then, training was given to the community. Kebele officials said that since the GTP has been introduced to the officials and the community, the various development activities in the *kebeles* in the *wereda* have changed, according to the core development targets set by the government.

Today information comes from the *wereda* to the DA organiser, who then passes it to the other DAs and in turn they communicate to the development committee at the kebele level. The development committee passes the information on to each of the three zone development committees (which are chaired by the DAs) and they communicate with the development team at the village level and finally to the 1-5 network in each of the villages in the kebele.

Some community members said more party and government meetings were called last year than previously.

There has been a separate training for model farmers or network leaders on how they are supposed to lead and 'make aware' the other households. During the model farmers' training last year farmers were made aware about the Millennium Dam project. Due to this and the information they heard from TV there are a few farmers who have bought bonds.

The *kebele* chair said that certain problems happen when ideas coming into the community are new and challenging and as a result, it is difficult for kebele officials to explain and describe them to the community. For example, farmers complained bitterly about the model farmers' training for 15 days; but eventually they were convinced by the kebele officials and attended the training.

The rich man (AA) said the new ideas coming from the government, the market and towns are very important; an important new initiative is the youth cooperative which has been inaugurated and it is about to start its functions.

The poor female household head (FF) and the rich female household head (EE) said they trust the information provided by wereda officials, and ideas coming from the towns and cities, given by religious leaders, and ideas transferred by radio and TV. However, to apply these new ideas they like to see first others who have tried them, because losses or failures are problematic.

Urban connections and ideas

Adele Keke has linkages with many nearby towns including major urban hubs Dire Dawa and Harar.

Adele Keke is next to Adele 01 kebele which is already becoming a suburban sprawl of Haramaya town; it seems likely that eventually this sprawl will encompass Adele Keke as well. (Administratively Haramaya district has already tried to incorporate some of Adele Keke's villages but Kersa wereda has prevented any boundary change.) A number of respondents said that they would like Adele Keke to become more urbanised with modern lifestyles. Not much detail was provided on what characteristics of an urbanised modern lifestyle they wanted; one respondent mentioned increased employment opportunities for youths; the poor teenage girl (16) said she wants Adele Keke to have a market centre to buy and sell some crops and consumption goods.

The middle wealth man (CC) said that the new ideas coming from the towns and cities are good. For example, the Haramaya Fana FM Radio is currently transmitting new good ideas to the communities.

Diaspora connections and ideas

There are some people who have migrated abroad (there are an estimated 30 migrants who have gone to Dire Dawa, Djibouti, Somalia, Saudi Arabia and the US) but there are no reports of them returning to the *kebele* or keeping in contact with people in the *kebele*.

Globalisation

There is a Coca-Cola distribution centre in the *kebele*. The Chinese are known in the kebele for having worked on the road and shown the kebele the potential to use deep underground water sources. There are a number of international NGOs working in the kebele. According to the kebele manager many foreigners visit Adele Keke: from the nearby Haramaya University, researchers, NGOs etc. Children shout out to foreigners: 'pay me, pay me'. A young man aged 16 asked how he could leave Ethiopia, saying (in English) '*Ethiopia is too much poor. It is nothing for me*'. He is in secondary school and he does not know what he will do after he leaves school or when he will leave school.

Ethnic ideologies

Not found.

Religious ideologies

A religious leader said that there was a meeting held recently at federal level for two weeks on the split between Wahhabi Muslims and others. In Harar and Adama training was also held from September 1-5 this year. From one wereda 12 individuals (five youth, five religious leaders and some officials) attended the meeting. In the meeting it was discussed that within the Muslim religion there are some differences in what the followers do and do not believe. In the meeting it was also discussed that the original Muslim religion allows chat chewing as it makes them stronger to pray to Allah. Therefore the followers of the original Muslim religion, unlike the followers of the new Muslim religious movement called Wahhabi, do not consider chewing chat to be bad.

The *kebele* chair said that he did not come across new ideas from religion but recently certain people came to Adele Tabia mosque and introduced some new ideas about proposals on religious projects.

The poor man (DD) said that the *imams* tell the followers about different new ideas regarding the religious practices at Friday prayers and according to him this is good as people could get a lot of advice from those new ideas.