



WIDE Bridge

Aze Debo Community Report 2018

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This community report is part of a series produced by the Ethiopia WIDE team, based on fieldwork carried out in four of the twenty WIDE communities in the first quarter of 2018 under the WIDE Bridge research project.

Ethiopia WIDE is a rigorous independent longitudinal study of 20 rural communities in Amhara, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, and Tigray regions, selected in 1994 by researchers from Addis Ababa and Oxford Universities, as exemplars of different types of rural communities in Ethiopia. They represent wide variations in a range of key parameters notably livelihoods (including surplus producing, drought prone, cash-crop and agro-pastoralist sites), remoteness or ease of access, cultural institutions, and religious and ethnic composition. The team has recently published a book entitled *Changing Rural Ethiopia: Community Transformations*, as well as a compilation of an earlier series of discussion briefs under the title: *Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: Selected discussion briefs on change and transformation*. Further reports and data are available on the website www.ethiopiawide.net.

In the Bridge Phase in 2018, 4 sites were selected one from each of the 4 regions for a fourth round of research: Yetmen in East Gojjam, Amhara; Sirba/Ude in East Shewa, Oromia; Aze Debo in Kambata, Southern Nation, Nationalities and People; and Harresaw in Eastern Tigray. The community reports represent a part of the evidence base used in a range of analytical research outputs under the WIDE Bridge project. This includes twelve papers presented at the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Mekelle in October 2018 (<http://www.ices20-mu.org/>), and seven policy-oriented discussion briefs on land and urbanization, farming systems and livelihoods, nonfarming systems and livelihoods, young people's economic experiences, rural modernization and inequalities, selected aspects of social protection, and local governments and governance, available on the WIDE website (<http://ethiopiawide.net/publications/wide-bridge-discussion-briefs/>), and which will be compiled in an English and Amharic book in the first half of 2019.

The Aze Debo Community Report 2018 describes the situation of the community in 2018, using a number of different perspectives. The database from which the report was written was produced in two rounds of fieldwork. The first two-week fieldwork was undertaken in January 2018 and provided a basis to develop more in-depth lines of enquiries for the second, longer fieldwork, undertaken in February-March 2018. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are available on request. 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 (male and female heads of households) and wives, rich-to-poor nonfarmers/businesspeople and urban residents (male and female heads of households) and wives, rich-to-poor young women and men in three age groups (17/18, early 20s and late 20s), as well as people (women and men) interviewed because of holding a specific position in the community (e.g. leaders of community social organization), or because of their status with regard to a specific government programme, or in relation to inequality in the community. (Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs).

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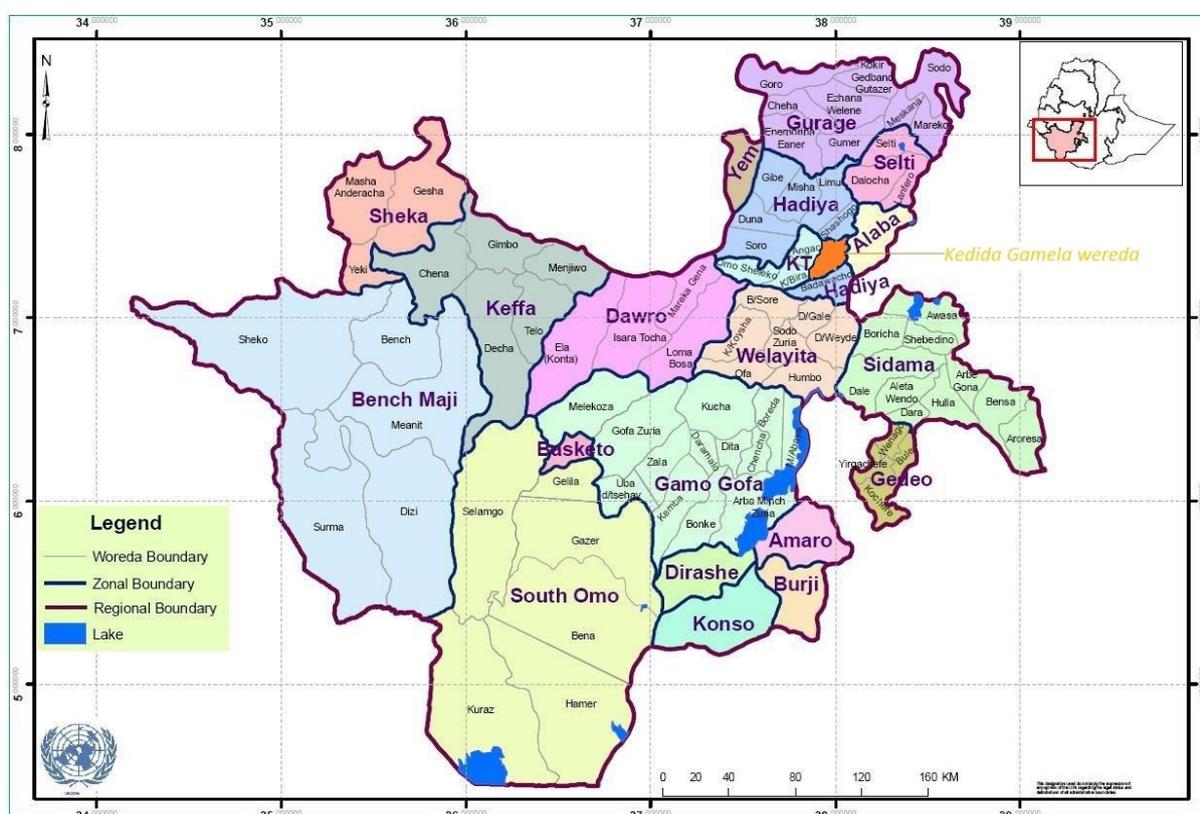
1. Community features in context

Geographical location

Aze Debo is one of the 18 kebeles of Kedida Gamela wereda in the Kambata Tembaro zone, in Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region. The administrative zonal capital, Durame, is located 5 km from Aze Debo; it is also the centre of the Kedida Gamela wereda. Kedida Gamela is bordered by Hadiya zone on the south and north (Hadiya zone has two geographically separate parts), by Kacha Bira on the southwest, Angacha on the west, and the Bilate River on the east which separates it from Alaba.

The flattish part of Aze Debo shares boundaries with Bezene Binera, Bezena, Zato and Shonera kebeles, and the hilly area with Mesafea, Bosena, and Zobecho kebeles.

The maps below present the location of the Kambata Tembaro zone, Kedida Gamela wereda and Aze Debo within it.

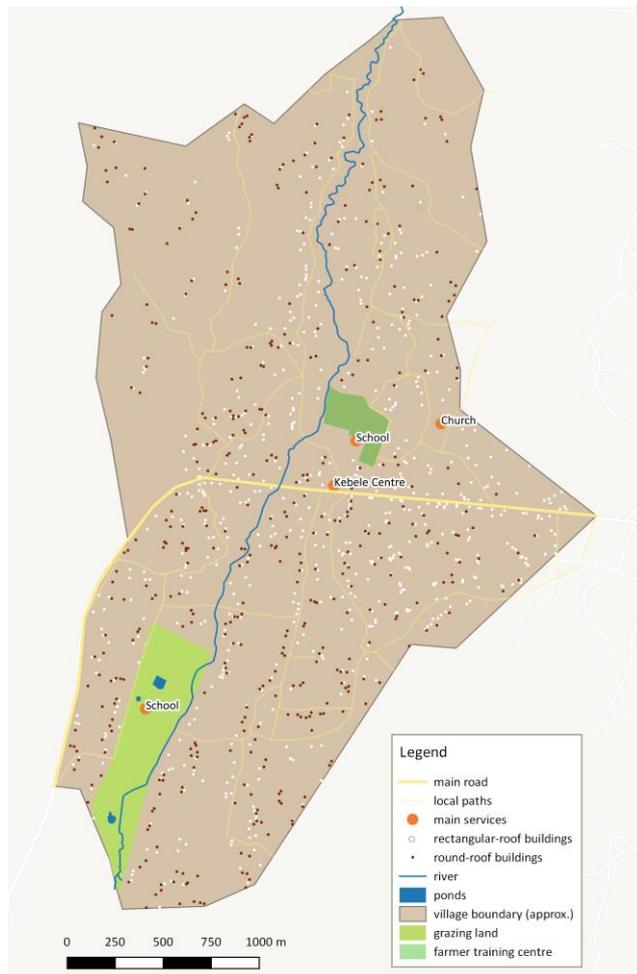


Map 1 Location of Kambata Tembaro Zone and Kedida Gamela wereda. Source: www.romiffa.ethsat.com



Caution : All boundaries in this map are not authoritative

Map 2 Location of Kedida Gamela wereda Aze Debo in the wereda. Source: <http://chillyethiopian.blogspot.com/2008/03/Kambata-tembaro-zone.html>



Map 3 Aze Debo. Source: author

Terrain & ecology

Altitude, terrain and climate

The altitude of the wereda ranges from 1700 to 3028 m above sea level.

Aze Debo is located in a weyna dega area with good rainfall. The main road to Durame splits the kebele into two parts. The larger, southern part is flattish; the smaller northern part is made of hillsides rising gradually on the way to the Hambaricho Mountain - found in a neighbouring wereda and the second highest peak in SNNPR. In the kebele, Hambericho Finchanco is an area where it is said that people cannot get in, as it is mostly inhabited by wild animals. There are 28 gots in the kebele, of which 22 are located in the flat land, and 6 on the chain of mountains.

The mountains, which at some point merge into the Hambericho mountain, are known as Male, Lanta, Muletea and Chacha. The Male is covered with forest, mainly eucalyptus, gravilea, acacia and tid trees. Wild animals are said to live there: foxes, hyenas, antelopes, rabbits, and monkeys. Farmers wiped out the monkeys because they could not produce anything like maize or sweet potato.

A number of respondents indicated that climate has been getting hotter since 2012, but at the same time, in 2010 EC there were several very cold nights. The year 2010 EC was considered as perfect in terms of rainfall, however, drought affected the community around 2008 EC and also in the past. Harvests in good years take place twice a year; sometimes there is only one harvest. This is attributed to climate change, which has affected the community within the past 5-7 years.

Erosion and soil

Erosion used to be a problem in the kebele in the past. The hilly parts have been terraced preventing erosion and even making crop production possible on the terraced land. People are mobilized in government-led annual campaigns of watershed construction and afforestation to prevent erosion. At the time of the fieldwork in 2010 EC, the kebele was working on the annual watershed programme, and trees were being planted on the hilly area leading to the Hambericho Mountain, on public land and in front of people's houses and farms, though it is usually done during the rainy season. The Development Agents (DAs) also advise farmers to plant in line, and to mitigate soil erosion by making a paved line to allow the flood to drain out of the farmland after every 7 lines.

Rivers and springs

There are year-round and seasonal rivers. The Dembea is year-round, but is rather small, so the community considers it as a spring. The Kuru is a seasonal river which flows up to 4 months in a year, with water coming from mountains surrounding the kebele during the wet season. The Markosa is another seasonal river located on the border of the kebele with the Bezane Binara kebele.

There are 3 protected springs, 10 unprotected ones, and 2 protected wells in each got. Springs are commonly used by farmers to irrigate their lands. At least one spring was dug by the Mekane Yesus church, and one by World Vision. There is no lake in the kebele, but several communal ponds were dug for irrigation in the past few years (see sections on irrigation).

Underground water

Underground water is found very near the surface, which creates possibilities to develop irrigation. However, even though in the flat areas finding water is said to require only 10 meters of digging, there is no initiative to use pumps (diesel or electrical ones). For more information about the potential for irrigation services, please see the section [Irrigation](#).

Floods

Floods are not a major issue in the community, except for the Checha got on the road to Shinshicho. A few farmers' lands were flooded due to errors in how ditches were diverted. Farmers clean ditches

together to make the water flow. Sometimes Development Teams (DTs) organize such public works with the DAs. The research officers observed that there were ditches constructed by households behind the houses, through their farm lands and around their land boundaries to manage flood flow and control the scope of damage to their assets. They did not see anything constructed by the kebele to manage floods.

In 2008 EC UNICEF brought a generator to the wereda to disseminate water for 5 kebeles, including Aze Debo. It stopped working in 2009 EC due to high fuel consumption and lack of budget to cover this cost. In informal conversations with research officers, the wereda Water Department officials explained that this drinking water structure was destroyed by floods twice¹. There were plans to maintain these structures in 2011 EC, but it was not clear if there would be a budget to cover it.

Watershed management

The Agriculture Office leads on the annual watershed management activities. In 2010 EC, these activities started in February and lasted until the end of the fieldwork in mid-March. Terracing is done thanks to public works, which is mandatory, but if someone cannot make it in any round there is no fine. The Natural Resources Management (NRM) DA organises the watershed works with the got leaders. The activities included terracing of hilly parts of the kebele so that people could plant crops (in 2010 EC, a female headed household planted teff on the side of the mountain thanks to watershed and she had a very good harvest) and the kebele could plant eucalyptus trees as part of the afforestation programme. A kebele administration representative explained that the kebele applies to the NRM office of the wereda to sell the trees when they believe trees are ready for trade. Then the wereda representatives come to see if eucalyptus is ready to be sold, and if so they decide to sell it through auction. Trees were also used to build the kebele buildings.

Irrigation

In 2012 only around 2ha of land was said to be irrigated in the kebele, although respondents at all levels (wereda, kebele and community) highlighted that Aze Debo was comparatively well endowed in water. However, there was little water infrastructure development by the government and the rise of irrigation practices in recent years was said to be individual farmers' initiative.

As noted by farmers, irrigation began to pick up in Aze Debo around 2008 EC, mainly in the flattish areas of the kebele. Water in the hilly parts of Aze Debo is located deeper, and the only option to dig wells is by hand, as there was no attempt to use machines. In the past 5 five years, the wereda agriculture office constructed 3 large ponds on the grazing land in the kebele. Already in 2012 the government tried to promote water harvesting with around 20 farmers who were supposed to dig ponds on their land and cover them with plastic. However, thieves were stealing the plastic at night, so in the end it did not work.

In 2010 EC there were various methods of irrigation, which are described in **Irrigation** section.

The use of irrigation started to increase as people saw others benefiting. Those who started irrigating are able to grow coffee seedlings, tomato, cabbages and sell them on the market. Although farmers would like to engage more in irrigation, the practices are constrained by shortage of land and lack of machinery to dig wells and of more modern technology to pump out water.

Water quality control

As mentioned in the **Rivers and springs** section, there are 3 protected springs with drinking water, 10 unprotected springs, and 2 protected wells in each got. Additionally, there was a large water infrastructure installed by UNICEF in 2008 EC, but it did not work for long. Sometimes chlorine is

¹ It is not clear if this generator for drinking water dissemination was built in Aze Debo.

applied to the hand pumps in the kebele, and community members say that water is suitable for drinking when it is treated. There are people who drink from improved and non-improved springs.

Forests and wooded areas

Although a knowledgeable person in the kebele noted that the coverage of forests, especially eucalyptus tree, had decreased over the past 5-7 years, the research officers found at least a couple of eucalyptus trees in almost all homesteads in the kebele. However, there was widespread deforestation for a while in Aze Debo for financial reasons, as the price of eucalyptus tree in the market was high.

In the kebele there are 5 hectares of community forest located between Lay Debo and Aze Mishida, and a new area planted with a few trees planted in it, called Meles Park, which is not well taken care of. People use their own firewood source like eucalyptus trees from their own land. No one is allowed to collect wood from the communal forest land.

Grazing land

Communal grazing lands were located in Dekeya, Wittie, Lay Debo, Wemino, and Jachu gots. The grazing land in Wittie got was the largest (about 4 ha) and part of it was given to the school built there for the Ethiopian Millennium, and for 2 ponds which were constructed by World Vision. In addition, grazing land located in Malle was distributed in 2000 EC to 6 soldiers who returned from the military. Grazing land is also located in the kebele centre on the main road side, which is used by the youth as volleyball playground. Farmers having relatively larger landholdings also keep parts of it as grazing land for livestock.

Environmental sanitation and waste disposal

Environmental sanitation falls under the Health Extension Worker's (HEW) responsibilities. The area is said to be very clean and the environment is protected. According to the HEW, people try to manage their compound and village very well and they care about household sanitation. As a result, the kebele was awarded the title of 'Open Defecation Free' kebele. She explained that most of the households in the kebele have improved toilets, a waste disposal hole and a hand-washing station outside the toilet, although according to the research officers, sometimes it was difficult to find them. A few people have started putting their kitchen utensils on wooden cupboards, but this practice has not been widely adopted. People do not use water purification tablets; it is only the wereda environment protection bureau which put from time to time purification (wuha agar) in the protected wells. Although promotion of separate houses for humans and cattle/animals has been conducted, there are still 468 households which share their houses with cattle. The HEW also noted that little change was seen in the community with regard to smoke-free houses: new houses are usually smoke-free; in addition, Mekane Yesus church has distributed smoke-free kitchen stoves in the past 4 years and about 10% of the community has them. Although there has not been any fly/mosquito invasion recently, in 2009 EC a door-to door anti-mosquito chemical spraying campaign was conducted in October and November; but this was not done in 2010 EC: the wereda informed the kebele administration that there was a shortage of anti-mosquito chemical supplies.

In terms of waste disposal, by-products of cabbage, tomato and other crops are used to feed animals. Waste like plastics, paper, trashes from houses and compounds are burnt by every household. The ash is used as fertilizer for gardens. Coffee leaves are used to make coffee or tea so it is re-used within the household. Animal dung is used to make compost and later as a fertilizer for enset, coffee, maize or other crops. Using dung for compost is a new practice that emerged in the past five years.

Community land use

Land use

The total land in the kebele is 526.26 ha, including the communal land which is around 100 ha (this includes playground, forest and grazing land on the mountains, grave yards, etc). Around 421.8 ha of land is allocated for male headed households and 104.8 ha for female headed households². Over the past six years around 15 ha was obtained through inheritance.

There is no land use plan for the kebele. Households give their plan for cultivation for every season to the agriculture office in the kebele. There was no major change or adjustment in terms of public land allocation, farm lands and residential areas, in the past few years. The only change is that the Kale Hiwot church applied for land to build a kindergarten for children in the Millennium School, so about 5000m² land was allocated for this purpose in November/December 2017. The church fenced it, but the construction had not yet started by the time of the fieldwork. In 2005 EC, approx. 9,000 m² of the school land was given for the FTC and for ACDI-VOCA NGO for fodder experimentation. In 2009 EC the kebele gave out about 1000m² of land on the mountains for a beekeeping cooperative. In total, approx. 1,000m² from the public grazing land around Sherifa area was allocated to about 10 returnee soldiers in the course of the past 10 years, five of them received this land in 2010 EC. The kebele buildings are located in the centre on 2500m² land.

Spatial patterns

Those who live in the centre of the kebele have better access to transport to Durame and various services such as shops; they are also more likely to have access to electricity, which could allow them to undertake business activities. People living in remoter parts of the kebele, and especially on the mountains, have limited access to good roads and services. Women from these areas frequently face many problems when they need to get to the health centre for delivery, as the ambulance is not able to pass through the internal roads which get muddy during the rainy season.

Urbanisation

Signs of urbanisation are visible in the kebele centre, with new services like shops, tea shops, yogurt shops and beauty salons. Because of the location of the kebele, adjacent to Durame, some respondents expected that the kebele would be included in Durame town in less than 5 years, but there was no sign of such a change on the wereda side.

Durame has been growing very fast in the past 7 year and swallowing parts of many rural kebeles. Seven years ago Shershera was a rural kebele, and Adido was only partly urban: they both became urban kebeles included in Durame town administration. In Durame, services like hotels, schools, banks, health care facilities are improving. The road to Durame which used to be an all-weather gravel road was renewed and asphalted recently. New ethnic groups like the Gurage or Wolaita are coming to Durame as a fast-developing market. This is said to prompt improvements in people's lifestyle of people and awareness, like in dressing style, in their speaking and understanding level, and in terms of use of technology and internet.

Other towns in the wereda are also expanding. Adilo is a small town 15 km from Durame which has expanded a lot in the past seven years, and its main problem - water shortage – was gradually solved. Degakedida is a kebele moving towards municipalisation process, but there is no other kebele in the wereda which is becoming urban.

² The total of communal land and smallholder land for male- and female-headed households is more than the total 526 hectares of land of the kebele, supposedly including communal land. This suggest that land use planning is at best imprecise.

Infrastructure

Public buildings

Kebele buildings are located mainly on the main road side in the kebele centre. The kebele centre complex includes: the kebele office, health post, police office, DA office, Vet office, poultry demonstration and women's handcrafts workshop. They have access to electricity, water and latrines. There are two primary schools in the kebele. The Aze Debo Primary School established under the Derg is found near the kebele administration compound. The second one, opened for the Ethiopian Millennium, is located inside the kebele. The first school gave some of its land to the Farmers' Training Centre (FTC) for practical demonstration and fodder farming. There is also a kindergarten run by the NGO Save the Children on the school land.

Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport

Internal roads are dusty in the dry season and muddy in the rainy season, but some of them were expanded from footpath to a level where ambulances, bajajs and donkey carts are able to enter to each got, except the mountainous villages. Roads were expanded by the respective DTs and the main purpose was to let ambulances pass to each got. There are two bridges, one at the border of the kebele and one in the middle; however on the internal roads there is nothing else than a few wooden bridges. Footpaths are very common and sometimes pass through gardens of households.

Mobile phones

Mobile phones started to expand around 2000 EC, but the signal has been better since 2004 EC. In the past 4 years, the popularity of mobile phones has been further increasing. Coverage is almost everywhere, and every household is said to have a mobile. In one house, there could be even 3 phones, so it is said that there are around 3900-4000 mobile phones in Aze Debo. Those connected to the grid charge phones for others for 1-2 birr for charging. Some people charge phones at churches.

Most mobile owners are husbands and young people. Mothers often share their husband's or a child's mobiles. Most young females have brick phones and some have Intel; a few use smartphones with Android, which are symbol of status. Often it is the diaspora who funds these phones for siblings.

Facebook, WhatsApp, Facebook messenger, IMO, Viber, Opera Mini Browser are the applications which are widely used.

Electricity

Aze Debo was connected to electricity in 2000 EC. In the past 9 years the coverage has increased, and reached about 15 gots. Around 10% of households have access to electricity. Another estimate was that, about 200 households are electrified out of 1,038 households in the kebele. About 30 farmers have their own meters and share access with others. Most households with access to the grid are located on both sides of the asphalted road to Durame. In addition, a rich farmer paid for poles to come to his house located inside the kebele, and some neighbours also got the connection with a small contribution. The coffee plant established in an inner village in Aze Debo also connected some 30 households living nearby, as it needed power for operating the plant.

Electricity creates a lot of opportunities: people can use light for household activities, it is possible to buy a TV, start some a business like motorbike repair, phone charging or bakery. However, power cuts affect users, especially those having businesses such as wood workshop and grinding mill were affected. Recently churches raised money for a new transformer.

In terms of off-grid connection, only one rich trader uses solar light. A few households use solar power to charge mobiles and as a bulb at night, or when electricity is off.

External roads, bridges & transport

In 2008 EC the road from Shinshicho to Durame was renovated and transport to Durame and other towns has improved a lot, as it is possible to use bajajs and motorbikes to get to Durame. There is also one bajaj which collects milk from households in different parts of the kebele. Minibuses and Isuzu buses go to Shonea, Hosanna, Alaba, Wolkite areas. Also a large bus crosses Aze Debo from Shinshicho to Durame on market days. There are no big external bridges.

Community economy

Independence of the economy

The average land holding is half hectare, a few have more, and the poor have mostly about 1/8 of a hectare. Usually farmers intercrop different crops like maize, beans, coffee on the same land.

In a good year those having half a hectare might have enough food for 8 months. If it is not enough, they use other kind of food like mango, avocado, milk. Households having 1/8 hectare usually focus on cash crops, like coffee, banana, avocado, mango and they mostly rely on enset for their own consumption. They also buy maize by selling the cash crops to supplement the diet at home and fill food gaps.

Mixed cropping is widespread and since the area has shallow ground water, people have recently started to dig wells and use bucket irrigation. When they plant maize, they sow in line and apply fertilizer. Then they plant tomato whilst the maize is ripening, so under the maize shade the tomatoes are protected and get enough moisture, and they are ripe when the maize is harvested.

In bad years, households having half a hectare might feed the family for 4 months or so, and the poor families with small land holdings may have food only for 2 months. Selling cash crops, stored coffee, enset dough and milk are major coping mechanisms to fill food gaps. Moreover, people in Aze Debo save money at home and a few in banks, others have assets to sell like eucalyptus, donkeys and other livestock and do so during bad years. Others save with *iddir* and *equb*, however, *equbs* are very small scale.

There is the Productive Safety Net Programme, but the support is only for 6 months. World vision also provides wheat and oil at times of food shortage for the poorest people. At the time of the fieldwork (early 2018), 1,390 people were PSNP beneficiaries in the kebele. World Vision helps about 800 poor people, some of them being PSNP beneficiaries who need extended support when the PSNP is not active. World Vision has been working in the wereda for the past 11 years, mainly in child support and food aid. In 2007 EC food shortage in the kebele was more widespread and more people than ever were demanding food aid (see social protection chapter).

Balance of livelihood activities

Farming is the major livelihood of households. Within this sector, livestock and livestock products have emerged as possibly more important than crops. Coffee and enset have recently been affected by diseases, and it was difficult to find a cure for this problem. At the same time, demand for dairy products in Durame has been increasing, boosting prices and encouraging farmers to invest in cattle. The income derived from the sale of milk, milk products and fattened bulls or oxen could be quite substantial, improving the economic status and living standards of many farming households. Farmers in Aze Debo illustrated these huge changes in the household economy saying that, a person who sells two heifers can build a better house with iron sheet roofing, and furnish the house with a TV and other expensive items. Many moved from thatched to tin-roofed houses in part through increased income from livestock production. Livestock production has a gendered dimension – with women working on dairy production and men on fattening.

Both crops and livestock received support for the government. New seeds, fertilizer, pesticides are available in the kebele centre. Farmers are also encouraged to invest in hybrid cows. Moreover, the government is encouraging young people to create farming cooperatives.

The nonfarm sector comprised agricultural trade and various services (shops, beauty salons, small trade, transport services) and is mostly concentrated in the kebele centre. Support from government for this sector was almost non-existent, with only one type of non-farming cooperative (sand and stone quarrying) getting some support. Yet, this sector was becoming increasingly important especially for the younger generation, considering the ever-increasing pressure on land.

Migration is a vital component of the local economy. Those having successful migrants in their families receive remittances, thanks to which they were able to fund their children's education, build new houses and invest in bajajs and other businesses for their children.

Main livelihood portfolios

The cases below illustrate different types of livelihood portfolios:

Rich farmers can plough rented land from the school, sharecrop from others, and get into share-fattening and share-milk arrangements; wives can manage hybrid cows and get income from this. They can also engage in non-farm activities such as trade of crops, animals or coffee, or buying bajajs or motorbikes for their children.

Middle-wealth farmers have more limited opportunities to diversify their activities. Some try to sell eucalyptus trees or coffee on a small scale or trade shoats; their wives mostly engage in petty trade on the market.

Poor farmers have little chance of being able to engage in activities other than farming, labour work, and the PSNP Public Works. Women strive to engage in petty trade on a smaller scale.

Young men from rich families or families with children in South Africa have a chance to own a bajaj or motorbike but this is not the case for young men from middle-wealth or poor households. Young men in poor households cannot start a small business very easily, as their families are not able to help them financially.

Mixed economy

Exports

The main exportable product is coffee and the area is known for coffee production, although this may well be changing. Coffee is harvested in September and October if rain comes on time. Some farmers sold as soon as it is harvested, and others store it for some time and wait for better prices on the market. Farmers or businesspeople with a license can sell coffee out of the wereda at better price. Those who do not have a license can only sell coffee to the coffee processing plant in the kebele, or to bigger retailers in the wereda. The area contributes to the country's exports through government purchase from the processing plant. The militia enforces the interdiction of selling outside of the wereda for unlicensed farmers; any attempt to take coffee away from the kebele or Durame without a license is considered contraband. There seems to be very few if any, individual farmers with a license as it is very expensive to get one (high capital requirements).

The owner of the coffee processing plant interviewed by the ROs processes fresh (wet) coffee in Aze Debo in October and November, and dry coffee in Durame the rest of the time. The wereda coffee exchange department advises him to check coffee in lab, then pack and stamp for quality assurance. He transports the coffee to the government store in Wolaita for export.

Other products exported from Aze Debo are dairy products or vegetables which are taken mostly to surrounding local markets or in Durame. Unlike coffee which is exported on the international market, these are exported on the local market.

Imports

Imported products include soft drinks, or items for shops which are available in Durame. A carpenter bought a Chinese multipurpose woodwork machine, which needs great care as it is fragile and he has to go to Hawassa for spare parts. Boys are wearing jeans made in Thailand and China. Various items such as TVs, clothes etc. come from outside, including from abroad through returnee migrants. Bajajs, motorbikes, trucks for the few who have one are all 'imported' from other areas in the country, often Hawassa. Some traders import grain like maize from Wolkite.

Savings, credit and debt

Government-affiliated MFIs in the wereda include OMO MFI, WISDOM and RUSSACOs' Union. Wereda officials indicated that farmers from Aze Debo saved about 463,131 birr in the first 5 months of 2010 EC (up until the fieldwork), and it was expected that 1.6 million birr would be saved over the course of the whole year. Banks available in Durame are the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia (CBE), Dejub Global Bank and Birhan International Bank. People from Aze Debo prefer to use CBE as it was the pioneer. Generally, the OMO microfinance and CBE are preferred by the community for savings.

According to a wereda official, these institutions provide money to those who cannot access government credit or those whose parents cannot give loans. He added that thanks to these loans, some young men can buy motorbikes and engage in transport service which made them successful due to MFI loans. In reality, it seems that the banks do not provide much support for the youth or individual farmers, it is rather for wealthy people who have collateral. MFIs are a little more active and in particular, the Youth Revolving Fund loans and prior to this, loans extended to support youth groups as part of the rural job creation efforts, are managed through OMO.

Regarding loan repayment, a few farmers failed to repay on time. Indebted people might request an extension of the repayment period in agreement with the MFI. The youth groups are the ones which usually cause problems with loan repayment; whereas in the kebele, women's cooperatives are doing very well in this respect. Loan repayment for fertilizer is less good during drought when people do not have money to cover even basic needs.

Savings is a high priority in the wereda (these are zonal/regional directives). Farmers from Aze Debo were said to have saved around 463,131 birr in the first 5 months of 2010 EC and the MFIs were expecting 1.6 million birr saving from this kebele for the whole year.

Village savings groups are promoted by NGOs - World Vision and Catholic Relief. Their activity is not supported by the wereda, because the administration would like to engage people in formal cooperatives and links with MFIs. World Vision also gives credit for groups if they organise themselves to start a business. For example, in early 2018 EC they were helping a group of people involved in beekeeping and a women's group. This group, with 25 women saving 100 birr per week received an additional 2,000 birr from World Vision, with 100 birr interest rate.

RUSACCOs are formal saving groups in rural villages, they have a union at wereda level. Wereda officials indicated that their activities and strength are improving over time; members are improving their livelihood through savings and through obtaining credit, and the institution is growing fast from its profit as well. Farmers, traders, women can be RUSACCOs members. Some of these saving groups are dedicated exclusively to women, potters, tanners, for men etc.

There are no "specialised" money lenders in the kebele. *Iddirs*, clans and clan *equbs* can be the sources of loans. *Iddirs* lend money for people for any major issue, during hard times like the drought, and for the Meskel festival. Family, friends and neighbours tend to borrow from each other and the amounts that can be borrowed depend on individuals' financial standing. Some community members said that people usually borrow small amounts to others, not only because of poverty but also because of decreasing trust: it used not to be like this, but because of outstanding loans and refusal to pay back, trust among people has decreased since 2000 EC. However, this trend of

decreasing trust cannot be regarded as a common pattern for the whole community: there were cases of people who lent even several thousands of birr to others, for example, when they wanted to start a business.

Insurance

The only formal insurance scheme is the Community Based Health Insurance (CBHI), which has been rolled out in Aze Debo since 2008 EC. The aim of the insurance is to protect its members from high health expenditures at times of illness. The scheme is supposedly voluntary at wereda, kebele, and household level. More information about the CBHI can be found in the [Community Based Health Insurance \(CBHI\)](#) section.

There is no livestock and crop insurance in the kebele. However *iddirs* have been supporting people who lost their cattle due to illness or accident. For example, if one's cow died, her/his *iddir* members raise 10 birr to contribute a certain amount. This kind of insurance is called '*embaabes*' which means 'tears wiper', as usually the money raised in this way is not commensurate to the value of the lost animal.

Inward investment

There are only a few investments in the kebele. There are two coffee processing plants, one located inside the kebele, and the other one at the border on the way to Durame. A flour factory is also located there. Two other large constructions are underway at the border of the kebele adjacent to Durame town administration, one of them being a food processing factory. As a result, very few jobs are being created for people in Aze Debo. The only new jobs since 2012 came from a small expansion of the existing coffee processing plant, which gave job opportunities for a few more men and women for a few months.

A few weeks before the fieldwork in early 2018, zonal/regional officials came to survey an area of the kebele without informing kebele officials, who were deeply upset by this. It is said that this is in view of a plan to establish an industrial zone there, although it was not possible to confirm or infirm this in the course of the fieldwork.

Inflation

Inputs and outputs prices

There is price increase of farm inputs including seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. For example, 50 kg of seeds of wheat costed 580 birr in 2010 EC, up from 300 birr in 2007 EC. Fertilizer was 780 birr per 50kg in 2010 EC, up from 560 birr in 2007 EC. The price of pesticide depends on the type, but in general it has also increased over the past 5 years. Farmers mostly use household labour for farming, but the general increase in prices of inputs made their production costs higher.

With regard to livestock, an ox used to cost 2500-4000 birr in 2006 EC and in 2010 EC the price went up to 6000 birr. The price of an 'American cow' is 25000-32 000 birr; hybrid ones cost 10000-15000 birr; a local cow that just gave birth to a calf and is ready to be milked costs around 7000-10000 birr. Three years ago a donkey used to cost 900 birr or around that; in 2010 EC this increased to 2500-3000 birr. The price went up mostly because of the introduction of donkey carts which can collect farm products as well as other materials and take them to Durame.

Prices of most of crop outputs³ increased within past 3-5 years. Coffee which used to be sold for about 45 birr for 3 kg of unprocessed coffee, was sold 75 birr in 2010 EC. Whilst a few years ago a

³ These outputs include: avocado, banana, mango, sugarcane, coffee, maize, *gesho* [leaf used to make local drink], *teff*, wheat, beans, potato, sweet potato, *godere*, tomato, cabbage, and rarely *chat* etc. Among livestock: shoats,

basket of avocados was sold for 10-15 birr in 2010 EC 20 avocados are sold for 10 birr. In 2007 EC about 40 bananas were sold for 10 birr; now 3 bananas are sold for 2 birr. Chat prices are beneficial for sellers: a few successful farmers can sell chat for 20,000-60,000 birr per year. Some respondents noted that only 10% of the farmers produce chat and that because the churches are condemning this practice, people are abandoning it gradually. Teff, beans and wheat are sold because of their good value on the market, even though there is no surplus production. Teff used to be sold 800-900 birr per quintal in 2007 EC and increased to 1,800 birr/quintal in 2010 EC. The price of wheat also increased dramatically and so did maize (from 250-300 birr/quintal in 2007 to 700 Birr in 2010 EC). Prices of potato, cabbages and other vegetables have also increased.

New breeds of cows/ferenji cows used to be found only in a few households, but in 2010 EC it was said that about 80% or more households have at least one cow, though not all of them are at the stage of producing milk. A litre of milk is sold for around 9-12 birr to the milk processing cooperative in the village which started last year. Milk prices was around 5-6 birr in 2007EC.

For items that most households buy, prices have increased too. Sugar which costed 20-25 birr/kg in 2007 EC now costs 45-60 birr for 1 kg, and sometimes it is not even available at this price. In 2007 EC, 3 litres of oil used to be 72 birr; in 2010 EC it is about 115-200 birr, and it reaches 200 birr when there is no supply from distributors that have a special license from the government. Salt is the only item whose price did not significantly change.

Rent increase is not a problem in Aze Debo, because people live in their own houses and do not rent them. However, the prices of some building materials increased: corrugated iron sheets, nails, timber, sand and stone and labour costs are all more expensive. Also, transport costs increased.

Wage rates also increased at the only two coffee processing plants. Women, who make the largest proportion of the workforce, used to be paid 10 birr/day four years ago; they were paid 30 birr per day in 2010 EC. Men who used to be paid 12 birr, get paid 50 birr per day.

Health fees are said to have increased, but thanks to the CBHI beneficiaries can be protected from these costs. Private clinics in Durame town increased their prices recently.

Influence on households

Inflation affected everyone in the community. The rich and middle class are better able to cope with the effects. However, the middle-wealth farmers are discouraged from producing surplus and focus on producing just enough for the household's consumption, as they say that the price of outputs they would produce to sell does not cover the higher price of seeds and fertilizer. A few rich households, however, were said to benefit from inflation: they have the money to collect crops when prices are low, as other people sell them cheap as soon as they produce when they are challenged economically or pressed to buy food for their families; and can sell all these items when prices go up.

If there was no PSNP support the poor would be affected a lot. PSNP is helping, but they still have to buy seeds and fertilizers using the PSNP money, and as the prices of these inputs increased and at the same time the PSNP transfers decreased, they have far less money at their disposal.

chickens, cattle, especially cows. Women sell butter, cheese, avocado, banana, tomato, cabbage etc, men dominate market for livestock potato, chat, coffee, though women also sell these cash crops in a very small scale.

Social structure

Households

Demographic information on Aze Debo is presented in the table below. Some of these figures were provided by kebele/wereda officials (e.g. number of tax-paying households, presumably counting land tax payers), others are estimates by community respondents (e.g. numbers of migrants).

Number of households	1038
– Female headed households	– 258
– Children headed households	– 4
Number of inhabitants	7105
– Women	– 3455
– Men	– 3650
Average number of family members	8 people
Number of tax payers	780
Number of people who migrated to Addis Abeba and Hawassa within the past 5 years	About 150 men and 100 women
International migrants within the past 5 years	About 50-60 people
Youth who completed grade 10 at least/ TVET and remain dependent on families	426

Overall community wealth

There is a trend towards higher living standards, with tin-roofed modern houses, verandas, greater use of household goods, use of mobile phones and sometimes TV and electricity. Yet, it is difficult to know whether the community as a whole has become wealthier. Richer households, where farmers are also traders and can use price differentials as explained above, may have become wealthier. Households living on the hills are said to be in a worse position with regard to access services. The DAs and HEWs visit them less often. Schools and water points are more distant, and they have limited possibility to get access to electricity. On the other hand, they tend to have larger landholdings, though less fertile and prone to erosion.

According to a kebele knowledgeable person, 10 percent of the community is rich. They have modern houses (with a TV, sofa, separate room for the cattle, kitchen) and larger landholdings. Trade and remittances are important in their livelihood portfolios. Remittances have increased and it is likely that on the whole such transfers increased the community's overall wealth but from an individual perspective, they concentrate on the households that have successful migrants.

Middle-wealth households are said to be 20% of the community. Crop farming and medium-level business are the main ingredients of their livelihood portfolios. Some of them might also get support from children engaged in various types of work in different places. This category includes civil servants and others who have permanent jobs. Sometimes they have a modern house (with separate room for livestock, kitchen, sofa, wooden furniture) and a farm land about a half a hectare.

The poor and very poor represent about 70% of the community. Poor households have a traditional house (a hut or a corrugated iron roofed house, but without a separate kitchen). Very poor households have a small hut shared with numerous family members. They own less than one timad land and have no permanent income from their farm or any other job. They have no livestock or they could be given a cow or calf for shared benefit by a relative or a richer neighbour.

The poor and the very poor get by thanks to the PSNP and food aid, which are a crucial livelihood option preventing them from lack of food. This kind of support was useful in this regard, but there was no evidence that beneficiaries were able to improve their livelihoods thanks to PSNP alone. Protestant Churches are an important source of support as well – providing food, clothes, sometimes building houses for those who cannot afford them.

Social identity and status differences

Ethnicity

Community members are predominantly Kambata. In 2012, people mentioned the presence of a few Amhara households, but the Research Officers did not mention them in 2010 EC.

Clan

Clans have a crucial social role in Aze Debo. There are more than 10 clans. The largest and most powerful clans are Galla, Dubbo and Nurto. The first two are the most economically powerful, representing together about half of the richer people in the community. The Nurto come second in terms of economic power. Political power somewhat rotates between these three clans, and there is usually no conflict about this. Many civil servants come from these particular clans. Other clans include Oyeta, Dada, Zaye, Gulba.

Religions

The Kambata zone is known for a high number of Protestant followers. There are 6 branches: Mekaneyesus, Kalehiwot, Muluwengel (since 2000 EC), Meserete Kristos (since 2008 EC), Kristos (since 2003 EC), Hawariyat (different doctrine and unique way of worshipping, quite recent). The new Adventist church is also emerging. Protestant churches are known to be supported by migrants and a woman living in the UK who sends a monthly gift to Kale Hiwot church.

There are also a few Orthodox Christians (50 households) and Catholics (30 households); and one Muslim household. There was a conflict over land between Orthodox followers and Catholics. There were 2 Catholic churches located in Futcheree and Bakoo areas; a land related conflict in Futcheree has not been resolved since 3 years. The number of Orthodox Christians has gradually decreased and has become very small in the past 3 years. In 2010 EC there was only one church located in Lay Witte got. Although interaction between Protestant and Orthodox followers is not totally cut, there were some land and boundary related conflicts and tensions between authorities and followers.

As there is no mosque in Aze Debo, the Muslim household attend religious services in Durame. Finally, there could be people who are followers of traditional religions, but as there is a large spread of Protestantism in the area, their number is very small and they are not known.

Cultural ideas and practices

Conservative and modern repertoires

Gender

Some positive changes to gender relations are noticeable, especially in relation to women's land rights, girls' education and health practices. Although there was still gender discrimination in access to economic opportunities, women dominated in dairy production and controlled the income from it, so they gained greater economic independence. Women were also more involved in non-farm businesses such as shops, trade, beauty salons, and local drink production, and they took part in migration.

On the other hand, FGM was said to be increasing again in the community. Although the practice is illegal, many families did not abandon it, and even young girls themselves want to have it performed. Women's participation in politics was rather low, with some exceptions restricted to the HEW, a few DAs and the kebele manager. The mothers' *iddir* of Aze Debo was led by a woman.

Health

Respondents noted a positive change in health practices, especially with regard to delivery at health centre and family planning. There was less apparent change with regard to sanitation. In the past 3-

5 years, the awareness about the need to deliver at the health centre has significantly improved. Women are aware of possible medical consequences of delivery at home, and they were very willing to deliver at health centre. The older generation of women and husbands did not oppose.

In terms of family planning, women were aware of different types of contraception and frequently admitted that they would like to have fewer children due to economic reasons. Like for institutional deliveries, the opposition from the husbands' side decreased.

With regard to sanitation, in the views of the HEW women from poor and middle-wealth households were better than those from rich families; and less educated women were better than educated ones or those with educated young sons living with them. For example, it is mothers who force family members to cover the top of a pit latrine after use to avoid contamination through flies. The younger people, especially boys, refuse to do what they are asked. The relatively rich households are also reluctant to practice what they are asked to do. For example, the HEW keeps asking them many times to build a latrine, and they usually do it only after some time. In her opinion, richer households want to show that they are the ones to decide about what they have to do and what they do not want to do.

Attitudes to education

Despite the long standing tradition of education in Kambata, young people in Aze Debo are not interested in school. Many young people left education after grade 10. Access was said to be easier than in the past (2 primary schools in the kebele, a high school and a TVET in Durame), although access to higher education in town was still more challenging for poorer people due to monthly fees.

The decline in young people's interest in education was caused by the growing number of jobless graduates. Young people were also less interested in farming, and they preferred some nonfarm jobs which required skills such as woodworking or metal work. But most job opportunities were available in the farming sector and cooperatives, which were not appreciated by many of them. For many respondents, the government should have put more emphasis on job creation in the non-farm sector, not only because of the young people's lack of interest in farming, but also because of the shortage of land in the kebele.

Therefore, young people tried to find their ways themselves. Some young men were trying to pass the end of grade 10 exam only to be able to pass a driving license exam and start a business in transport. Others, apart from going to school, were highly involved in the family business, and they openly declared that on the day when they had to choose between going to school or working, they would choose work, as it is more important to have a job nowadays.

The image of successful migrants, who could earn a lot of money without being graduates, was also a factor which deterred young people from education.

Other cultural ideas

When asked about new ideas coming to the community, female respondents noted that high school female students who attend school in Durame town started to use red lipstick. As the older generation disapproved of this, they use lipstick when they are in Durame and remove it when they are back in Aze Debo. Skinny trousers and tops are not approved by the church: when there is a monthly programme attended by all Church members, there are messages like: *"Our former students who became doctors and engineers even in America have been given dry Kocho and have been walking long distance to get to school, so you cannot become a successful professional by focussing on bad fashion and styles toward which the current youth are leaning"*.

Parents are conservative in keeping the old dressing style, haircuts, interaction between men and women, and religious practices in the community. Young people are accused of exclusive interest in money instead of cultural values and spirituality. The different approaches to life of the younger and the older generations led to some deterioration of relations. Young people explained that teenagers

and older youth challenge their parents' opinion and do not accept their advice which are mostly as follows: 'stay at home', 'don't go and stand on the road side', 'try to find work elsewhere' ... In young people's opinion, parents tend to be rigid and want things to 'go their way'.

Cultural imports

Clothes, hairstyles, lifestyle

As mentioned above, high school students use lipstick which is not appreciated by the community. Girls wear skinny jeans and tight t-shirts. Since 2006 EC many mothers do no longer wear traditional scarves even at church. Young men want to wear tightly fitting clothes. Some of them have torn jeans. People in Aze Debo get their clothing inspirations from people living in Durame, and also returnee migrants come up with new styles.

In the past young men cut their hair short, but now the trend is to have longer hair mainly in the middle of the head. Some curl it and some make a sign on the side. Especially in the past three years, young men watch European football and try to copy football players' haircuts. According to one of the farmers, bajajs and motorbike drivers are pioneers when it comes to new hairstyles.

There are new drinking and eating habits. Young people, mostly young men, are interested in the urban life in Durame, and they frequently go there to spend time with friends at tea/coffee shops. There are some 'bad practices' associated with these journeys to town, as young people chew chat there and drink alcohol. Watching TV in town, listening to music, watching movies on mobile phones are other leisure activities preferred by the youth. Apart from high interest in leisure activities in town, young people are also interested in new prophets who started to appear in Durame.

External links and relationships

Rural-rural links

People establish links with other rural areas mainly through marriage. Several women left Aze Debo to marry men living in other kebele; similarly, other women came to Aze Debo from other kebeles due to marriage.

The Gurage zone/Wolkite area is another destination chosen because early settlers from Aze Debo went there during the Derg and are now hosting and facilitating finding work for those who go now.

In addition, nine years ago the government resettled people to Mizan Tepi and Kefa areas, and most of these migrants are said to be successful in farming there; some of them even funded migration to South Africa. For more information, please see [Rural migration](#) section.

Rural-urban links

Aze Debo has links mainly with Durame on business and social grounds. Young people migrate to Addis Abeba, Hawassa, Dukem, Metehara and Tendaho (in Afar). A few migrated to Dewelea in Somali region (between Dire Dawa and Jijiga). The first three destinations (Addis Abeba, Hawassa and Dukem) are selected for jobs in factories, and labour work and going there started in the past 5 years. The Metehara and Tendaho destinations are chosen because of sugarcane factories where the young men get labour jobs. These factories have been destinations for generations, and some people settled there.

For more information about rural-urban links, please see section [Urban migration](#).

Urban market linkages

The main market is in Durame and it is possible to get there by motorbike or bajaj from Aze Debo. People have also links with markets in Shinshicho, and a few traders with Wolkite and Halaba towns.

Industrial migration linkages

Industrial migration overlaps with urban migration up to certain degree. Some young people migrated to industrial sites in Shashemene, Hawassa and Dukem to get a job, but most migrate to towns seeking any kind of labour work. Metahara and to a lesser extent, other sugar factories, have been an industrial destination for decades, and several community people mentioned that they used to have family members who migrated there.

Trade and business networks

The research officers noted that when asked about trade and business socioeconomic or kinship networks knowledgeable respondents did not have answer to this. The diaspora do not say much about what they are doing abroad so it is also difficult to get information on that topic. However, it is clear from interviews on migration that networks with migrants already established in South Africa are very important in prompting and in some cases funding new migrants.

International migration linkages

The main international migration destination is South Africa, where young people (age 17-40) are going, followed by Beirut, Sudan, Djibouti (for young men and women around age 20 or more) and more rarely the USA. One respondent estimated that around 55-60 migrated to South Africa in the past five years, with 20 young men only in the last year; two people went in the space of two weeks between the two fieldwork rounds in early 2018; the kebele is known by people around the town and in neighbouring kebeles as 'South Africa'. Many young boys dream of migrating as they have at least one relative living in South Africa.

Sudan is mostly women's destination. This migration started when people went to Humera for sesame harvest and started to cross the border to Sudan, and information on work opportunities started circulating. Some young men are going as well. Djibouti is a new destination since 2011GC. Those going to Djibouti and Sudan are predominantly from middle-wealth families: they promise their parents they would help them if they fund them by selling cattle.

For more information about journeys, costs, risks and motivations for international migration please see section [International migration](#).

2. Selected community topics

Local government and community management

Government management structures

Since 2012 (i.e. the time of WIDE3 fieldwork) Aze Debo, Zato, Bezan Binara, Abonsa, Teza, Kerchicho, Dega Kedida, and Shershera kebeles lost some land that was included into the expanding zonal and wereda capital Durame. The size of the land taken varies, with the biggest plots taken from Zato and Abonsa kebeles.

Wereda

The old wereda structure included: the wereda administrator, vice-administrator, various sectoral bureaus such as agriculture, education, health, finance, and the EPRDF party office. The town administration heads are wereda cabinet members. The cabinet is chaired by the wereda administrator. Although Durame has its own separate town administration, it does not have a separate cabinet. Within the past 3 years new offices appeared: Animal and Fishery office and Town and Housing Office (*Ketema na Beto*).

The wereda administrators have changed at least 3 times in the past 7 years. In 2009 EC there was *tilk tehadiso* (deep renewal/*gimgema*) and a new wereda head was appointed. The person who

should be elected by the party should be member of wereda council, and the party mostly deals with the *gimgema* (evaluation), demotion and promotion or replacement of administrators. However, in final the zone evaluates the background of the nominee and depending on the result, the wereda nomination is approved or rejected.

The wereda vice administrator did not have the exact number of civil servants in the wereda, but there were 400 civil servants at kebele level.

There were no voluntary officers at wereda level. All voluntary officers were members of the ruling political party and included the kebele council members and volunteer appointees assigned to different activities like women's affairs, PSNP coordinator, Land Administration Committee. As a new position, children's affair (child protection) was planned to be introduced as a volunteer officer but it did not happen in some of the kebeles.

There were structures within the wereda administration to support rural youth: the Income Generating Activity (IGA)⁴ youth office was responsible for providing support to young people, and did so by involving them in sand and mining, livestock fattening, hen breeding, seedlings production and other activities. Recently the bureau hired one rural youth IGA supporting officer in each kebele in the wereda. They were also providing loan access with a minimum initial savings.

Kebele

The administration structures

The kebele management structures related to government reviewed in this section include:

- kebele council
- chairman and vice-chairman
- manager
- Development Teams and 1-5 networks
- the women affairs and health extension worker
- head teacher
- the militia
- the social court
- vet

The Land Administration Committee's role is reviewed in the Land use and urbanisation chapter. This section first describes each structure, its role, and perceptions of its performance by different community members.

The lower level government structure is the kebele administration and cabinet which include different sectors at kebele level. The lower-level party structures include the kebele party representation, community level Development Teams, cells and through school teachers who should be involved at different levels. The kebele manager also mentioned a 'command post', which is divided into government and party command post. The party command post comprises the 28 development group leaders who have weekly meetings with the kebele chairman and a representative from the agricultural office⁵. The government command post involves police, DAs, HEW, head teacher and the kebele manager. They read party newspaper and discuss among themselves. Teachers are not involved in the command post, but they have their own session to discuss political and development issues, inspired by the party newspaper.

A wereda informant assessed that these kebele structures were working well.

⁴ Also called 'rural job creation' or 'rural job opportunity creation' officer.

⁵ The DT leaders involved in the command post are presumably the leaders of the male DTs (women have 38 separate DTs, see below).

The kebele administration is composed of volunteer and paid positions:

- Volunteer positions include: the chairperson, the vice chairperson, the women’s affairs and league leader, the youth’s affairs and league leader, and the speaker of the house or chairperson of the kebele council.
- Paid positions include: kebele manager, HEW, DAs and head teachers.

Civil servants in Aze Debo include:

- kebele manager
- three DAs
- Vet
- kebele/cluster police (paid by wereda police office)
- two HEWs
- kebele rural job creation officer (paid by the sports and youth office, new position)

Wereda also considered as civil servant positions those of the OMO MFI agent and Farmers’ Association Organiser responsible for three kebeles (Zato, Aze Debo and Bezeninara), the latter being a new position paid by the wereda agriculture office.

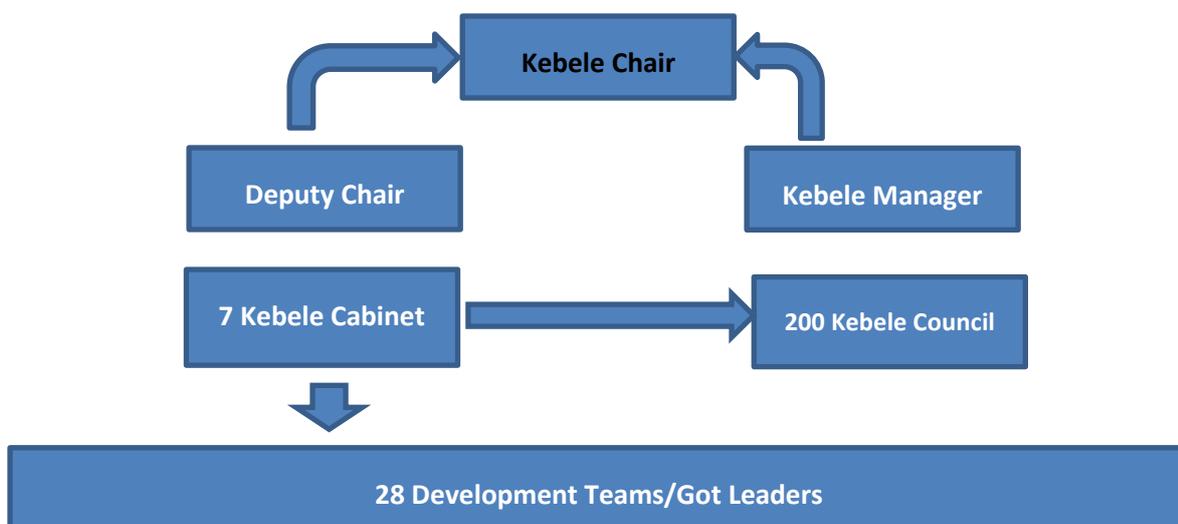
The highest authority is with the kebele chairman: he is the leader of the cabinet and the chair of the ruling party in the kebele.

Aze Debo comprises 28 got, which are divided in four *ketemas* to organize kebele activities. Each got has its own leader who is responsible for organizing activities assigned by kebele leaders, messaging the community, and mediating between the kebele and the community. According to the informant from the kebele, the kebele structure has not changed within the past 10 years, with the exception of the development groups.

Kebele council

There are about 200 members of the kebele council. In 2009 EC, one of the major tasks of the kebele council was to evaluate each sector including education, health, agriculture, youth and women affairs, at monthly meetings. After the evaluation, the report is submitted to the wereda council by the spokesperson of the council. It appears that the council was working well, as it has been given money by the zone.

The diagram below presents kebele structure in 2010 EC



Regular community members did not have much to say about the kebele council. Male farmers knew that kebele council members were living in the community and they interacted with them in their day to day life but they had no issue to discuss with them individually as kebele council members. If there was a public meeting, the council members took part in this platform for discussion of community issues.

Kebele cabinet

Kebele cabinet comprises:

- kebele manager
- kebele chair
- kebele vice-chair
- Health Extension Worker
- Development Agents
- Head Teachers⁶.

According to a kebele official⁷, cabinet members have to evaluate the activities of development groups, activities of youth in development groups, general kebele activities, progress in education, health, agriculture, and mobilisation for sending children to school in the beginning of the year. The cabinet members are assigned to the four *ketemas* to follow up on development activities in each. In case of failure in achieving goals, the cabinet members, development workers and leaders of those development groups are held accountable. For example, if a farmer did not plough his farm land during the productive season, he will be closely monitored, and the assigned volunteer cabinet members will be evaluated on this issue - which is taken as a failure to follow up and encourage farmers to work harder.

Regarding official relations between the kebele and the wereda, wereda party leaders/cabinet members assign a person to link with kebele cabinets for each kebele. The kebele cabinet members are invited for a meeting at the wereda every three months. Moreover, there is a monthly meeting of the kebele cabinet members and the person assigned from the wereda also attends to lead the meeting. A written report is also sent to the wereda regularly.

The kebele cabinet and the community are linked through development group leaders. There are meetings and campaigns concerning different development matters (e.g. watershed development), during which the community 'should be communicated and mobilised'. There are general public meetings which cabinet members should attend.

The kebele council had an advisory role to the kebele administration and it represents the community. The council had also a decision-making role at kebele level, and was involved in consultation with the wereda council members.

Kebele volunteers and government workers

Kebele chairman and vice-chairman

The current **kebele chairman** has been working for 7 years in the position, with a short break in 2008 EC when another kebele chairman was appointed. The current chairman came back in 2009 EC. The reason for which he was replaced in 2008 EC was that he wanted to get rest from kebele administration duties. But because the new chairman was less committed, people started to complain and wanted the previous one to be back.

⁶ The Research officers did not get information whether youth representatives are in the kebele cabinet.

⁷ Probably kebele chairman

In an interview in which he was asked about procedures for dealing with land disputes, the kebele chairman started to talk about other issues related to the work burden and incentives associated to his position:

The chairman however complained that the wereda puts too much work and pressure on kebele volunteers. The wereda started to pay salary to chair, vice and youth and communication officer in 1994 EC, which encouraged them to put effort and be motivated, however the government started around 1998 EC to hire kebele managers and stopped paying a salary to all volunteers. The rule says the chairman has to assist the manager 2 days a week, but every day he is asked to work without any compensation. Some kebeles change chair every year because people complain as the chairs are focussing only on their own activities.

He said that he has children to work on his farm, however, still it would have been impossible to run his own life. The children have to go to school and even his wife and his vice chair's wife are sharing the burden as they are absent from home. The work requires full day attention. Recently he was sick and sleeping at home, but people were even going to his home to discuss their issue, and they didn't let him rest.

The main challenge is land shortage, for example the chair has half hectare of land covered mostly by enset and coffee, so his farm work is limited to perennial crops requiring less labour. But the kebele work should be paid, otherwise it is not encouraging. Every day new ideas come from the wereda about health, education, agriculture, which demand a lot of work.

Civil servants at the wereda level just sign an attendance list and leave to collect their monthly salary, but kebele work is far more difficult and is not paid, which he finds unfair. Sometimes the wereda invites them for training, but the allowance is 50 birr which does not even cover for bajaj transport, coffee and food in Durame. In contrast, World Vision gives 210 birr per day during trainings and they also buy mobile cards, which is more significant than the government's trainings.

When this complaint of unpaid workload goes to the wereda administration, they say that the chair, the vice and the manager should appear to the office in shift, but the chair said, if we decide to use the shift they say that the work is lagging behind and they really shout and put pressure again.

Once you are involved in the kebele position, it is hard to leave it, because the wereda says that 'how do you ignore party representation?'

Regarding community members opinions, male farmers said the kebele chairman is committed to all the kebele administration matters. He is available most of the time, he mobilises for activities and he is also playing the role of community elder. Female farmers did not know much about his role, but they knew that he works closely with the kebele manager on administrative issues. The present kebele chairman was said to be respected and liked by most community members, although the interviewees were not willing to give more detailed information. Clan-related favouritism was pointed out by one middle wealth woman, and other community members in an informal discussion with the research officer.

There is a relatively new vice-chairman, who has been working since 2008EC. The previous vice had to leave after serious evaluation by the community which lasted four days. The main charges against him were allegations of mistreatment and unfairness in the selection of PSNP beneficiaries. What is surprising, at the time of fieldwork in 2010EC this ex-vice chair still supported the kebele administration by bringing the reports of development groups from each got. He participated actively in different kebele meetings; and he is currently the secretary of the farmers' union.

Community members had rather positive opinions about the new vice chair: he was said to be committed, but some people claimed that he is too old. His main duties include: organizing and

leading security, especially the 40 kebele militia; covering for the kebele chair in his absence and making sure that all activities are performed, serving as a complaint hearing officer (*Emba tebaki*), dealing with complaints mainly related to PSNP and food aid in the kebele.

Kebele manager

Respondents talked about two kebele managers, both of them women: the current kebele manager started her job two in 2008-09EC; before her there was another woman who worked as kebele manager between 2000 and 2008/09EC, and then left to go to the wereda cooperative office. She was said to be an influential person in the community: she was from a middle income family, and had a degree from university. People considered her to be a strong decision maker along with the kebele chairman. Areas that she especially worked on included helping for women in the community, improving health, farm practices and provision of support for the most vulnerable people. She had a very good contact with the community and also with the wereda officials. In general, community members strongly appreciated her work, and talked about her as a person who wanted to work for the overall benefit of the community.

The new kebele manager has started her work in 2008/09EC, after passing an exam. She has a Bachelor degree in sociology from Hawassa University. As kebele manager, she has different tasks and rights, such as organisation of documents, writing letters for the chairman's signature, affixing the kebele stamp once the chairman has signed a letter, dealing with community members' issues coming to her office, ID management and overall administrative management. She reports to the kebele chairman and the wereda civil service office.

She cooperates with the command post members and 1-5 networks members.

The male farmers interviewed did not have direct contact with the new kebele manager, but they knew that she dealt with IDs, land certificates collection, applications for appeals or disputes etc. They believed that the manager was doing good job, but sometimes she did not start work on time in the morning, and she closed the office for a full day. However, she was respected and said to treat everyone equally with respect. They mentioned that she faced an obstacle in her work: the fact that the kebele chairman has to sign on IDs, letters etc., so if he is not available, she cannot complete her work. Female farmers provided much less information about the kebele manager. They were aware that she had graduated from university, that she did government work in the community, was responsible for giving IDs, certificates and other documents. She was said to be good to the community.

Development Agents

There are 3 DAs in Aze Debo: DA Crops, DA Livestock and DA NRM. Their main responsibility is technical assistance to farmers, but they also take part in the selection of PSNP beneficiaries. DAs are managed by the Head of the Agriculture Office.

The DA Crops is about 47 years old and at the time of fieldwork he was thinking of retirement. He was said to be a person who loved his job, and people liked him because of his behaviour and good treatment: he was committed to reach every got including these on the mountains. He was punctual in meetings which in general brought him appreciation. This view was shared among farmers.

The DA Livestock is a 23 years old woman. She started in her position just 3 months before the fieldwork. So far people started to observe her and noticed her punctuality and that she was taking her work seriously. She has mixed ethnic background and she does not speak Kambata. However, people are able to speak Amharic with her so far and it does not create any problems.

The previous DA livestock was 28 years old and he left to Jimma University to complete his master's degree. He organized coops, introduced fodder planting for animals with the help of the ACIDI-VOCA NGO and encouraged farmers to start bee-keeping and to shift to hybrid cows and ferenji cows. His

influence was assessed to be important by the community. He was not that punctual but even though he came late to work, he was very effective and focused on working hard.

The DA NRM is around 34 and she has worked in Aze Debo since 2006EC. She is a hard worker, but her interaction with the people is not that appreciated; her responses and reactions are considered to be unfriendly.

Opinions about DA activities were polarized. Model farmers said that DAs advise them very well in their respective areas and in fact the result depends on the farmers' willingness and cooperation. Some other farmers claimed that DAs just expected results, but did not supported farmers equally. They tended to focus on model farmers and 'champions', often neglecting poorer farmers. The support was said to be limited, focusing mostly on information gathering, fertiliser collection and application as well as collection of debt repayments. There was also an impression that DAs put pressure on farmers to implement the solutions which are considered to be important by the wereda, like row planting. One of the farmers said that *"the DA is pushing them to irrigate small land, but the problem is the land is too small for that"*. Some other farmers did not have strong views on DAs' work.

Development Teams and 1-5

Building Development Teams in each got and 1-5 groups under them emerged around ten years ago as a new political idea. Development Teams are used by the kebele cabinet to *"communicate with and mobilise the community"*, mainly through meetings. In each Development Team, there are four people assigned as political appointees, and they are responsible for the group's activities.

In each of the 28 got there is one male DT, and in the whole kebele there are 171 1-5 groups. Men and women are organized in separate DTs and 1-5 networks. Usually members of one clan are members of the same DT.

There are differences in tasks performed by DTs based on gender. Male DTs perform activities such as sharing farming practices (in dairy, poultry, farming techniques, and helping each other). The leader of DTs trains its members so that they become model farmers. Women's DTs are called Health Army and focus on health-related tasks with the HEW. There are 38 female DTs and they are linked with the women affairs' leader and the kebele administration.

Apart from these activities, DTs and 1-5 groups are expected to follow up on their members and make sure they take cards for the elections and vote. Otherwise, the leaders were held accountable and could even be replaced by new ones who were hoped to work better in this regard.

Male Development Teams

There are 28 male DTs in the kebele and they report to the kebele administration. DT leaders have around 50 households to supervise. They focus on making the team work on clearing and expanding internal roads and fencing springs, conflict mediation among the DTs members and 1-5 networks, and the adoption of farming technologies for different types of crops (row planting, application of fertiliser and weed killer).

There is a party newspaper *'Abyotawi Democracy'* which is read in public once per month. This reading session is organized with the support of the four party representatives *'hiwas meriwoch'*. It was not clear if all people in the community take part in these meetings. For example, one of the Development Team leader explained that in his team, almost all members were party members except two or three people who are against it. These people did not want to participate in party newsletter reading sessions, but they did not want to show their opposition in public out of fear of exclusion or other consequences such as being labelled as *"obstacles to development and peace"*.

The DT leader who was one of the main sources of information about DTs is a 39 year-old middle-wealth farmer who completed grade 12 in 1990 EC. His duties include organising public works every

two weeks, representing his village during conflicts, and encouraging people to plant in rows and use fertiliser. He does not have strict working hours. He was also iddir leader for a few years until 1998 EC. However, when he was appointed as DT leader he left the iddir leader position: the kebele does not want anyone to be both iddir leader and DT leader because there are other people who can do that and cumulating functions could decrease their commitment to either. He finds his role very time consuming. He does not have time to work on his own farm, because he is also in the 'meserawid drejet'. In case of bigger conflicts, people tend to bother him and add extra work. Additionally, he selects people who need PSNP or food aid support, together with the two assistant DT leaders.

In terms of aspirations, he would like to continue being development group leader, but if the group members did not like him they can write letter to the kebele administration which can select a new person.

As problems of the community, he enumerated three issues: the lack of proper access to electricity, the lack of a high school in Aze Debo and the lack of something like a factory that could give employment opportunities for the 'idle youth'.

Female Development Teams

There are 38 female DTs in the kebele and their leaders report to the HEW. Their main area of work is health: for example, the DT leaders informed mothers when vaccination was going to be given, conducted supervision and identified pregnant women to inform them not to deliver at home.

Since 2010 EC, the wereda introduced an additional activity for female DTs, namely awareness raising on savings among women. There was some resistance from the community side, as some women refused to start saving. As explained by one female DT leader, other women in her team accused her of getting some benefits from the kebele for encouraging them to save. Also, mothers claim that they do not have enough to save and some of them fear that the kebele could ask them to use their savings for some development activities.

The biggest achievement in the area of health is the fact that women do no longer deliver at home, however, there are still cases of deliveries on the way to the health centre. The construction of a toilet for each household and the use of mosquito nets are also said to be increasing. While improvement in deliveries at the health centre was mentioned by a range of community respondents of different ages beyond kebele officials, there were fewer mentions by community members of improvements in the use of toilets and mosquito nets.

The woman interviewed as DT leader is 38 and completed grade 12. She served in her current capacity since 2005 EC. She was appointed by the kebele cabinet due to her educational background and experience in leading the community – she serves as the leader of mothers' iddir in her neighbourhood and also as a secretary of mothers' church group.

Like many kebele volunteers, she does not have fixed working hours. Her responsibilities include meetings in the kebele (once a week with 1-5 DT leaders and once every fortnight with all 30 households in her development group), mothers' mobilization, and door to door visits.

Regarding her work satisfaction, she said that:

There is a great pleasure in serving the community. But they have to keep being cooperative like the past times. They have become somehow resistant to our current interventions. They make it as if I work for my own benefit only. It would be good if they don't see my work as if it is for personal benefit and rather it is for communal benefit. Our work can be easier if the community is more cooperative and understanding.

In terms of her networks, her husband is a trader, the leader of 1-30 DTs since last year and a party group leader. She is also in contact with the kebele officials such as the HEW, gender officer, and kebele chairman.

Militia

According to wereda officials, militias were under the police office until 2008 EC. That year they became an independent department on the basis of the Militia proclamation. There were 8 officers working for this department at the wereda level at the time of fieldwork. There were militias in every kebele that work closely with the police officer assigned to each kebele.

According to the kebele militia vice-organizer, there are 42 militias in the kebele grouped in 2 teams assigned geographically. There is one person who is responsible for villages in the flat area, one person responsible for the mountain areas, and one chief militia responsible for the whole kebele. Only 16 of the 42 militias were permanently involved in the work and obtained a uniform funded by community contributions; the rest had limited participation. Some people claimed that they were busy with their own farm and reluctant to be more involved. People do not want to work as militia because they do not have a lot of benefits.

The main task of the militia is keeping peace in the community, conflict mediation, making sure that people pay land tax and repay their debt for fertilizer to the OMO MFI. They also make sure that people do not hang around after 11 pm during Meskel's curfew. Besides, every day 2 militias stay at the kebele office to assist the kebele activities. They also guard the Millennium School. The militia organiser distributes tasks among members, punishes militia members if they fail to obey internal rules and regulations (*weste demb*), and lead militia meetings.

Work benefits are rather limited, which as said earlier has implications in terms of motivation for hard work. A militia member is not paid, but whenever there is food aid during summer, he receives 75kg of wheat unlike others who receive only 25kg. Moreover, he receives a uniform, but no shoes, no torch or ammunition. The wereda kept saying that they will receive these things and they had a training on how to assemble weapons. Moreover, if a militia brings an offender from her/his village to the kebele or wereda, the person has to pay 30 birr for tea/coffee for him. The community was informed about this duty because it was announced in a meeting. Although life in the community is rather peaceful, the wereda put a lot of pressure on them to get all debts repaid, which caused some conflicts with people (for example, a young man tried to hit one of the militias when he wanted to force him to repay his debt). Like other kebele volunteers, their work is time-consuming and because of that it is difficult for them to focus on farming.

The militia organizer is a 45 years old man and he has been working in this position for 14 years. He was educated up to grade 5. Regarding his networks, he was also development group leader and at that time his duties included party reading at meetings and passing development messages from the kebele to the neighbourhood/group members. His wife was one of the three women militia. He frequently contacts the kebele chairman and the community police officer if there is any problem in the work of the militia.

Community policeman

In the wereda there are cluster police offices for 5 kebeles since 2000 EC, and the cluster office is in Aze Debo. The policeman assigned to Aze Debo, who provided most of information below, started his work in 2006 EC. The regional government understood that farmers travel far to wereda towns to get police service which affects their farming activities, so it was decided in 2000 EC to set up kebele level police offices to provide proximity services like the health post and the DAs. The cluster office control five kebeles; only the cluster kebele has an office, the other four kebeles of the cluster have assigned policemen without office. Only in Adelo kebele, which is an urban area, there are 4 policemen. The rest of the 17 kebeles have one assigned police officer for each. The cluster office has table and chair, folders, gun, bed and mattress. The rest of the community police officers have guns and beds to sleep in the kebele office. However, except for one police officer affected to the remote rural Garame kebele, all of them live in the nearest towns or urban centres.

The tasks of the community policeman include: organizing the militia work, working with community members to increase awareness about crimes and encourage them to cooperate with the police, organizing youth in 1-5 teams to prevent crime, creating family policing (i.e.. making every household head act like police for the household and the neighbourhood), door to door education about child labour, trafficking, and harmfulness of FGM, identifying crimes, conflict resolution, and taking offenders to wereda court.

With regard to relations with the militia, the policeman gives them training on how they can identify and catch offenders. Also, they train the militia about proper handling of suspects/offenders and about basic human rights. The militia could force and bring people or their cattle to the kebele centre without any paper, but the policeman cannot arrest anyone without warning from the court. The militia knew every village much better than the policeman because 1) they were going to different places of crimes and 2) the community police officer is not from Aze Debo.

There are weekly meetings at the wereda police office when policemen report about their respective clusters. Whenever there are emergency cases, militia from less busy kebeles help the kebeles in need, together with other officers from the wereda. In the case of Aze Debo policeman, he had strong relationships with the kebele administration, and he had to report to them monthly.

Regarding the level of crimes in Aze Debo, he described three problems:

- There was a well-organized group of young people having guns around Checha area at the border of Aze Debo. This group used to stop cars at night and rob people. It was five years ago and the wereda police caught them. There were some rumours that one robber had been killed by the police at this same place.
- In the past there used to be theft of eucalyptus trees from the public forest, and of banana and sugarcane from farmers' gardens. However, this has stopped.
- Gambling is practised among returnees, and this still affected the community's peace at the time of the fieldwork. The community policeman believed that using *iddirs* to punish the family of offenders if they do not expose their suspected family member is a very positive thing, because households are no longer willing to hide anyone at home.

The community policeman was 30 years old and he was police officer since 2002 EC. He came from the nearby Shinshicho town and his family was living there. He completed 10th grade, he studied auto-mechanics, he has a driver licence, and at the time of fieldwork was studying for an accounting degree. None of his family members were in the police sector. He would like to quit this job if somebody offered him a truck driver position. Driving was his future plan even if he was able to complete the accounting degree.

He was expected to work 7 days a week from 9:30am to 7:30pm, however mostly he did not work on Sundays if there was no case reported by kebele officials, and in the afternoon he finished work earlier. Since he is the cluster officer, his salary is 3326 birr; other police officers receive 2455 birr as monthly salary. He said this salary is much smaller than other civil servants – and many of the community policemen left their positions and started trading. He is also working more extra hours, and payment is usually delayed by 10 days. He himself used to trade fruits by transporting them with an Isuzu to Shashemene, Hawassa and Arsi Negele. But he started contraband trade of coffee and lost all his capital when his coffee was confiscated at a check point. He tried to migrate to Sudan but was imprisoned before crossing the border, in Metema town, for 3 months, and returned back. Then he decided to take this police officer job, however his income is much smaller compared to what he used to earn in the past as a trader. Apart from the low salary, the problem in police work was the possibility of being relocated to any other place. Good sides included: respect from people, the support of drivers giving free rides etc. He could also enter any regional or federal officials' meeting places and festivals if he wears the uniform, without needing a pass letter.

Social court

There is a wereda court where people can go for cases which are beyond capacities of the kebele administration, elders or the kebele social court (see example 1 in Box 1). According to wereda officials, the kebele social court deals with issues that involve values/amounts lower than 500 birr. There are 7 members in the kebele social court: Left judge/*gra dagna*, right judge/*kegn dagna*, main judge/*sebsabi*, secretary/*tsehafi*, and 3 members. Kebele social court members have to report to the kebele chair. However, the role of the social court has been decreasing in the past few years as its members are not committed due to the lack of incentives, and people prefer to take cases to elders, the kebele and the police.

It was said that in Aze Debo there was no group or community conflict or resistance; and all problems were usually solved by the kebele (see example 2 in Box 1).

The social court did not have an office, it just dealt with cases under a tree or anywhere. They did not have any budget for stationary materials, and no salary for judges who use their time instead of working with their families on their land. The leader said: *These days life is becoming expensive and providing free service is difficult.*

There seemed to be some antagonism in the relationship between the social court and the wereda (see example 3 in Box 1). People usually take cases directly to the wereda, by-passing the kebele administration and the social court. According to the social court leader *“people who want lasting peace use local methods like the elders and the social court, but the naughty ones will always prefer to go to wereda”*. He also said that people do not know how the social court works.

The social court leader is 50 years old and he has 5 children. He completed 8th grade many years ago. He was elected in this position 8 year ago in his absence, but accepted as he felt that he is working for the public good. He is iddir leader in one got, sometimes he works as community elder. At the time of the fieldwork there were only three social court members, though one of them was reluctant to work. There were no women in the group. Social court members did not receive any training from the wereda.

His wife was leader of a female DT and of a World Vision savings and credit group with 25 members. In terms of aspirations, if the government tried to fulfil what the social court needs, he wished to continue to work as social court leader. He added that he is a party member and refusing this position would not look good. He feels that he is serving his people and the nation.

Example 1 - In 2010 EC there was a land dispute between two civil servants, a teacher and someone who worked in the transport sector. One of them paid 6000 birr to a lawyer and took the case to the wereda court although the kebele had tried to mediate it. However, finally the case was returned back to elders who mediated between them and shared the inherited land to both. Mostly land issues are taken to the wereda court (about land sharing, border issues, grazing land etc.).

Example 2 - There are sometimes problems with the youth organized in quarry cooperatives, who fight to about getting their product bought by the trucks coming for this. They block the road to other cooperatives so that trucks cannot to pass, and conflict happens. Usually the kebele administration resolves the issue, sometimes they bring them to the kebele office and warn them that if they continue they will be imprisoned at the wereda. Sometimes there were individual conflicts, mostly about land boundaries and trees planted on boundaries as both parts claim ownership. There was no violence against government in this area.

Criminal cases, abduction, land disputes are not dealt with by the social court, but if people want their case to be mediated by elders, they will refer it to elders, though mostly the kebele refers such cases to the wereda police, then to the wereda court. There was no case dealt with in the past 6 months. The social court mostly found it difficult to get witnesses and give judgement, so they directed cases to elders. If elders could not mediate, they would give decision based on availability of witnesses.

Example 3 - The social court leader explained that the kebele refers cases to them and they work on these accordingly. However, their relationship with the wereda is challenging. They have no meeting or any other contact with the wereda, which does not invite them; even the wereda court never contacts them. There was a border conflict two months ago: the *iddir* decided to expel the disputants if they didn't agree, and the disputants came to the social court and appealed their case to the judges; they passed the case to elders and the issue could be resolved. The case was passed to elders because there was no witness so as social court judges they could not decide on the case. Whenever there is no witness on cases, the judges will pass it to elders.

Box 1 Cases in the wereda and kebele courts

Women Affairs Leader

The following government women's organisations were said to exist in the kebele:

- Women's Association - it has about 200 members and one chairperson, and it is responsible to the women's affair office
- Women's League – it represents the political party and has about 250 members (although a respondent from the community mentioned only 67), and one chairperson, and it is also responsible to the women's affairs office.
- Women's Federation – it was formed in 2007 EC and it is an umbrella organization for the Association and the League, has 800 members and is led by a chairperson.
- Women's Development Army –as mentioned earlier, there are 38 female development army groups in the kebele. For each group there is one leader. These groups were supportive in mobilizing the community and creating awareness in the area of health.

A new initiative was the establishment of the Federation in the kebele. However, the engagement of the Association and the League in supporting women had declined. The wereda gender officer indicated that these organizations (especially the Association, League and Federation) were not active in the past year. They merely existed in names and with their lists of members.

The Women's Affairs Leader⁸ is responsible for mobilizing women in the kebele and disseminate any gender-related information on FGM, no home delivery, savings, nutrition, violence. Over the past few years, the tasks assigned to her have been increasing and have become more time-consuming: she hardly has time for her domestic works at home or taking care of her husband.

According to the WA Leader, there are positive changes in the community, especially in terms of health, women's awareness of their property ownership rights and economic status. Various saving groups were established since last year thanks to which women are able to save some money to meet their children's immediate needs. Women's level of awareness and participation in community affairs is also increasing.

In terms of wereda priorities for Aze Debo, she mentioned strengthening saving practices, CBHI registration, irrigation and watershed development.

Regarding kebele challenges, she mentioned the following issues:

⁸ There was conflicting information about Women's Affairs Leaders. During fieldwork 1, the Research Officer spoke to Women's Affairs Leader and Women's League Leader who were indicated to be women's leaders in the kebele. However, it seems that during fieldwork 2 research officer spoke to another Women's Affairs Leader but the description of this person does not fit with the description of the respondent from fieldwork 1. According to the kebele chairman "*the work of women's affairs is effective*", but on the other hand he also said that "*whereas the chairman's position is stable, the youth and women affairs officers are replaced every six months or after a year year after gimgemma*". Information in this section comes from respondent from fieldwork 2, as it was more detailed.

- her work burden is significant and detracts her from her house duties; there is no salary for her work
- changing community behaviour is a difficult task; some people do not want to change, so it requires from her more effort to create awareness
- the kebele does not have its own budget and the activities to be undertaken at grassroots level have no budget.

In terms of her job satisfaction, she believes that the kebele leaders appreciate her effort. The changes in the community are the main source of her work motivation. Negative points include: high workload, lack of incentive and of any budget allocated for awareness raising and community mobilizing activities at kebele level, and strong demand of effort to bring attitudinal change.

The Women's League leader was also interviewed. She has been in the position for two years. She completed grade 10 and she also belongs to the church singers' group, her husband is a teacher. She is engaged in irrigation and produces tomato, cabbage and pepper, by fetching water from a developed spring using her donkey to transport it to her farm. She also has hybrid cows. She motivates young women to engage in different business to support themselves rather than relying on their husbands. People appreciate her speaking skills.

Health Extension Worker

The HEW, who was interviewed in this capacity, is 34 years old and completed grade 10. She received training to become HEW. After this she has been providing service for the past 11 years in the kebele. The first things she mentioned as duties were the provision of ANC and PNC follow-up and vaccination.

Her main complaint is about report writing. This task is time-consuming and competes with the other tasks she has to undertake daily. There are about 17 reports that she has to complete, some on a weekly basis and others monthly, for instance: the Health Management Information System (HMIS) report, disease report, sanitation report, malaria report, Development Agents' report, food report, HIV carrier mothers report, list of mothers who delivered in health facility report, TB report, AIDS report, health care insurance members report. She said that either there should be someone assigned to do the reporting work, or they should be paid incentives for the extra-time that they spend on report writing.

Another difficulty was that at the health post there is only one HEW who is serving about 7,000 people in the kebele because her co-worker went for education and she will be away for a year.

She has satisfaction from observing health related changes in the community. During her first years of work as HEW it was very difficult for her to work in the community. Some people even used to send their dog running around their compound so that she would not approach their house and start a conversation with them. It was challenging for her to do door to door interventions/awareness provision and observation of households' sanitary conditions. However, now people have changed and are more cooperative.

Despite the fact that women expressed positive opinions about her work, some people preferred the previous HEW, who was said to be more committed and caring about the community.

Head Teacher

There are two head teachers in Aze Debo. One of them, who is heading the Witie school (the main school of the kebele, offering grade 1 to 8) is also considered as a political activist. The second school, opened in 2002 EC and called the Millennium school, has another head teacher. Both of them are respected and considered to be committed.

The head teacher of the Witie school graduated from Hawassa University in 1999 EC. He studied teaching out of his own interest to become a teacher. Then later in 2006 EC he acquired a Social

Science degree from Bahir Dar University. He served for 3 years in another wereda called Teza before coming to Aze Debo. He hasn't acquired any other training except a training provided by an NGO on sanitation for one day and Eye Health training provided for 2 days by World Vision, as a member of the school-based Eye Health Club.

He has been teaching civics and social studies. Since 2009 EC, he has served as a unit leader. His responsibility expanded to include coordination, monitoring late comers and absent students and also supervising work attendance of grade 5 to 8 teachers. He is expected to start work and assume his responsibility from early in the day. There is a meeting once in every 15 days conducted with the management and they discuss the overall teaching-learning process.

One of the major challenges are conflicts with students – because of absenteeism. Raising students' interest in education has become a major problem these days. They quit class and leave school before school hours are over. Serving the community in educating children is a great job. But family and teachers should work closely to ensure students' success in their education and to reduce absenteeism.

Regarding his main challenges, teacher's salary is low and this is discouraging for teachers and affecting their performance. They are paid net 3405 birr per month, which is not enough as life has become demanding. Absenteeism is also a problem among teachers. On the positive side, families have improved their involvement in children's education.

Vet

A relatively new vet has been working at the kebele centre since 2 years. He is 24 years old. The former vet left to Hawassa when he got a new job there. Both vets were appreciated by the community. The newer vet is said to walk to distant households to give treatment even frequently, when the animals are too weak to be brought to the kebele centre. The community members and kebele officials call him 'Doctor'.

Both male and female farmers appreciate having a vet in the kebele, because they do not have to go to the wereda every time. However, there are still there are gaps in drugs supply. Sometimes medicines are not effective and people have to take animals to the wereda.

Government financing

Taxation and contributions

As reported by the wereda, there was no change in the rate for land tax, licenses, regular contributions (apart from Red Cross – described below) and membership fees (e.g. Women's Association, Youth Association and party membership fees). There were changes in the taxes on non-farm activities, however, according to wereda officials, this increase was *"made based on careful analysis of the income, but still it is open for appeal and reconsideration"*.

All regular contributions remained the same except the Red Cross contribution which was recently raised to 10 birr. According to one respondent, the wereda wants to get funds for an ambulance to provide improved services for rural areas located relatively far away from the health centre.

Regarding contributions in cash, the community in Aze Debo contributed 80,000 birr in the past three years. Half of this amount was meant for the Renaissance Dam and the other half for the construction of internal asphalt roads in Durame town.

There were community contributions of labour for watershed construction, pavement of ditches, tree planting, internal roads expansion and improvement, school fencing, and construction of new classrooms and buildings.

Debt and insurance

Even though wereda officials said that Aze Debo was better in terms of debt repayment compared to other kebeles, there are challenges with repayment by young people for the loans taken to start activities, and by a few farmers for fertiliser. Some youth who took loans in groups migrated away to other towns to seek jobs. As a result, parents or guarantors may have been forced to repay their debts. With drought, fertiliser debt sometimes increased or remained unpaid as people did not even have enough food to eat in such periods, let alone being able to repay debts. The challenges met in trying to get debts repaid have been described in the section about the militia's work.

There is no crop insurance or any other kind of formal insurance in the kebele, apart from the CBHI, described in the Social Protection chapter. See in section [Insurance](#) above.

Wereda budget

The most prioritized sectors at wereda level are those associated with so-called *poverty reducing programmes*; these include agriculture, health, education, and water and mineral offices. These offices usually receive a higher budget, among the 24 sectors (finance, revenue, road and transport, town and housing, administration and council, party administration office, etc).

According to wereda officials, all sectors suffer from insufficient resources, including the four prioritized ones. Compared to other sectors, health is better funded due to 1) the priority given by the wereda and 2) NGOs' involvement with different programmes. In addition, in education and health some funding called 'school grants', and 'health program support fund' (*tena teradeo*) were given on top of the annual budget.

Both last year and this year there were a number of campaigns related to health, education and NRM, mobilising people in all 18 kebeles of the wereda. The wereda administration allocates a budget for such campaigns, and kebeles also need to contribute. For example, a poster for watershed development was printed (on plasticised material) and Aze Debo had to pay 300 birr, from income earned through FTC activities.

Kebele budget

There was not much information about the kebele budget. The kebele chairman complained that *"the federal government assigns a budget to regions, regions to zones and zones to the weredas, but the kebele level administration has no budget to implement activities, whereas actually this is the level where all activities need to be implemented"*. Another challenge is the lack of salaries for the kebele volunteers, whereas the wereda officials (who do the same job) get a monthly salary and allowances when they are in the field.

Government interventions in the kebele

Perspectives on progress and problem

The most successful programme in the kebele was said to be health, especially maternal and child health. According to the kebele manager *"there is no mother who delivered at home thanks to the HEW's and HDA's work. Delivery at home is considered to be shameful; in the past women bled a lot and therefore deaths during delivery were common"*. Another successful area is malaria prevention, which is significantly better than 7 years ago.

The picture is mixed with regard to education. According to the kebele manager, there is progress in terms of coverage. Some people believe that education can be an alternative, because of the shortage of land to be shared with children. On the other hand, the quality of education is not satisfactory, but the government *"keeps trying to do something about this issue"*. The kebele manager described these attempts to improve the situation in the following way:

The wereda is trying to improve the issue of education quality, and there is an association of 'professors' from the wider Kambata community which try to help and assist teachers and education bureau heads by giving training periodically. Students from this place are competent when they join universities. When they graduate, they have two options like searching jobs in Kambata, Gurage, Alaba etc, or they engage in entrepreneurship through cooperatives.

She also argued that that there are not many graduates who are sitting idle, although this contradicts other community members' opinions.

In contrast, water management was said to be one of the most problematic sectors, even though there is an office at wereda level with a significant budget allocation. There is no government project in this area, and irrigation is an individual initiative: there are hand pumps mostly used for drinking water in rural parts of the wereda. The second option for rural people is clean springs that are gradually developed by building cement structures. Moreover, people take water from rivers and springs with a bucket. Irrigation issues are described in the section **Irrigation**.

Public services

In this section, the information about public services comes from wereda officials and concern grazing land management, watershed management, irrigation structures, roads, electricity, mobile network coverage, public buildings, rural job opportunity creation, and health and education services.

Grazing land management

Grazing land is limited in the kebele. The livestock can graze on the land freely, but there is no special fodder in this area. People have to rely on fodder planted on their own land and buy animal feed. A part of the communal grazing land is protected for a few months until Meskel festival. It is worth noting that wereda officials seemed to ignore or did not remember to mention the ACDI VOCA initiative of planting fodder on FTC land in Aze Debo (see in farming chapter).

Watershed management

The watershed activities started one month before the fieldwork in 2018. After terracing, people can start to plant crops on these areas, and terraces on communal land are used to plant eucalyptus trees. In 2018 the kebele planned to apply for wereda permission to sell eucalyptus, which implies that wereda officials visit to see the trees and check if they are ready for sale. Eucalyptus wood has been used to build the kebele council hall and some trees were sold to buy other materials for the construction, which made the kebele self-sufficient to complete the building. During the fieldwork in 2018, more trees were being collected to build a youth recreation centre.

Irrigation structures

Please refer to section **Irrigation**.

Roads

There is one big asphalt road from Durame crossing Aze Debo to Shonea. Internal roads are not all-weather, they are dusty in the dry season and muddy in the rainy season. In 2018 internal roads have been expanded from footpath to a level allowing ambulances, bajajs and donkey carts to pass to get to all villages, except those on the mountains.

Electricity

Households located along the main road from Durame have grid connection. There is no solar use except in the richest farmer's house who uses it as an alternative power source.

Mobile phones coverage

The mobile network covers the whole kebele and almost every household has a mobile phone.

Public buildings

In the kebele centre, there is a kebele office, the health post, a police office, the DA office, the vet Office, poultry demonstration, and a women's' handcrafts workshop. The main kebele school is nearby. The kebele council hall is also used as FTC training centre. The school gave some of its land for the FTC practical demonstrations and for fodder growing.

Rural Job Opportunity Creation

There is a rural job creation officer assigned by the wereda Youth and Sport Office. His main responsibility is to identify unemployed young people for support by the wereda. The whole programme started in 2005 EC, when a group of five young people received a loan of 28,000 birr. For more information, please see *Young people's economic and other experiences* chapter.

Health services

The community have access to the health centre in Bezene Binara located around 4-5 km from Aze Debo. A health post is located in the kebele centre. There is no pharmacy in the kebele. The community is involved in the CBHI scheme, described in more detail in the Social Protection chapter. There are no social workers in the kebele.

Education services

There are two primary schools in the kebele. The older one is located behind the kebele centre, together with kindergarten supported by Save the Children. There is a TVET College in Durame where young people from the wereda attend. There is a university under construction at Durame.

Sectoral interventions

Farming interventions

With regard to the **main traditional crops**, the wereda agriculture office and World Vision introduced new types of improved seeds in the kebele. A new type of maize, known as *limu*, was introduced 3 years ago. *Kuncho* teff type and *dashen* wheat type were introduced 5 years ago, *hedase* wheat - 3 years ago, and boleke beans known as *nisir*– 5 years ago.

For **irrigated crops**, there is a new irrigation support from the wereda known as *degafi (assistance)*, to dig wells at household level. NGOs together with the water and mineral office gave hand pumps (with a cylinder with a rope and a crank/handle) to a few farmers to assist them in expanding irrigation⁹. Tomato and cabbage are new popular vegetables sold on the market. Beetroots, carrots, onions and garlic are mainly for household consumption.

Every year the wereda NRM office together with the kebele administration provides tree seedlings and mobilises the community to plant trees. The campaigns are carried out mainly in the summer season. *Gravilia*, *wanza*, eucalyptus tree, *nim* tree, *tid* etc. are some of the trees usually planted in the kebele.

In terms of livestock interventions, there is a strong effort from the wereda to replace traditional cattle with hybrids and *ferenji* cows. Currently most households are moving towards this new type of productive animals, and there is a simultaneous trend toward shifting to new types of fodder instead of just relying on traditional grazing. Higher milk production and its high value on the market are encouraging people to accept the push to these new breeds.

The wereda and the zone are well known for improved dairy cows and Aze Debo, Zato, Binara and Dega Kedida are some of the kebeles where these cows are widespread. However, the treatment

⁹However, Research Officers didn't see any of these pumps during their visits to households.

and handling of the cows depends of individual farmers' understanding and effort, and so households give different levels of care.

Although **cattle** is the main focus of livestock interventions, there are also **some programmes for shoats, chickens and bees**. The wereda, with the support of the Catholic Church, is trying to introduce new breed of shoats mainly from Sidama and Hadero areas. Farm Africa also provided support in this regard. However, these efforts are not as strong as for the adoption of hybrid cows, hence the number of shoats in the community is small. The wereda is also working to introduce improved types of chicken. There are awareness raising activities to educate farmers about a new breed, their importance, how to handle them and the kind of care they require. The wereda let farmers know in advance when they will be able to buy these chickens. There is a big poultry and hatchery near the wereda in a place called *Wita*, from where the wereda collects chickens. A 48 days old chicken costs 57 birr, but the farmers buy them without complaining because the chicken can be sold 200 birr after 2-3 months, or they can lay eggs within a short time. With regards to bees, the wereda is trying to create cooperatives and to bring modern beehives from the Wolayta area. World Vision gave some training on beekeeping, and also a machine to prepare the dotted bed (*SUM mazingaja machine*). However in general, this intervention is quite limited in Aze Debo.

For most agricultural products, at least a part of the output is sold on the market, alongside home consumption for many. Coffee, teff, wheat, tomato, avocado, banana, sugarcane are marketable products. Eucalyptus is becoming a main cash crop: it is common for a farmer to sell trees for at least 20,000 birr, and a single big eucalyptus tree is sold 800 birr. Moreover, other kebeles buy fodder seedlings from Aze Debo: the ACDI VOCA NGO introduced new types of fodder (zehone, falarish, desho, and alfa alfa) in the kebele which are not available in the other kebeles.

See more on farming interventions in the

Farming chapter below.

Non-farming interventions

Compared to farming interventions, government activities in the non-farm sector are rather limited. The main programmes are packages for women, for young people, and for entrepreneurs.

For women, there are different types of formal savings groups. There is one savings cooperative linked to the OMO MFI, from which women can get credit. Since 2000 EC, the Ethiopian NGO KMG (*Kambata Mentti Gezzima*) provides loans to women who are members of the Farmers' Union. Some women who accessed money in this way are engaged in petty trade, some work on animal husbandry or fattening, mainly shoats. Some also engaged in farming, for instance growing vegetables in their garden, and are involved in trade of coffee, enset, flour, fruits, vegetables etc. World Vision also supports women savings groups with training.

The youth are encouraged to involve in farming activities in groups. The non-farm offer is limited; there is nothing beyond quarry and sand mining cooperatives. For more details, please see the [Young people's economic and other experiences](#) chapter.

Regarding support for entrepreneurs, the only options are the wereda budget for youth cooperatives through the rural job creation programme, and the group credit from OMO MFI; there is no other type of source of finance or credit for entrepreneurs.

In the kebele some training for entrepreneurs were provided to youth by the Youth and Sport Office, such as training on book keeping, business management, organizational development, cooperative bylaws and group management. Depending on the type of cooperative and interest of the members, they can get training on beekeeping, bull fattening, diary etc.

Vocational and skills training is mainly given in Durame TVET college. In Adido kebele, also located in Kedida Gemila wereda, World Vision provides technical training (like 3-months training on mobile maintenance), and they give beneficiaries start-up capital or material support. The wereda Trade and Industry Office provided woodwork training for youth cooperatives also in Adido town. However, such trainings are rare and not sufficient to meet the expectations of young people.

Community management structures

The most important community organisations are the Protestant churches, *iddirs*, and elders. Church membership is critical when it comes to access to different benefits or services, although this is not said explicitly. *Iddirs* play a great role in the community, and some respondents claimed that they are linked to the government. *Iddirs* are involved in communicating government messages to people more than the other organisations. Elders are more related to justice, but sometimes they feel they are not appreciated enough by the kebele administration. The information in the sections below comes from the leaders of the biggest/most important community organizations.

Elders

The elders mediate in conflicts (for example about land, fighting, arguments and threatening), cases of abduction (working on families' reconciliation), and divorces. There is a higher level elders' group in Durame called Dera. In cases of murder only the Dera can be responsible for reconciling the parties, with the support of local elders. Decisions taken by elders were said to be more likely to be accepted by the community.

Elders are respected in the same way as it was 10 years ago. Sometimes they are asked for help by the social court, usually for divorces. Most recently, there was a couple who had a serious argument and wanted to divorce. The case was taken to the court, but they returned it to the elders with the hope that they would be able to solve the problem and avoid divorce. The elders tried to deal with it together with the wereda conflict resolution committee, and finally the couple was able to get their dispute settled.

The elders' leaders organize activities, call a meeting every three months, and discuss how to improve their work. The wereda court has a strong link with the elders committee, and refer cases to them. The wereda administration and the court told them not to interfere in criminal cases that have to be solved according to the law. According to the elders' leader, people have a lot of respect for them. Sometimes the kebele sends cases to the elders' committee like border disputes and minor clashes. When cases are not serious, the kebele prefer to pass them onto the elders rather than to the social court or the police. Elders have limited contact with the social court.

The relation of elders with the Land Administration Committee is described in the Land use and urbanization chapter.

Religious organisations

As mentioned in the *Community features in context* chapter, there were three religions in Aze Debo: Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic, with the Protestant Church in dominant position.

There are about 7 church leaders in the community. Women, men and young people had their own leader committee comprising 7 members. Involvement of young people is said to be decreasing, mainly because they did not have jobs even after graduation, so lose hope in everything. According to the church leader:

This generation is not even serious about education, they rather spend time in play and senseless things. Most of them don't score good grades, the ones who graduated even don't have the chance to work. There is a large generation of 'non farmer, non-professional, and non-trader' which is a risk to the community and for the country.

In the church leader's opinion, women were more active in church life than men. Women were elected as evangelists and church leaders by the followers. In the past people from lower clans and poor families were not given the chance to be involved in church leadership and service, but according to him in the last 8 to 10 years this has been changing, and there has been progress in participation of these group and women.

Churches started to invest in new church buildings and the number of followers increased. However, he said that he is very sorry that the spiritual life of people is overwhelmed by secular life:

I see that people are people are singing, praying and listening to the preaching, but they are not living according to the rules. This generation is going to receive punishment from God due to increased secularity.

Moreover, the church leader expressed a critical opinion about the current generation:

These days the generation does not want to accept the weakness and mistake they committed, so leading such kind of generation is difficult. Even during mediation and making them ask forgiveness from God, people are not ready.

The government does not intervene in church activities, but on the other hand there are some overlaps between church and government activities. For example, when somebody wants to get married, they are asked to present a HIV test. If the kebele or wereda wants to pass a message they will use church sessions through church leaders. Topics are varied, ranging from reminding the deadline for land tax payment to reminder about sending children to school. Some respondents claimed that even though the church has banned FGM 50 years ago, church leaders' wives make their daughters circumcised. Early marriage is discouraged by the church and members are encouraged to get married when they are older.

There are major changes when it comes to church rigor. There are new practices, such as clapping, which were not acceptable in the past. When the church here tried to force some people to respect rules, they opened a church in Durame. *Tehadso* is the new word which means 'renewal'; it forces the old church to change/modernize as the young people want – otherwise, young people can even open new churches. However, it has not happened yet in Aze Debo. Another sign of change is the fact that in one of the churches there are new young preachers, who know the Bible very well and suggest topics for discussions during teaching sessions. Besides they move door to door and check the followers' status in terms of religious commitment/life, if they have night prayer at home or not, if they attend church regularly or not, or if they pay regular contribution properly. The preaching and follow up is generally considered positively, but the new prophetic service is controversial. The older generations do not appreciate the new prophetic service but the youth do so and go to get the service in the new church at Durame.

The church also has a role in community social protection. They help people with medication and to renovate their house, they feed the poor for Meskel, and followers bring clothes for the poor. The diaspora from South Africa send money for such support and also the church itself has its own funds.

Sources of funding of the church include members' contributions, gifts and first salary/revenue gifts, gifts given when somebody gets well after illness, gifts on the occasion of child birth, remittances from the diaspora, as well as funds from a woman living in the UK.

The religious leader interviewed works for the Kale Hiwot church since 55 years; he is 82 years old and has 8 children. Two of his children are in Addis Abeba, two in Hawassa, the others in other places. Apart from being a church vice-leader, he is also an elder. He went as missionary to Arsi, Jimma (for 5 years), and Wollo (for 2 years). Currently he serves the whole of the Kambata area. He is church vice-leader since six months, but in the upcoming months in 2010 EC there is election and he will not serve anymore as the rule doesn't allow this. Regarding his responsibilities, he teaches about the Bible, mediates conflicts, marries people, baptizes young people. In general, the church

services take him 3 days of the week. He receives 100 birr as retired evangelist, though his salary was 300 birr when he was active. He used to be paid 20 birr salary when he was young evangelist and his salary increased to 40 birr when he moved to Jimma and Wollo. In terms of his networks, he is in touch with various church leaders in the community and in Durame. In the past he even had connection with regional central churches in Hosanna.

Clan organisations

There are many clans in Aze Debo: Gala, Dubbo, Weyta, Dawaro, Gulba, Zahe, Nurto, Ferzana, Dada, Beza, Awado (low clan), Entegana, Werera, Amara, Anesheko. The most important are the Gala, Dubo, Nurto and Ebejena clans. The Gala clan emerged from Guji Oromo who have been living here since seven generations¹⁰. The Dubo clan is said to come from Wolaita.

The clans meet every month to discuss clan issues and especially conflict issues with other clans. The clan leaders teach young people that abduction, theft and other crimes are not allowed. There are different contributions expected from clan members. All of them contribute money every month, up to 10 birr. Of this, 2 birr are saved for clan issues or compensations; 8 birr are a contribution given to the household who organises the meeting on the next month and host the clan get-together (coffee and small food items). If a clan member is killed, other clan members contribute to pay a life compensation for the affected family. There is no fixed amount but people give 20-100 birr per household¹¹.

The kebele administration is well aware that clans are strongly rooted in the life of Aze Debo. Therefore, they want to keep good relations with them. Moreover, since the leaders in the government structures also belong to clan structures, they know the importance of linking with them. There are clan leaders in each kebele and they meet annually at wereda level.

The clan leader interviewed is the 60 years old vice-leader of the Gala clan, serving since 40 years. He completed 6th grade. He also served as kebele vice chairman during the Derg and also later. He has links with community elders, other clan leaders, and the wereda and kebele administrations.

Some male farmers stated that members from lower clans are sometimes excluded from access to different services, as the kebele “gives them less than they should”. The community trusts clans rather than *iddirs* (which are said to be “used by the government”) or than development groups. There were also strong views that any nomination at a wereda, regional or national administrative position is based on clan membership. In contrast, young people admitted that their friendships can be based on school, church or even kinship, but said that it is not based on clan membership. People from lower clans are not excluded from friendship, but it is not acceptable for them to get married outside of their clan¹².

Iddirs

Iddirs are considered to be important organisations in Aze Debo. *Iddir* leaders were mentioned as influential customary leaders. Also, several respondents mentioned that the involvement of *iddir* in government activities was relatively high. *Iddirs* were used to messaging and mobilizing the

¹⁰ There is a story explaining how the Gala clan came to Kambata. Three brothers fought with their father and left to Kambata, one of them stayed or was lost, but the two others returned with a gold spear and chair and apologised to their father. However, their families remained in Kambata and over time have become of the the most important clans in Kambata.

¹¹ For example, in 2010 EC a member of the Gala clan killed another member of the clan in a road accident; members had to contribute through the Reda elders committee so that the family, considered as the victims, received 20,000 birr.

¹² More about this in the [Economic and political inequality](#) chapter.

community and *iddir* representatives selected PSNP beneficiaries¹³. Although the link between government and *iddir* was not articulated as official, people felt that *iddirs* aligned onto the government agenda. They were not as trusted as clans were.

Regarding typical functions of *iddirs*, they continued to arrange and facilitate funerals as in the past. The *iddirs* provided other multidimensional support for its members, who were said to include everyone in the community. Thanks to it, people can be sure that they have a kind of support during crisis like death. They provide psycho-social and financial support to the family that experienced loss.

There are different *iddirs* in the kebele, including bigger mothers' *iddir* and smaller mothers' *iddir*; the main *iddir* for men (its leader was one of the respondents); and the clan *iddirs*.

The big mothers' *iddir* includes 21 women. They contribute 10 birr and make coffee and food for the person who lost a family member. Two female farmers who are also mothers explained that they contributed 15 birr for funeral. The *iddir* bought big pans, pots and kitchen utensils for rental. Moreover, two years ago they started to use this *iddir* for savings and since then they managed to accumulate some capital. They have even plans to start providing loan access to members to set up various business.

The smaller mothers' *iddir* includes 11 women and was established a long time ago. They contribute 10 birr monthly. When there is funeral, members make bread and visit the person and also give her some amount of money. They also support each other when someone has a wedding.

The main men's *iddir* is for married heads of households. In case of death of a husband, the widow continues to be a member. Young people can be members if they are married. The number of members is increasing, as new households are being established all the time. In case of both parents' death, the children will remain as members of this *iddir*. Members meet only when a member dies, and contribute 15 birr. The *iddir* administrative positions are the leader, the vice leader/*sebsabi*, the treasurer/*hisab shum*, the secretary/*tsehafi* and the store keeper/*gimjabet*.

In order to become *iddir* member, a person had to bring an application letter and be married. New members have to pay 15 birr. Gots have different payment amounts and rules, some collect up to 50 birr annually from coffee trade, others prefer to have regular contribution. The most important contribution is for a funeral, which is 15 birr, and which is obligatory.

Box 2 Different *iddirs* in Aze Debo

The leader of a big Dubo *iddir* said that when it started 27 years ago, the contribution was 1 birr only, then it was increased to 10 birr ten years ago, then 15 birr, and in 2010 EC there were plans to increase it to 20 birr. The reason for increase in payment is the general increase of prices. Sometimes, *iddirs* give loans up to 4000 birr. The interest is 30 birr per year on 100 birr. Loans are provided only for illness of family members or accident victims. They cannot be used for trading or other purposes. The *iddirs* rent out property, like tents (20 birr per day) and cups or dishes (10 cents per day), mostly for weddings and graduations. There is no labour requirement from *iddir* members.

As achievements, the *iddir* leaders enumerated the ability to help family members when a person dies. Sometimes floods brought dead people so the *iddir* buried them. Seven years ago the floods brought a boy's body to their kebele.

The leader of the biggest *iddir* is 45 years old and served as the leader for the past 27 years. He was also leader of his got sub-*iddir*, development team leader, and community elder. Sometimes the *iddir* deals with cases of conflict, but if the case is beyond their role, they refer it to the kebele. For example, if a DT member refuses to participate in Public Works, the *iddir* send the case to the kebele; if anybody encroaches public land and road, the *iddir* also refers such cases to the kebele. His position is considered to be voluntary, so there is no salary. On the one hand he is very respected by

¹³ However, many community members cumulate different roles, like *iddir* leader and development group leader.

people, but on the other hand this position is time-consuming. This was the only problem. Regarding his networks, he was related to the kebele administration and the NGO – World Vision.

Male farmers explained that the kebele administration relates the *iddirs* with development group leaders and people are threatened to be excluded from *iddir* if they do not follow their advices. For example, when people are called to pay their debt for fertiliser or when two parties in a land dispute are called to accept the LAC or elders' decision, if they do not accept, the *iddir* gives them warning.

For young men, *iddir* leaders are becoming political agents, with the power to punish members if the person doesn't come out for kebele work or party meeting or oppose party 1-5 grouping. In a group discussion, one young man said, for instance:

If a person opposes the 1-5 network they say you have wrong political ideas, or you lean towards opposition party. So they said that they will evict the person from the iddir. The iddir leaders bring cases from court and even deal with them and dictate the way they want. So the iddir and development groups have power on families, through which they try to dominate young people by frightening parents.

Historically influential/wealthy families

Stories of influential/wealthy families dated back from the Haile Selasie or Derg periods. Usually these families were involved in or had connections with the Protestant church. This aspect is especially important in the context of the domination of the Orthodox church during the Haile Selasie period, and the Orthodox church conflict with the Protestant churches. Moreover, people from these families had or still have roles in the community. Box 3 presents two cases of people from influential families in Aze Debo.

A woman from an influential family

Her family was known for having a strong religious influence in the community. Her father was a well-known *Yewongel aribegna* preacher in the kebele at the time of Haile Selassie. Educated to 4th grade, he was a respected farmer and advisor to the community. He fought with the Orthodox church leaders and because of that was accused by the Orthodox priest who wanted to stop him from his religious practices. As a result, he was imprisoned in Assela jail for charges such as having visitors from abroad in his house, or selling his land to a foreigner. His brother was fighting along with him through all those difficult times.

The Orthodox authorities at that time even slaughtered his brother's cow which was expected to give birth in 2 months, and when they slaughtered the cow, the calf came out and stood up in front of them on its feet. It is said that it was at that time that the Orthodox priests gave up fighting, believing that the Protestant religion could not be stopped and would become widespread in the area. This is the story told by older people to their children and families.

Her father had 11 children including herself. He sent all his children to school. Some of them live in the USA, and so does her own older son, who went abroad with the Diversity Lottery. The old man was known for advising people and encouraging them to do their farm work on time. He was very caring and protective.

Regarding her involvement in the kebele, she started saving among mothers 10 years ago, but because of misunderstanding and disagreement in the group, she resigned from this activity. Later she also worked on family planning, but in the past 5 years she has not been involved in any activity, apart from church groups. They have about one hectare of farmland inherited from her father. Her husband is retired. He used to work at the Synodos (church organization) and later he served as a librarian at the school in the next kebele, Bezena Benara.

Man from influential family

He is one of the three most important farmers in Aze Debo and has multiple roles in the community. He is a well-respected church leader since 1982EC, a model farmer, a former clan leader and an active community elder. During the Derg regime he was the school director for 3 years. Under EPRDF he served as the leader of the Teacher-Parents Association for six years, but has never been kebele chairman.

He is educated up to 6th grade. His children attended college, as well as two other children who came from relatives who lived in remote rural areas in the wereda.

In his view he is respected in the community thanks to his commitment, and the ability to challenge others. In his opinion, *“unlike many he raises issues in public meetings where wereda officials take part and honestly and courageously comments on gaps that the kebele and the wereda administration has, the weaknesses of DAs for their rough visit and reporting and getting salary without proper assistance to farmers”*. His involvement with politics can be traced back to the Derg regime, when the government was attacking the Protestant church. At that time he began to defend the church through the youth movement; this led him to prioritise the church service and his farm and abandon any political participation and even the school leading position. So currently, he is not interested and not involved in politics: *“they talk too much but they are not committed for work, and this is the problem of the central government which is reflected down to local villages, there are a lot of frequent meetings but no work. Wereda pushes the kebele to have different meetings all the time, which is diverting people’s attention from work to talk”*.

Box 3 A historically influential family

Locally specific customary organisation(s)

Respondents did not mention any locally specific customary organizations.

Customary networks

Respondents did not mention any locally specific customary networks.

Equub

The *equub* whose leader was interviewed started in 2007 EC and has 40 members. One round of *equub* is completed in a year. The contribution is 40 birr per month. During the rainy season, the round is made every two months since members do not have enough money. The *equub* is based on neighbourhood, but everyone should have a guarantee in case somebody does not continue.

The *equub* has an organizer, a secretary and a cashier. There is a fine for those members who do not pay on time, or miss a lot. There was no recent change in the amount of contribution or in the number of members. A person can get 1600 birr, and these funds are used in different ways. Usually people buy shoats, fatten them for a few months and sell them at double or triple price. Some buy small bulls to fatten, and a few renewed their houses. If a member needs money suddenly, she has to pay the pay-out (100 birr to the person who wins the draw). The *equub* does not have any connection with the government. The person who wins the draw last month has to make coffee for the group that gather in his/her house for drawing the *equub* contribution. The problem is when someone takes the pay-out then stops contributing, which results in conflict between that person and *equub* leaders. In such a situation, guarantors are called to re-pay, so the guarantor accuses the person formally in the kebele, and the kebele can submit the case to elders or even the police can intervene.

Monthly or bi-weekly meetings are organised by the *equub* leader, and collecting money from the members is also one of his duties.

The *equub* leader interviewed was 46 years old, he was the leader of the *equub* for 3 years since its establishment. He was elected by the members because of his good behaviour and money management. He is also got *iddir* leader in addition to *equub* leader. His wife does not have any role in the community. His children are students. He wanted to give away his *equub* leadership role because there was a lot of argument which was annoying for him. In addition, there was no supportive relationship or encouragement from kebele or wereda. Elders are linked with kebele and they try to take the mediation role, though they are not linked with the *equub* directly.

Mehaber

Mehabers usually refer to organisations established by the Orthodox church. However, a number of female farmers said that there is a clan *mehaber* in Aze Debo. It is similar to *iddir* except the fact that only people from the same clan are involved in this one. They contribute a small amount of money, 2 birr for some, 5 birr for others, to provide support when a clan member loses a family member.

New community-initiated organisations and networks

There were no new community-initiated organisations and networks.

NGOs

There are two important NGOs in the community, World Vision and KMG. Different respondents confirmed that World Vision has a strong role in the community. KMG used to be an important organisation in the fight against FGM and was often cited in 2012 (at the time of the WIDE3 fieldwork). However, in early 2018 respondents were talking much less about KMG's role.

World Vision is involved in different activities in the kebele. Firstly, they organise village saving and credit groups both for men and women. There is also an MFI led by World Vision in Durame, called 'Wisdom'. It provides credit to people in these areas although this does not attract a lot of interest. Moreover, World Vision encourages village savings groups to educate people how to save, and for this purpose they gave people iron-made boxes. When loans are returned on time, in the next round the person/group can get double loan amount, like from 5,000 to 10,000 birr.

Secondly, they support cooperatives, especially in bee-keeping and irrigation. One youth bee-keeping cooperative received modern beehives, clothes/tuta and other materials for honey harvesting. It also is the only cooperative which got land from the kebele, although its members said the land was not convenient (too far and too small). World Vision was said to be the only organisation in the kebele who organised a special training for those having modern beehives. However, some respondents said that in past 10 years the kebele recruited the wrong people to attend the honey producers' training when World Vision asked them to recruit honey producers who could attend the training. They send farmers who did not have any prior experience in beekeeping, and yet were given the chance of attending the lessons and provided modern beehives¹⁴. With regard to the irrigation cooperative, World Vision gave them 3 diesel pumps but two of them were broken after a year. Moreover, these young people did not receive land, they were supposed to carry out their activity on land shared by their parents – which raised issues.

Thirdly, World Vision has a role in social protection. They help very poor people such as elderly, widows and vulnerable families by distributing food aid (wheat and oil). About 800 poor people, all being PSNP beneficiaries, are supported for the 6 months when PSNP transfers are not provided. In 2007 EC, when the drought hit the community, they distributed food aid. This kind of support works as a gap-filler when PSNP support stops. Moreover, they are active in child support. The organisation saves money with Wisdom for orphans and vulnerable children, starting from childhood until they complete their education. However, Wisdom MFI does not give money directly to families, but they have saving books for each of them. Because of that, some people think that Wisdom MFI use this money meant for disadvantaged children for other purposes.

Fourthly, thirty young people from Aze Debo were trained in construction, metal works, electrician skills at Durame Technical School thanks to World Vision. The NGO sends a quota to the kebele to

¹⁴The informant said that kebele wants to recruit farmers who are relatives and closer to them even though they are not the right person, therefore they are keeping the beehives in their homes without use for very long. When the beekeepers ask to sell the hives to them, they refused.

select youth from very poor families and links them with the TVET, pays for their house rent, food, and stationery. The training lasts 6 months. When they graduate, World Vision helps by linking them with job opportunities. This is the second time that the organisation is funding such a training and the former trainees were able to get jobs due to World Vision's support.

Fifthly, World Vision supports new farming initiatives. They introduced apple and mango to the community. They helped the *apple pioneers* by advising them how to plant apple and providing the seedlings through the Kale Hiwot church in 2008 EC. They provided orientation on irrigation and seeds of tomato, carrot and cabbages in 2009 EC. Trainings for farmers on bull fattening were also organized and a few households had a chance to get bulls from World Vision for their children. The farmers estimated that about 100 households have bulls fattened at home. Regarding poultry, World Vision's involvement was less significant and information about this is not consistent. They provided a five-day training for a group of farmers. Some farmers received chickens as well as iron net for constructing ventilating walls. However, the introduction of poultry is rather a government-led initiative. World Vision also played a big role in coffee production, providing training for 86 farmers last year and for 68 others this year mainly on techniques of coffee farming.

The involvement of community organisations and NGOs to support non-farming activities is limited. The kebele manager indicated that in the past two-three years, World Vision and religious institutions were involved in building business centres and mill houses and made them available for rental and service to the community.

In the kebele there are four men and a woman working for World Vision and KMG. These people have houses and farms in the kebele. There was no information about their positions except for the woman, who is secretary at KMG. They do not have houses in town and their life is not that unique and not better than that of rich farmers. They only have a diploma and none of them has a first degree, so they do not have higher positions in the NGOs.

Wereda-kebele- community interactions

Government planning and consultation

According to the wereda, development plans were designed bottom-up, i.e. kebeles were expected to submit their plans to be approved by the wereda depending on feasibility. Within the past 5 years, the top-down approach was reversed, because when plans were coming from the wereda only and the community priority were ignored, this raised complaints.

According to a woman kebele official all plans and ways of implementing development interventions are discussed with the kebele cabinet members. They are responsible for collecting feedback from the community through their respective community level organisations and networks. Development networks play a great role in consultations about government interventions. The same respondent said that the kebele council and cabinet have quarterly meetings and they discuss the development plans and progress. If there are seasonal government interventions, they work closely with 1-5 and 1-30 development networks in mobilising the community.

At kebele level, there is a participatory planning session once a year with the kebele administration (kebele manager, person from finance bureau and good governance planning, kebele council members). They also take part in evaluation meetings at the end of the year. During these meetings, they provide feedback and express how the community's needs should be addressed in the annual planning of the wereda. Annual planning is often conducted at the wereda council hall. From the wereda side, there are representatives from all sectors.

Wereda representatives indicated that several improvements would be useful, especially more days for the meeting, as three or four days are not sufficient; greater involvement of all stakeholders; and

a bigger budget. Finally, there is so called 'grand integrated planning' between the kebele and the wereda, conducted every five years.

Wereda plan

According to the kebele chairman, the zone gives directions to the wereda regarding plans for development activities. Then, the wereda prepares a proposal for development activities and consults it with the kebele chairmen from all 18 kebeles. Then the kebele planning session is organized, during which each sector is given a chance to express concerns and views.

The chairman said that even though the plans are agreed on, the wereda tends to ignore the kebele plan. To illustrate this, he told the following story:

For example, in 2010 EC, 30 hectares of land were planned to be cultivated in the kebele based on the availability of farm lands. The fertiliser appropriate to this land size was agreed to be brought by government, however they dumped double the volume of fertiliser assuming that we have 60 hectares of farm land, which is not true. This forced farmers to take more fertiliser than needed. What is more, the repayment of the debt is also trouble both for farmers and for the kebele administration.

Kebele plan

As mentioned in the **Government planning and consultation** section, Aze Debo is represented by the kebele council and the manager at the annual planning session in the wereda. Their task is to provide feedback and express how the community needs should be addressed in the annual planning. Just around the time of the fieldwork in 2010EC, the most important points on the agenda were 1) agricultural development and 2) livestock production.

As mentioned by the kebele officials, there was no integrated kebele planning. However, there is sectoral plan from the wereda. There were two big meetings in August 2009 EC for planning with the wereda officials, one was held in the kebele compound, with the education planning session conducted in the school compound. The following groups took part in these meetings:

- 2 representatives from the wereda administration
- 4 party representatives from the wereda
- 1 party ternafi 'organizer' from the wereda
- 25 kebele development group leaders
- 34 teachers (for education session only)
- kebele chair (leading the sessions with party organizer).

Messaging and mobilising the community

The main routes through which development and political messages are delivered to the community are 1-5 networks and 1-30 DTs (also called 1-30 networks). It seems that especially for health female 1-30 DTs are important. The following topics were on the agenda in 2010 EC:

- health (CBHI, delivery in health centre, vaccinations, FGM, violence)
- registration of school-aged girls to school
- sanitation – free defecations zones
- nutrition
- savings
- irrigation
- fodder and fertiliser
- messages to young people: to join cooperatives and military, the latter with the police involvement.

The most important topic is health. This sector is also the most successful, especially when it comes to big health campaigns on HIV (although it was informally said that HIV prevalence is increasing), vaccinations, ANC, family planning. There is a strong pressure to enrol in the Community Based Health Insurance, and this was a big issue in the community (see section on Social protection/CBHI). Aspects of health like female circumcision, no home delivery intervention, nutrition, violence, and other similar interventions were directed more towards women.

Another campaign is about sending school aged girls to school during the registration period. However, this has not been very effective. There are still significant number of girls who dropped out and/or who haven't even started school.

The main role in messaging belongs to the Development Teams, 1-5s, 1-30s, "*models, promoters and champions*", and the kebele council. The involvement of these structures and of the community based-organisations is described in relevant subsections in the **Government management structures** section. The role of models, promoters and champions is described in the **Models** section.

Additionally, when there are health interventions for example vaccination, religious and academic institutions disseminate information to their followers and students respectively. The HEW writes a letter to religious leaders and to the school director indicating when and where such interventions are conducted and they (preachers in churches and teachers in schools) provide the information to followers and students.

The effectiveness of development teams understood as 'acceptance of messages' is determined by the acceptance of a DT leader by the members and also, different sectors have different results. For example, when it comes to effectiveness of health messages, better interest and involvement is shown by younger women compared to the older ones, who have a more traditional approach, especially with regard to delivery at home (where there is coffee and warmth). Also, in the HEW views, middle-wealth and poor households are more willing to accept health-related messages and the knowledge shared by health service providers than some of the rich households.

Meetings and training

There are different kinds of meetings at wereda level: for the administration, for the wereda cabinet, and for wereda and kebele officials. They are concentrated on progress, feedback, and ways of making improvements. In the kebele, the cabinet and development groups/*meserawid drejet* (basic party organization) meet weekly to monitor performance and discuss the wereda new agendas or development plans. The kebele council meet monthly at kebele and quarterly at wereda levels. At party level there are '*ye dirigit abalat*' meetings. These are meetings of the ruling party members and whenever there is an agenda, they gather and discuss on its implementation and mobilization of the community.

With regard to training, selected party members get leadership training to enhance their leadership skills. There are also trainings for government employees and volunteers on technical and 'soft' skills such as irrigation techniques, farming calendar, how to lead the community, how to respond to issues/ questions coming from the community, party rules and bylaws.

Community members have mixed views on messaging, and especially meetings. Male farmers were of the view that due to constant meetings in the wereda, people are diverted from their work. Especially difficult is the relation between young people and government. Whenever the kebele calls a meeting for the youth, they don't want to attend, and if they attend, they have a confronting attitude. Those who are extremely serious in their questions are no longer invited to these meetings. Especially there are two messages to the young people: joining cooperatives and military service.

Models

Models are used to convince their neighbours and the larger community in relation to any development plan and intervention. They take the lead in trying newly introduced development

ideas and practices in all sectors. Models are not evaluated directly. The kebele administration evaluates Development Team leaders, and if a model farmer is DT leader, then s/he is also evaluated.

Involving community-initiated organisations

Male farmers mentioned that the government increasingly uses *iddir* for messaging, but clans, religious organizations, *equub* are focused on their own work, as mentioned by leaders of these organizations.

Wereda supervision of the kebele

Wereda perspective

From the wereda's perspective the cooperation with Aze Debo is good, mainly because of the wereda representative who closely works with the kebele. Aze Debo is said to be open to new ideas and governmental programmes. On the negative side, *"the government wants the kebele to work in mass and complete activities with better community mobilization, however still they are doing them gradually"*.

The wereda supervision is conducted through the kebele manager: she delivers reports on the major activities conducted in different sectors in the kebele to public service and also to the party centre (የድ.ር.ጅ.ቲ. ማኅከል). There are two kinds reports that the kebele manager produces:

- ruling party (የድ.ር.ጅ.ቲ) command post report (submitted to the party centre, የድ.ር.ጅ.ቲ ማኅከል).
- government command post reports (submitted to the bureau of agriculture).

The reports that are submitted to the party centre concerns periodic interventions – CBHI and mosquito net distribution for malaria; seasonal activities during harvest time and rainy season; fertiliser and pesticide use, watershed development and the like.

There are steering committees that are organized at kebele level and they report to the kebele manager and also to the wereda supervising officer that is assigned to supervise the kebele.

There are several meetings and evaluations conducted at kebele level that involve the party structures, and also sessions of discussion of the party newspaper that are conducted by the kebele chairman and s/he reports to the kebele manager and also to the council. There are 20 members in the kebele 'basic party' administration. They are chaired by the kebele chairman and they meet monthly. They provide their report to the party centre monthly and every 6 months.

After the recent deep renewal/*tilk tehadso*, the wereda put additional pressure on kebele cabinets, administrators, development team leaders and cells. If anybody is reluctant, s/he can be demoted immediately. If individuals fail to fulfil their duties, they are given warnings. The kebele supervisor assigned by the wereda follows every activity and tries to support people at kebele level to improve their performance, as reported by the wereda. But when they are removed, it is not just removing, rather they will be evaluated politically. However, there is no harsh punishment, since it is a voluntary position.

Kebele perspective

The kebele chairman said that the supervision in general is considered to be positive and supportive; however, some supervisors create an antagonistic relation with the kebele administration and give a negative image of the kebele to wereda cabinet members. It seems that there is a significant turnover of the wereda cabinet members – in recent times it happens every 3 months.

Previously the nature of supervision between kebele administration and supervisors was said to be top-down rather than cooperative and supportive, which frequently led to conflicts. For example, the wereda changed supervisors even 15 days after their assignment to the kebele, because they

think that a supervisor shouldn't stay in a kebele for more than 3 months as the kebele administrators get close to them and they cover their weaknesses. Five years ago a supervisor remained a whole year to support the kebele but after 'the *tilk tehadso*/deep renewal' they mostly shift supervisors every 3-4 months. The chairman remembers one supervisor who used to come and say hi, how you are doing etc, and leave to town pretending as if he stayed in the kebele. In principle supervisors should visit the kebele 2 days a week at least and if there is ongoing activity that they should follow, they should come every day. Kebele supervisors from the wereda are expected to:

- Encourage farmers to engage in irrigation
- Make farmers plan what to plant, when to plough, and how many times and motivate them to use fertiliser
- Supervise activities accomplished in each development group/Got
- Provide technical assistance to the professionals working at kebele level
- Make the reports being completed on time
- Cascade and follow up campaigns like watershed management
- Mobilize kebele workers and militia to work on fertiliser debt return
- Make sure that sowing and weed clearing are done on time depending on rainfall arrival, pushing for reporting of any new pest by DA.

The position of the kebele supervisor is not new - it has existed for 20 years when the government decided that wereda officers "*shouldn't just sit in office and collect reports*".

The kebele chairman thinks that it is good to have kebele supervisors, because they are covering the duty of kebele cabinets that are partly unpaid and busy with their own personal activities to focus on kebele responsibilities. The supervisors also are bridges to link the community to the wereda administration by taking issues of the community and the administration for consideration and solutions. The chair also feels that, without the supervisor, the kebele civil servants would be disobedient vis-à-vis the chair, assuming that they are better educated than him or others assigned in the position.

The supervisors give a call to the chair and to kebele officers if there is a new wereda direction which is urgent or he comes and they plan together. However, since the current supervisor comes every day, he has the chance to discuss personally more than with others and he has a smooth and supportive relationship with the whole kebele administration.

In Aze Debo, the major areas of focus for the wereda supervisor in the past three months were:

- Meetings and discussion on quality of education with parents and teachers. Parents are given notice about disciplining their children, and teachers about being punctual and committed to explain subject matters in detail rather than just writing on the board and sitting idle in class. Wereda education officers also attended the meeting and provided advice for improvement and suggested the discussion to continue in development groups. This activity has been conducted in October 2010 EC.
- There was awareness raising on the importance of CBHI, and this has become an issue since farmers didn't accept it right away and they are doubting about its importance for their family. Even though the programme started three years ago, half of the community is still resistant to it.
- Collection of land tax and completing it in November 2010 EC was the issue discussed because people mostly harvest coffee at this time and will have a chance to pay it without problem. Even though the production decreased due to disease, the land tax is a small amount which still can be paid.

The chairman said that, during the Derg teachers used to come from other regions, and they were entirely devoted to the teaching activity; now the policy says people should get job opportunity in

their own locality, so the educated people from the community try their best to be assigned in Aze Debo, and they give more attention to cultivating their parents' land and earn money, therefore they give very little attention to the teaching responsibility. So, they don't read and update their skill and even come late and miss classes, even though they receive 4000-6000 birr monthly salary.

Targets and data

Wereda perspective

Regarding kebele reporting mechanisms on activities, the wereda representative said that reports should be developed by the kebele manager together with cabinet members and then submitted by the kebele manager to the wereda administration. Kebele reports have been used as the way of reporting between the kebele and the wereda for a long time. However, since managers are assigned by the government, the quality of the report improved and reports became more descriptive and informative.

There are also reports prepared by the kebele supervisor every 15 days and submitted to the wereda. The kebele supervisor reports on the main intervention areas, such as seasonal activities (watershed development, irrigation use, CBHI registration or vaccination, fertiliser distribution...). In the last 6 months there were issues of saving practices, revenue collection and health (CBHI renewal and registration).

Targeted interventions are reviewed every six and twelve months. Most of the time they vary seasonally and depend on zonal intervention targets, but some of them can be unexpected and related to the events and trends at national level. Target areas could vary from one kebele to another but they all will have a number of areas of interventions in common especially when if the agenda comes from federal or zonal bureaus. For example the issue of saving is common for all kebeles. Also, revenue collection varies because for example Adilo kebele is highly involved in collecting annual business taxes unlike other rural kebeles that collect only land revenue. Any other intervention is determined in consultation with the wereda and kebele officials.

Kebele perspective

Regarding kebele level reports with data on targets, Development Team members discuss monthly about political and development issues and they report to the party office. The kebele manager is expected to report regarding good governance to the civil service office. The kebele council meeting report is sent to the wereda council monthly. Moreover, each sector reports to their respective office at the wereda level. The reporting mechanism has been the same for many years. Since there is a lot of pressure from the zone on the wereda to submit reports on time, the kebele will be also under pressure from the wereda side.

There was a hot issue with regard to honesty of the reports. According to kebele chairman, there were false and exaggerated reports sent to the wereda for many years. Since the 'deep renewal' (*tilk tehadso*), "everyone promised to avoid such misleading reports". He described the issues around false reporting in the following way:

Results in the area of health service, agricultural development achievements, and also others, used to be magnified and reported wrongly in the past. Sometimes the wereda officials themselves are the reason for false reports from kebeles, because indirectly they push kebele development workers to do so. There was a case of another kebele chair who resisted the civil servants and did not report magnified data. He was demoted by the wereda immediately. It happened last year. The wereda said he works hard but he doesn't obey wereda order.

Recently the wereda administration demanded Aze Debo's chairman to collect both land tax and CBHI payment at once. The chairman refused to force people since it would be more problematic for households to pay it all together. This has caused conflict between the chair and the wereda and the wereda administrator called and said, "You have political attitude issue" (*yeamelekaket cheger*

alebeh). Finally, even though the chair confronted the wereda administrators, he also tried to convince the community through different meetings, and he was able to collect much of it.

False reports still happen, but to a lesser extent since the deep evaluation. Copies of the reports are filed in the kebele office and the chairman has a chance to review them. The wereda compares all kebeles and gives them a rank in terms of their accomplishments based on the reports submitted, and the kebele also give feedback to development groups and sectors. The chairman believes that the wereda sometimes ranks kebeles wrongly: for example in a given month Aze Debo distributed 900 chickens but the wereda made Zato kebele first, while they distributed only 300 chickens.

One of the kebele civil servants had this to say about false reports, which he related to politics and made him highly disappointed by the government administration in general:

False reports are very common because of the very essence of EPRDF politics. Because rather than real results on the ground high and bloomy report is appreciated. Zones those having small land want to compete with highly productive ones having wider farm land per household, so that they push weredas to bring false and exaggerated reports as much as possible, then the fabricator of these unrealistic report are DA including me. Because if the DA takes real but small figure report, he will be denied promotion, education opportunity or even will be relocated to far inner rural places away from his/her family. So to avoid these problems, sending satisfactory report became trend than working satisfactorily.

Both the DAs who are giving false reports and the officials at wereda and higher levels, which appreciate and push for such reports, have a problem.

Everyone in government layers is working on false reports with harmony in order to get praise and promotion.

Accountability activities

There are different accountability activities, such as: *gimgema*, appeals against wereda decisions, citizens report cards, suggestion boxes, budget consultations and budget posting. There was no significant change in recent years.

Wereda perspective

The **gimgema** is done on its own schedule. Sometimes it is just to monitor activities and accomplishments. Evaluation is performed every two weeks within departments and every month to assess each department. The party *gimgema* is performed every 3 or 6 months. However, informally every Saturday there is evaluation of activities accomplished by the wereda officers and professionals assigned to support kebeles. The kebele supervisor for the kebele has six months for improvement, if her/his assessment is on the negative side. If this person is an officer, he will be given verbal and written warning and if there is no improvement the person will be fired by the wereda, but this happens as last resort after a year or two.

The wereda decisions are open for appeals from civil servants who would not agree with the decisions. Firstly, appeals are presented at kebele level and then at wereda. If the wereda does not listen to the complaints and people feel dissatisfied, they might go to the next step like zone level. There is '*kireta semi*' which is a complaint hearing department with assigned professionals at wereda office. But there is also '*emba tebaki*' office at regional level if the case needs to go up to that higher level.

Moreover, there is a **citizen's charter** in which satisfaction of the community is measured through questionnaires about the services of each department. There is also a suggestion writing notebook at the kebele office in which farmers can write their comments on the sectors' service.

Although there are **no accountability committees**, there are groups called '*senemgbar officers*' employed by the wereda administration. Such officers are at region, zone and wereda levels and

their role is to assess activity accomplishments and budget utilization. These officers are paid better than any other person at wereda level. The cabinet members receive about 6000 birr as monthly salary but these officers earn around 8000 birr in order to motivate them to fulfil their work duties.

There are **suggestion boxes** in the wereda administration and the management will review and read the suggestions– which are mostly expressions of dissatisfaction on services, and some even mention names of officials and write insults.

Regarding **wereda budget consultation and posting**, the budget is allocated based on consultations with the different sectors. Each sector is required to prepare a sector budget based on last year plan and performance and submit it to the finance office. Then, the plan is discussed among cabinets. As mostly very big budgets are submitted, the process is long and requires a lot of consultations with the kebele and wereda councils. The kebele council representatives give suggestions for change in activity and budget allocation taking into consideration the situation at the grassroots level.

Kebele perspective

Gimgema, suggestion boxes, appeals to the wereda and budget posting were accountability means mentioned by the kebele officials.

The last big *gimgema* was in November 2009 EC. The government officers have *gimgema* every 15 days. According to the kebele manager, there have been no complaints presented against decisions made by kebele management. If there is one, it will be resolved by the kebele council. There is a suggestion box inside the kebele manager's office. The wereda budget for 2010EC was posted in front of the kebele manager's office. It includes the list of service sectors in the wereda and the amount of budget allocated for each sector.

Male farmers' perspective

Male farmers were aware that the kebele cabinet members meet regularly to evaluate their activities and the activities in the kebele in general. They agreed that the cabinet's evaluation of the kebele and their own activity regularly is important. However, they find that "*these cabinet meetings should be open by inviting the general community which will facilitate transparency and enabling the evaluation to be more fruitful*".

They confirmed that there is a suggestion/record book used by a few people at the kebele centre, but mostly people go to the kebele office and tell their complaints to the chairman, the manager or other experts (DAs and HEWs). They said that the wereda budget is posted on the kebele office wall, however, community members do not have any evidence that the budget is used according to the planned budget.

Petitions and complaints

According to the wereda, complaints are handled by the kebele manager or the kebele council. The kebele manager reports to the wereda office the number of petitions, how they are progressing, and the person assigned to them. Also, at the wereda level there are officers who handle petitions and grievances which were not handled by the kebele.

According to male farmers, complaints come to the kebele chairman's office, and if they are not satisfied they can to the wereda administration '*Kereta semi/complaint hearing department*'. The kebele council is not involved in complaints hearing or dealing with this directly. The wereda supervisor wants to be involved in it to deal with such cases together with the kebele chairman. So far, according to kebele officials no one in the community took complaints to the wereda administration. This may not fully reflect the reality as interviews reveal that for instance, teashop owners went to the wereda to protest high tax rates.

Resistance and conflict

According to the kebele administration, thus far there has been no group or community conflict or resistance. Any case of dispute is dealt with the kebele own capacity. As described in Box 1 above, there are sometimes problems with the youth organized in quarry cooperatives and competing to sell their products, although usually the issue is resolved by the kebele administration. There can be individual conflicts, mostly about land and trees, but there was no violent conflict with or open resistance against government in this area.

There are examples of individual resistance, with farmers who do not want to attend meetings. In some of the development groups there are members who do not want to be party members and they do not participate in party newspaper reading sessions.

Rights and duties of community members

There was no broad discussion about right and duties of people living in Aze Debo. Getting ID was seen as a right. The person asking for an ID should have lived in the kebele at least for 6 months and s/he should be 18 years old and above.

Regarding duties, since around 2007 EC (2015), registration of marriage and death has started. People report such events to the HEWs and the kebele chairman/manager. Other issues considered as a duty are paying taxes, getting fertilizer and being enrolled to CBHI. With regard to fertiliser and CBHI there is pressure by the kebele on community members to use these two 'services' as much as possible.

Perspectives on community's key problems

Wereda, kebele and community members were asked about community key problems. In total, about 47 people were asked about this issue. The following problems were mentioned:

- land shortage – especially from the point of view of young people and farming
- the lack of job opportunities, especially for young people
- lack of electricity and water shortage
- migration – international and national
- failure of cooperatives, because of insufficient money and lack of commitment
- reduced and fluctuating rainfall causing lower production and food shortage though there is no serious drought.

One wereda official described the community key problems in the following way:

Land shortage is the major problem that people faced in the kebele which bound them to cultivate their very small land through irrigation and leaning to crop production is there, which demands wider area of land. Besides the new generation has no chance of sharing land from parents or getting new open land from the government. The wereda has limited capacity and the situation requires the involvement of the zonal and regional governments to bring other non-farm job opportunities for the youth, and the farmers should be assisted in new technologies for intensive farming and modern irrigation to improve their lives on the small land holding they have.

Youth unemployment is also a challenge which is the second most important concern.

Water and electricity are some of the resources that people always ask the wereda. Either distributing the pipeline water from Durame town or buying a generator for the public taps are some of the options to deal with the water demands of the community. Once the electricity reached the kebele, the wereda will work closely to extend the line to reach every household gradually.

A rich farmer had this to say about young people's problems and the PSNP influence on people:

The youth are just fast in talking (afechole becha) but weak in physical strength in searching and engaging in labour demanding activities. I fear that if this continues this way, it will affect community peace and the security here. When there is PSNP support you see a lot of people coming to the kebele centre, this shows that people have difficulty to feed themselves, if this poverty is not changed this will cause another social crisis. Besides, the PSNP labour work also makes people tired in the morning and in effect, they cannot work on their small land in the afternoon, so PSNP has effects in sustaining poverty.

He also talked about the issue of electricity:

There is electricity in the kebele but it does not reach many parts of the kebele. At the kebele centre where there is electricity, some people opened beauty salon, shops etc, and this helps to create some jobs for young people. So it should expand to the whole kebele. I have electricity and take the bulb to shine on my garden and work at night (kutkuato), when I do not get enough time in the day. Woodwork and other businesses could have expanded if there was electricity. Students are learning with lamp, which discourages their effort to study at night.

With regard to migration, although this was mentioned as an 'issue', most community respondents also viewed migration as either rather a good thing, or inevitable. For instance, a small crop trader had this to say:

International migrants helped their family better than others who tried to migrate internally. Some families have got a chance to expand their farms, business and renew their houses or get new ones built. Siblings are helped to attend school, to engage in some economic activity like bajaj, motorbike and transport business, shops in Durame, and some of them pull their brothers to South Africa where they live. During Meskel, families having a child in South Africa have remittances to celebrate the holiday better. Many young diaspora living there send money to churches here to buy bulls to slaughter and distribute meat to poor people in the village, in return a big prayer session is organized to bless them. In the church session names of young men who sent money are read out loud. Some widows having no children were supported by diaspora through the church to get their house renewed last year and this year.

A knowledgeable young man talked about cooperatives and possible solutions to some of the community key problems as follows:

Young men don't agree to work together, and when one group member is doing well others are not supportive.

No one can bring new land for use, but government can help people to irrigate their small land, which will create a better income for household members including young people who wish to make land productive. With regard to electricity, I contributed 100 birr but the money contributed from the community is abused by wereda officers, therefore, the government should be responsible for this and should provide electricity.

To improve the situation the government should focus on creating jobs for youth, because the old people don't need the support that much.

A poor farmer said this about solutions:

The youth fail 10th grade and remain idle here, we don't have money to send them to town for private college, they are trying to have a driving license for bajaj, but there is no other option here. There is no guarantee for our children, because there is no hope in their future livelihood. Big projects of coffee processing and something like big investment involving machineries would probably help the youth to get jobs in the future.

Perspectives on nepotism and corruption

Information about issues of nepotism and corruption was gathered mainly through informal discussions or on the occasion of discussions about more neutral topics. During such conversations, community members mentioned that access to services can be conditioned by good relations with kebele officials, membership in clans, attending church or party membership. For example, during an informal discussion, an ex-soldier and model farmer described biases in the following way:

If there are trainings at wereda level on health, agriculture, education etc for three days or so, the chairman sends his brother, his wife, and family. As a result, people who should go, do not attend these meetings. The wereda sometimes brings godere, potato, beans to plant in the appropriate season; but the kebele officials register names of their own people and don't even call development group leaders, so the distribution is made in the office. If you enter in to their office, they stand up and give you chair, which seems to show respect, but what they do is not as they pretend. If people want an ID or any support letter, they say today there is no manager, there is no chair to sign, there is no stamp and it takes long. If you talk about these problems at a public meeting, there are many supporters who benefit from these biases and they talk against the person who's highlighting the problems.

A person who used to hold a position in the kebele had negative views on the kebele administration:

The kebele administration is just like 'blood sucker' ('Mez'ger') attached to the community. They put pressure on the people to pay taxes and so on, but whenever there is any benefit they distribute it to their relatives and clan members. The kebele is appreciated by the wereda because the officials at both levels share among them contributions from Red Cross, sport, land tax, special contributions etc. The kebele chairman invites his relatives for World Vision trainings or other wereda trainings and meetings.

The government positions starting from kebele, through wereda, and zone and even up to the regional level, are occupied by people selected on the basis of ethnic chains, clans and family relationship. When I go to regional meetings and share dormitory with other meeting participants coming from different parts of the region, they told me things similar to those which I observe in my village. For example, the zone administrator appointed the wereda Red Cross office guard who has been police in Kefa in the past, for the wereda finance office vice-head position. This man is his relative's husband and not educated to fit to the finance office administration position. If you take the kebele chairman, he appointed his relative as house of speaker of the kebele without public voting. These days, EPRDF is leaving the politicians to ride on the public as they wish, education and capability are not criteria for government positions.

The regional food security office transfers funds, which are highly abused by the wereda and even by the kebele administration. I know a wereda officer who has been borrowing money for meskel festival from me lately, and who became officer at the wereda food security/ agriculture office; he built two houses in Durame and Shone and became rich having millions in bank. If the regional government is not able to control the budget it transferred, how could you say it is a functional government? In my judgment, it is a failed government. The government is not able to avoid blood suckers from the shoulder of the poor, so it means that the central government has share or is not interested to deal with what is happening. For example if you give me 40 birr to give a poor woman to feed her children, if I eat all or give her only 5 birr or so, that is rude and if you don't follow where your money reached, you have a problem. That is why I question about the functionality of the government.

The regional government knows very well what is happening at the zone and wereda levels, but they are not interested to demote these corrupted officials. For example, one of the zone officials a few years back was accused of corruption for a 72 million amount at regional level. He was imprisoned for a while until the public questions cooled down, but then they released

him even though they know that he abused the money, and he built a huge and fancy house in Hawassa. Even he was given a better position at a regional office. So the government don't want to touch its corrupt officials. I suspect that even federal officials had a share from the 72 million he stole, otherwise how could they release him. They gathered the public and made them talk about this corrupt zone leader and everyone talked about what they knew, but look, they have saved him and even promoted him.

He also talked about how clan membership mattered with regard to positions in government:

Previously the Gala clan was dominant from the kebele to the zonal levels, there are some in region and federal positions also. Zato and Aze Debo kebeles still have chairpersons from the Gala clan, Bezene Binara Kebele has a chair from the Amara clan (whose ancestor came from Gerado area in Wollo). Amara and Gala are the clans that were leading the wereda for many years, but recently Hadiya from the Moche clan is taking the dominant position in the wereda administration. Moche clans have 5 kebeles adjacent to Alaba, these groups threatened the zone of joining the Hadiya zone and so they began to bring them to key wereda positions, so now they are pulling many others into different sector offices in wereda positions. Even though they claim to be Kambata, they are from Hadiya.

Farming

Smallholder farming

Kambata zone is known as a highly populated area in the region and population growth in recent years has been significant. So, the number of small holdings has been increasing in recent years and there is no free land in Aze Debo. The majority of households in the community are smallholders having one or two timad of land.

Land for smallholder crops and grazing

Access to land is a source of inequalities. In general, richer farmers have bigger land plots and poorer people have smaller plots, or no land at all. However, both richer and poorer farmers note that land shortage is a serious problem which makes production yield increases impossible. There are different strategies among farmers of different wealth to deal with this situation (box below).

Rich farmers can afford using the land they have, and renting additional plots of land. One of the rich farmers has half hectare of land, and he has never rented-out or shared it. He even rented himself another half hectare from the school. He said that even if he is involved in different types of farming with surplus production, doing that is a challenge because of the lack of land. In 2010 EC, he was able to produce 5 quintals of maize, 1 quintal of beans harvested in mixed cropping after maize, 2 quintals of teff, 3 quintals of wheat, and 1 quintal of coffee. Another rich farmer who is also a big trader has 4 hectares of land used for rainfed agriculture. In addition he rented half hectare of land from the school and another hectare from an individual farmer for sharecropping.

A middle income farmer had one-fourth hectare of land, in addition to the garden and the land where the house is built. He never rented in or out. Contrary to the rich farmer, his main activity is farming, and not so much trade. The main products he trades are coffee and teff sold in the market in Durame, and to a lesser extent cabbage and tomato. Products like avocado and sugarcane are consumed at home. The kebele helps him to get improved seeds, fertiliser and technical assistance through the DAs.

Box 4 Strategies to deal with land shortage

Climate change, which is said to have intensified within the past 4-5 years, is compounding the land shortage challenge. The area usually produces twice a year, but recently people could produce only once, which does not allow to feed all family members. For poorer farmers, it is not possible to

irrigate the small plot of land that they have. In times of drought (especially in 2000 EC and 2002/3 EC, and more recently 2007 EC) its multiple negative effects are especially painful for poorer farmers, as they do not produce surpluses and have big problems to survive during dry seasons.

Access to land is especially challenging for **the young generation**, which acts as a factor pushing them away from farming as a livelihood option and towards other options, including migration - in addition to these other options' own attraction (e.g. through examples of successful migrants acting as a pull factor). In any instance, people who would like to stay in the community have limited opportunities to get their own farm land. (See more on this in the **Young people's economic and other experiences** chapter).

According to the data provided by the kebele manager, there are **communal grazing lands** in Dekeya and Witte gots. The biggest plot is about 4 hectares and part of it was given to the Millennium school in 2000 EC. World Vision constructed two ponds there, which reduced its size even more but provide water for irrigation. There is also a half hectare of grazing land in Jachu, Lay Debo and Wemino gots. The area called Sherifa has grazing land shared by three gots. However, part of this area has been incorporated into Durame, reducing grazing land. There are also some plots of land that were given for coffee processing, milk processing and flour factories. One of the coffee processing plants has taken a big plot, but the owner built only a small hall and started selling grass on the rest of the land rather than expanding the coffee business widely. A part of the communal land is protected till Meskel festival for few months.

In an FGD, farmers were not able to estimate the general public land size in the kebele, however they knew that the public land is used for planting eucalyptus trees and for public grazing. Also, they mentioned that, returnee soldiers were given 1000 square meter land from the public land (in Malle got), and recently the church was given public grazing land to build a kindergarten. Most of the farmers have private grazing land, but its size varies.

Farmers estimated that around 1000 households¹⁵ plant fodder especially those who have hybrid cows. Four types of new fodder were introduced by an NGO (ACDI-VOCA). Also, the DAs encourage farmers to plant all four types of fodders: *Felaris*, *Zehone*, *Alfa-alfa* and *Gotmala*. However, the farmers noted that the amount of fodder seedlings given is very small. There are some problems with continuation of fodder cultivation once it is harvested. Firstly, when it needs to be re-planted, farmers need to buy it from the FTC, which people are not willing to do, and they demand the seeds from the kebele all the time. Secondly, some of farmers do not want to plant fodder, saying that it will encroach on their small farm land, and some say it will dry the land.

People who do not use fodder feed the cows other things like enset leaves, *frushka*, or straws of teff. In general fodder was introduced around 2000 EC, as noted by a rich farmer. For one of the middle farmers it seemed to work well - thanks to the new fodder types he is able to feed his hybrid cow; he added that "*without fodder, the smaller pasture land wouldn't have helped to make the animals graze as it was before*". However, planting fodder for those who have small land plots, especially for young people, is not easy. In farmers' opinion, people should use and take care of grass in rotation.

Box 5 Farmers' views on grazing land and fodder

Regarding other **types of communal land**, there is a football playground and community gathering place near the kebele centre. There is also a community forest located in Debo, and Aze Mishida. About 5 hectares are covered with trees, between those localities.

¹⁵This estimate may be on the high side as 1000 households would mean almost every household.



Picture 1 Football playground and communal grazing land with ponds on the way to the Millennium school

Wives' farming activities

Wives, apart from typical household activities and taking care of children, were involved in some of the farm activities.

One of the typical activities of wives, irrespective of wealth status, was dairy production. Compared to 2012, this has started to have a very important role in households' activities, especially for women. Wives help their husbands sowing crops and working on irrigated vegetables like tomato, cabbages, carrot, pepper, and sweet potato. On the basis of information provided by a middle-income farmer, wives and children are also involved in irrigation management with the support of DAs (see Box below). Women tend to sell and manage the income from cabbage or tomato, though their husbands are also involved in money management.

There is some differentiation among people of different wealth statuses. Wives of rich people engage in managing hybrid cows. Wives of middle wealth farmers engage in petty trade like selling butter, coffee, fruits, vegetables, and retailing crops at the market. In the poor households, they strive to engage in petty trade in a smaller scale and selling more vegetables and fruits.

A poor farmer, with 6 children and 1000 sq meters land

He said that they just use the hand pump located in front of their house since the well was provided in 1994 EC, although they started practising irrigation in 2000 EC. In the past five years the household focused on producing tomato using irrigation, and they get an income for a few months from tomato harvest. The DA is supporting the household by encouraging them to engage in the production of tomato using irrigation. His wife and the children work more on irrigation than him. He ploughs the land for them, but the rest of the activities are done by them. His wife also sells and manages the income from tomato though mostly he is also involved in deciding how to use the money.

Box 6 Poor farmer's wife is involved in irrigation management

Several of the respondents were widows or did not have husbands. These women are burdened with both household and farming activities. They sometimes get support from the living family members (e.g. grandchildren) or church people. Sometimes, but not always, they are included in the government interventions like PSNP.

Farm labour

Farming in Aze Debo is not mechanised at all. Farmers tend to use family members' and neighbours' labour (see Box 6). Labour sharing (or reciprocal work), hiring daily farm labourers or giving work out for contract are some of the other practices. Farmers helped each other during harvest, but the rest of the time most of them work individually.

All farmers, regardless of their economic status, rely on the work of family members or neighbours, but

the use of other options depend on their wealth.

In addition to family labour, rich farmers can afford hiring farm labourers from Aze Debo and Durame. One of the model farmers mentioned that he helps four widows and their children in providing them food/crops, and in return they assist him in his farm. He also recently had young men who came in a group and cleared weeds because he is Mekane Yesus church monk.

Middle wealth farmers use family labour, and support among them ('debo') during harvest is common. A middle wealth farmer relied on neighbours and family: "*our family cooperate to work on our farms and sometimes neighbours also work together in rotation, mainly during harvesting. We never hire farm labourers*".

Poor households rely on support of other households or the church. For example, a church leader ploughed the land of a female poor farmer. In these households, young people tended to help in the household after school. As reported by female farmers, those who have young boys in the family ask their children to fetch water from nearby well or spring and water the garden but that doesn't often work well since the boys are less involved in household farming activities.

Box 7 Examples of wealth-differentiated types of farm labour in Aze Debo

Young people also work on farms, as illustrated by the examples in Box 7. However, some of the landless youth who completed grade 10 refuse to work as farm labourers or even on their parents' farm whilst they still live at home and do not have any employment. The reason behind this is pride, as people believe that somebody who completed education should not work in farming.

A poor young man, 28 years old, worked on farm activities with his brothers, like ploughing with oxen and hoe digging, sowing, weeding, harvesting and transporting the products to Durame town and Witea market.

A middle wealth young man, 17 years old, comes from school at 12:15 pm and after lunch he supports his father on his farm (...), as he is the only son who is old enough and available at home.

Another **middle wealth young man, 18 years old**, in the past one year, has been working in the shop and teashop that the family owns, and he also worked on the family farm: he ploughed, sowed, weeded every type of crop. Fetching water with donkeys was another major duty that he usually takes.

A rich man, 30 years old, worked on all farm activities including ploughing, sowing, weeding, kutkuato/hoeing, harvesting.

Box 8 Examples of young people's involvement in farm labour

Many households use children's work and they do not hire anyone else, as illustrated by the following case of this 42 years old model farmer. He has five children, with the oldest one 18 years old. He has ½ hectare of land and he rented quarter of a hectare from the school for two years by paying 4000 birr. He also ploughs half hectare of land for share cropping:

I'm working with children and never hire anyone, because family works much better than strangers. Because of very close attention and family effort I could earn 6000 birr from maize last year, though most of the households in the community lost their harvest as there was crop failure and pest.

Farm labour is also one of the sources of income, as in the case of this in-migrant agricultural daily labourer:

Since my return, I started to work as farm labourer for the past 25 years. The payment rate is not daily but on contract for a given size of farm land. For example 1/8 of a hectare used to be paid for 60 birr 10 years ago, but now it is 120 birr. This increase in payment is lower than price changes for every item and every service. The farm activities includes hoeing, clearing weeds, harvesting or ploughing with oxen. However, last year due to reduced amount of rainfall, the demand for farm labour decreased. Some people also began to use weed killers which is also gradually affecting my business.

There about 40 farm labourers mostly small holder farmers, who are called by mobile phone whenever people want them. The youngest farm labourers work on the contracts they have taken faster and want to move to the next. So, I'm not worried that I will lose my clients, those who knows how I work carefully and honestly always prefer me and they come home to give me the contract. I don't go out and search for the job, people come to my home or call to my brother living in the next door to pass the message to him.

There were no cases of **customary work exchange**, apart from reciprocal work among a few farmers done for harvesting only. However, whenever somebody builds a house, regardless of their social status, people cooperate in contributing labour and also eucalyptus tree if there is such a request from the household.

Some rich farmers, traders and model farmers decide to **sharecrop** land from people who have relatively larger size land, households without young men or with young men not interested to put effort in farming, and those who have no oxen.

Share-rearing of livestock is widely practiced mainly for hybrid cows, and more rarely for bull fattening. People who do not have the money to buy the cows but have land to grow sugarcane, fodder or enset take the animals from others who have the cows, but not enough space and feed to keep more than 3-4 cows. Traders, rich/model farmers, a broker of hybrid cows, a young man who specialized in this activity all gave animals for share-rearing. The deal involves sharing the milk and the calves as well as sharing the money if the cow is sold for a good price. Share-rearing for bull fattening is done only to share profit. Ox-sharing is also common for ploughing, people join oxen when they have only one, and sometimes even those who have no oxen are given a chance to get their land ploughed in turn; widows are given this chance mostly.

Agricultural modernisation

Modernisation and intensification of agricultural production appears to be one of the priorities in Aze Debo, with the growing pressure on land and high population density. Therefore, at the time of the fieldwork there were many interventions aimed at widespread adoption of modern inputs and technologies, both with regard to crops and livestock.

New farming initiatives

New crops and technologies

Modern inputs, especially, chemical fertiliser and improved seeds, were widely distributed for crop production and supposed to be delivered through government channels. Row planting was also promoted by the kebele. On the other hand, farmers in Aze Debo are still dependent on traditional ways of cultivating land and there was no change in terms of using tractors, harvesters or threshers. Moreover, although irrigation has a lot of potential, extremely rudimentary technologies mean that this potential is far from being fully exploited (see below).

The government interventions aimed at intensification of farming such as use of fertiliser, irrigation and improved seeds seem, target all farmers in principle. However, their use and the possible benefits ensuing from this appear to be linked to farmers' wealth. For example, a richer farmer described governmental support in the following way:

The agriculture office provides relevant support, the DA tells about spacing for planting avocado, coffee, teff and every item. Seeds like teff is given like 2 kg etc. which he believes is not enough, he said it is insignificant and given to only a few farmers. The wereda yesterday brought saws to prune coffee but only 3 of them were brought. He was able to get one, but he says all model farmers and those putting effort should also have been given this tool.

He planted improved avocado seedlings when NGOs brought it, the wereda office, and from Areka Farm experiment centre. The coffee he planted is also from Yergachefe which is best

quality. He started to shift to improved breed of cattle, and fodder planting is also a new technology that he pioneered to adopt in 2000 EC.

He plants all crops in line (teff, maize, wheat etc.). Coffee is planted at an adequate distance measured by meters and he digs holes differently, wider and deeper than before, and compost is added in the holes; this is a new way and it allowed the coffee to grow faster.

The middle-income farmer said that *the kebele is helping him to get improved seeds, fertiliser and technical assistance through DA and Farmers' Association.*

These interventions seem to work, as he confirmed:

He planted fodder at the edge of his farm, he is planting crops in line, he used pesticide for the vegetables, and fertiliser is applied for each of their products except for enset and coffee. Recently he began to irrigate his land using water from a pond, a new initiative which he says is an encouraging business. He believes that planting in line brought him advantage in terms of greater convenience in weeding and taking care of the farm, and the output is also much better, coupled with the improved seeds he obtained and the fertiliser he applied. He planted a new type of fodder and is able to feed the hybrid cow he has, and added that without such fodder option, the smaller pasture land wouldn't have helped to make the animals graze as it was before.

However, the picture of government support for poorer farmers is not so positive:

The kebele DA advised them (i.e. poorer farmers) to have a deep well and engage in irrigation practices, but there is no support in providing seeds or fertiliser, they just say buy it, but they said that they don't have money for that.

Surplus production is important from the point of view of diversification of livelihoods: farmers with more land are more likely to have different farming activities and be able to sell or keep different products depending on prices. It seems that they are more actively supported by the DAs. Poorer farmers, who usually have smaller plots of land, are rarely able to go beyond subsistence production.

As mentioned above, new inputs like **fertiliser and new seeds** are strongly promoted by the kebele. However in recent years, using these inputs has been problematic for farmers because of their ever increasing prices (see **Inflation** section above). Seeds and fertiliser seem to be between 1.5 and 2 times as expensive as they were only three years ago. Lower income families also use a small amount of the farm inputs provided at the kebele. To some extent they are obliged to use it, as the kebele administration deduct the price from these families' safety net transfers. At times, poor households receive fertiliser and retail it on the market because they can't use on their farmland the whole amount of fertilizer that the kebele provides them. However, there is shortage of improved seeds and also it is costly for the poor households so most often they use both traditional and improved seeds. That also affects the amount of farm output they produce.

Fertiliser

The use of fertiliser seems to be one of the top priorities for the kebele, coming from the wereda and possibly higher up. It is possible to obtain it from the kebele office through the Farmers Association, but some farmers buy it from the market in Durame. Fertiliser is applied to teff, maize, wheat, beans, potato, tomato and godere.

There are different types of fertiliser sold to farmers by the kebele: DAP, UREA and NPS. It is possible that DAP was replaced by the NPS recently; or farmers use a mix of UREA and NPS¹⁶. Fertiliser is applied in different amounts depending on crop. For example, a spoon or bottle is used to apply fertiliser on single plants like tomato, maize. For teff, farmers just spread out in the rows according

¹⁶ Information in report documents is not consistent.

to their own estimation. Many farmers note that using fertiliser is expensive (see price increase mentioned above).

Some farmers use compost, but it is said to reduce gradually. One of the model farmers underlined the importance of using of organic fertiliser:

Farmers should get knowledge about the importance of organic fertiliser and get back to it by making compost, because chemical fertiliser is bad and affects health. When I apply compost to coffee trees, I harvested a lot more in two consequent years, whereas when I added chemical fertiliser, the roots of the coffee began to grow on the outer surface and the entire tree dried after a while. This shows that fertiliser is dangerous. The stem drier disease originated from chemical fertiliser. These days, pesticide for this disease costs 700 birr and it is difficult to find it in the nearby towns. The DAs try their best to encourage farmers to make compost, but only a few accepts it, and lately DAs began to focus on willing adopters only, because they are losing hope on the rest.

There were **different opinions among farmers** about fertiliser. One female middle wealth farmer said that she used fertiliser, because otherwise the land did not give products. For male middle-wealth farmers the higher price of seeds and fertiliser do not encourage them to use them when they compare with the selling price of their products. Poorer farmers feel forced to buy and apply fertiliser even if they do not see any point in it, because they do not have big farmland. They have to take a loan to buy it or they have to use part of the amount given as PSNP support, which is not welcomed with great enthusiasm (see example in the Box 8).

A female farmer described purchase of fertiliser in the following way:

“The kebele provides fertiliser twice a year. DAP (530 birr per 50 kg) and UREA (480 birr for 50 kg) is purchased by all households, both middle and lower income. Lower income families are forced to take one sack of each fertiliser, but they do not apply it all on their farm rather they sell it in the market and use the money. They repay the cost from the PSNP ‘income’ (many have credit issues going on with the kebele administration). The middle-low income and low-income families have also credit issue with the agriculture office. One has a 1040 birr credit with the office, they repaid 500 and there is a remaining 540 birr; another family has a remaining 600 birr to be repaid. It is not acceptable to refuse fertiliser when the local administration informs farmers to purchase. They provide fertiliser and force families to pay back even if they didn’t get enough production for various reasons like disease, shortage of rain and the like”.

Box 9 Enforcing fertiliser purchase onto poorer households

Moreover, according to farmers different fertiliser types vary in effectiveness. According to a rich farmer, the cheaper type of fertiliser does not improve productivity that much. Additionally, the amount of fertiliser that is needed each year has been increasing in the past 5 years because the fertility has declined once farmers started applying it. There were also various opinions about the technical advice provided by the kebele for the use of fertiliser. While middle and rich farmers said that they received such support, as shown above poor farmers complained that there was nothing more than advice.

There is evidence that there is strong pressure by the government to use fertiliser, even if people have to take a loan to buy it. The kebele supervisor from the wereda, as part of his duties, has to “make farmers plan what to plant, when to plough, and how many times and motivate them to use fertiliser” and also “mobilize kebele workers and militia to work on fertiliser debt return”. The fact that there are miscalculations with regard to the amount of fertiliser needed for the kebele does not help – as explained by the chairman with the case of the wereda dumping twice the agreed amount (see p.51) and as illustrated in the pictures below.



Picture 2 Trucks bringing more fertiliser whereas the store is still full

Interestingly, credit can be taken only for fertiliser, and not for seeds or other farm inputs (however three years ago, seeds used to be obtained with half payment though OMO). Repayment of loans taken for fertiliser seems to be a problem in the kebele, as even militia are involved in debt repayment collection. The social court deals with people who are accused of not paying their debt taken for fertiliser and also *iddirs* remind their members about repayment. Despite all these problems, the DA said that one of his achievements is “*making people adopt technology (it is mostly row planting, and the use of pesticide and fertiliser), and application on the ground is one of the achievements of the development group*”.

Seeds

Improved seeds for maize, wheat and ‘*adengware*’ (a kind of legume seedlings) are available in the kebele centre since 2006EC. In farmers’ opinion their price is high and some households cannot afford buying them. There is a strong pressure from wereda to use fertiliser, but distribution of improved seeds is not so important in their agenda.

Regarding new types of seeds, *beletech* and *jalene* are new types of potato introduced six years ago. A new maize type known as *limu* has been introduced three years ago. Teff type known as *kuncho* and *dashen* wheat type have been introduced 5 years ago, and *hedase* wheat came to the kebele 3 years ago. *Boleke*/beans known as *Nisir* has been introduced within the past five years. Both NGOs and wereda agriculture office worked to introduce these new types of improved seeds to the kebele.

A female middle wealth farmer said that the kebele provides improved seeds once a year but it is not available on time and also not in adequate amount. Most people purchase from retailers in the market. People do not find using improved seeds along with fertiliser very easy, as the amount available at the kebele is not enough, the cost is increasing and there is pressure to use them. A female farmer claimed that:

The government should support the community in providing adequate improved seed on time; and the cost should be fair; right now one small sack is sold for 600 birr and it is not fair. They should also help the community by finding solutions for the coffee and maize disease – as the production is decreasing.

Regarding new crops, vegetables (mainly root crops), fruits (mango, avocado and apple), and pulses are relatively recent in the community. Avocado was introduced 20 years ago, mango 10 years ago,

apple 5 years ago, the latter two by World Vision. The rest of the fruits have been grown for generations. Every three years the wereda agriculture office provides new seeds of teff, corn, beans, wheat. Farmers gradually brought avocado and a new breed ('Wondo') of banana in the past 20 years, from Wolayta and other weredas. Also, a new type of avocado brought by Adventist missionaries has been expanding. People also share the off-springs of new banana; or they plant the seeds out of their avocado and mango fruits. Since the past two years, households in the community are growing 'adengware' (a new kind of legume) which requires less water and was widely introduced by the kebele. As noted by a female farmer, *godere* is grown in many households regardless of their wealth status.

When it comes to adoption of new inputs, model farmers and people who are devoted to their farms were the first ones who adopted new crops and plants like apple; it took some time for other people to accept these. There are a few who now have planted apple by looking at the model farmers, so that around 50 people have apple trees in their garden. World Vision helped the pioneers by advising them how to plant apple and also by providing the seedlings. Since the apple tree is difficult to grow from the stem or seeds, World Vision had to provide the late adopters with apple seedlings too, whereas mango has gradually expanded through farmers planting the seeds from their fruits. Farmers don't understand the benefit of these new fruits so not many are adopting them. There is no training from DA about these fruits, and the World Vision distribution stopped two years ago.

Pesticides, weed killers and other chemicals

Pesticides are used against enset and coffee diseases. They are not as strongly promoted as fertiliser, and don't always help. Maize pesticides were available in 2008/9 EC. The community was provided with it but the result was not that satisfactory – many people still lost their production. Also, so far, no cure has been found for the coffee stem drying disease which is a major blow to coffee production in the area (see below). Moreover, farmers complained that using weed killers and pesticides, known in the community as chemical '2/4D', for teff, wheat, and tomato, caused the death of the bee population in the past six years. Pests used to occur before the crops would flower, but in the past two years pests occurred after flowering, so the bees were out on the flowers while the pesticides were sprayed. This made the pests problem even worse. These chemicals have also all become more expensive.

Irrigation

Aze Debo has a great potential for irrigation, because of shallow ground water. In most areas water is found no deeper than 10 meters, with the exception of mountains where it is found at around 20 meters. Small scale irrigation has been practiced in the kebele in the past few years, but the technology in use is extremely rudimentary. The most common way is using buckets to take water from ponds, springs or 10 meters hand-dug wells, using a rope. Model farmers said that about 20% of all households try to engage in this type of irrigation and a few use hand pumps meant to take drinking water to irrigate small plots in their garden. The scale of irrigation is also limited because of the small plots of land. To expand irrigation, the zone recently dug four water harvesting ponds and people fetch water from the nearest pond. Also, World Vision has built 2 ponds in Dekeya got on grazing land in 2008/09 EC. In 2009 EC another pond was dug as part of PSNP Public Works in one of the gots (4th Maikelawi). Apart from that, there were about 23/25 water pumps distributed by the kebele to some households in 2008/9 EC, but only a few have made use of them. There are about 21 protected wells in the kebele.

According to farmers, irrigation started being practiced around ten years ago mainly in the land located on the left side of the asphalt road going from Durame, lower than the road. There are three water sources (hand pump, hand dug well and pond). There had been even efforts to introduce irrigation even earlier: fifteen years ago, about 20 farmers were made to dig ponds for water harvesting and given plastic to cover the ponds, but thieves were stealing the plastic at night so these efforts didn't go anywhere at that time.

The people living on the mountains face more difficulty when it comes to irrigation potential. Water resources are located deeper and there is no other option to get there than using machines. The problem is magnified by the lack of land and the lack of a river or consistent spring to divert. Though the DAs gave training on irrigation technique and the community is better aware, the infrastructure is not there. It was not clear how DAs work with those people who live on the mountain. For example, a poor farmer having 6 children and only 1000 square meter land on the mountain said water in his area is deep up to 20 meters, besides his land is very small which doesn't encourage irrigation. The ponds are a bit far for him to practise intercropping irrigation. He also preferred to plant enset and coffee rather than seasonal crops. The DA also has never come to him to encourage him to start irrigation.

The trend of irrigation increased when people saw that others were benefiting. Those who started irrigating are able to grow coffee seedlings, tomato, cabbages, so sometimes it is visible that these people can have products to sell when others do not have them.

Model farmers said that irrigation is becoming important despite the limited technology. People are growing more tomato and cabbages these days, for the market, so these are said to replace coffee as cash crop, next to eucalyptus trees. Some farmers obtained up to 8000 birr from tomato harvest at one time. Consumption of vegetables is also expanding which is improving households' diets. However, as mentioned earlier, the irrigation practice is limited to 1/5 of the community partly due to lack of access to water, topography (mountains and very deep water bed), and reluctance.

Using irrigation influenced women's activities. In Aze Debo small-scale irrigation is mostly used to grow tomatoes and cabbage, which are women's domain, and it allows production to increase. One of the farmers said that he ploughs land for this kind of crops, but it is his wife and children who take care of crops from the very beginning. No special advice is provided to the women, but the DA general advice on using modern farm inputs (fertiliser and improved seeds) and also irrigation by using every water source available in the community to grow garden vegetables, is directly concerning them.

Irrigation has become a major priority for the wereda, as suggested by the example of **a 42 years old model farmer**, whose case is described in the Box below.

Once when the wereda was doing random visits on farms, they found him growing larger vegetables in a good way, so they invited him to a regional conference for award as well as for a visit to Wondo Genet farm experimentation site near Hawassa. However, the kebele chair and the entire administration accused him for by-passing the lower administration and making link with the wereda. They said, 'how could you go to up to region without the kebele nominating you?'

Last year he earned 8000 birr from tomato, 500 birr from onions, 1000 birr from cabbages and traders from Shashemene came and bought it from his farm. Last year the DA advised him to plant in row and apply fertiliser and to modernize his farming activities. The wereda provided him 2500 plastic bags to grow coffee seedlings, and this year he got a coffee pruning tool. World Vision provided him orientation on irrigation and seeds of tomato, carrot and cabbages last year. However the respondent says that the kebele administration is not providing any support.

He said his irrigation activities are important in several ways. It means there are plenty of food options for the family, and except salt and oil, he produces every food item the family needs. He also earned more income and was able to buy better clothes and shoes and stationary which encouraged his children to attend school. In general from all his farming activities, he was able to buy more cattle including a hybrid cow, and he spent 8000 birr to buy a TV, receiver and satellite dish.

He didn't plant new crops in the past 5 years except apple trees. However he said he was able to plant improved seeds of tomato when the regional government gave him such seeds from Wondo Genet farming experiment centre, as award.

Box 10 A man who benefited from irrigation

As DAs are strongly advising all households to start this activity, an irrigation cooperative for young people was organized by the wereda cooperative development office. The cooperative has 29 men and women members. However, they were not given land due to land shortage in the kebele, and they are trying to irrigate on their own parent's land. The support from World Vision was 3 diesel generators two of which were broken in a year.

Finally, World Vision also encourage farmers to irrigate farms. As a part of the Gini project, some farmers received pumps to initiate irrigation, but the main beneficiaries were said to be related to the kebele administration or selected based on clanship links.

Other technologies

Other new farming practices such as **intercropping and row planting** are promoted by the DAs. Some farmers found row planting advantageous, like the middle-wealth farmer quoted above. Intercropping, which is used for beans (*boleke* and *ater*), maize and teff, was mentioned by a model farmer, a daily agricultural labourer, and young people helping on farms.

New livestock & technologies

Livestock production has traditionally been an important component of the farming livelihoods in Aze Debo. In recent years its importance has been expanding compared to crop production. This section concentrates on cattle (especially hybrid cows, dairy and bull fattening), poultry and modern bee-keeping.

Cattle

Hybrid cows and dairy - In recent years ownership of hybrid cows has expanded, contributing to increased dairy production. Bull fattening has also become more popular, although not as much as hybrid cows and dairy.

People used to keep local cows, but this is now changing. In early 2018 almost 80% of households were said to have hybrid cows, of two types. The 'Jersey' type gives better butter production, but little milk. The other one is known as 'Holstein', which produces more milk but less butter.

There are several stories about how these cows were introduced. One respondent said that years back one missionary from the Mekane Yesus church brought 3 cows and a big bull of the same breed. Initially, people said *'this looks like hyena, how can people drink milk from this animal'* but gradually they understood the benefits of these cows compared to the local cows. Some farmers used to pay 5 birr to have their local cows inseminated. According to another respondent farmer, people brought these new cows from Wolayta and Daworo.



Picture 3 Holstein (left) and Jersey (right) hybrid cows

The wereda and the zone are well known for improved dairy cows and Aze Debo, Zato, Binara and Dega Kedida are known for their high number of them. The wereda has even been awarded for its modern productive livestock breed. Zato kebele expanded it more rapidly than the other three.

There was no support for the pioneers, but the wereda brought a few of these cows for farmers to pay in three years and seven farmers benefited from this support in Aze Debo. World Vision also provided cows to poor households. Since the cows are expensive, those who are able to have them are the model farmers, households having children in South Africa, people having salary like teachers or kebele workers, and traders. Those who have a salary also have land and farms so that they can use their salary for *equub* to buy them.

There has been a huge change in the household economy following the expansion of these cows. If one farmer sells two heifers he can build a better house with iron sheet roofs, and buy a TV and other expensive things. Some people moved from small huts to iron roof houses mostly due to the income from these improved breed cows or by selling them.

Moreover, there was no trend of selling milk from local cows, as their production is not high enough to have a surplus for the market so farmers used to entirely consume the milk and by-products at home. This is also changing. With more milk production, more milk is available for children at home, and the surplus is taken to Sheifa milk processing plant or sold to other customers. Women manage the money and become *equub* members, as milk is considered to be mainly women's domain in Kambata. When women's income increases, they can better feed and take care of the household, they buy goods for the family, clothes etc. There is a milk-processing plant established as a women's cooperative with support from the NGO ACDI-VOCA, near the *kebele*, and *bajajs* move around households to collect the milk for this plant.

People can buy cows from Durame, Shinshicho, Shonea, Damboya and Fendidea areas on the open market. Usually cows are bought in Durame since it is the zonal town and farmers from all these areas bring cows to sell, and more buyers also come to Durame. The cows brought from Kefa and Dawro and Gesuba/Welayta are less resistant to disease, though they are highly productive. Especially those from Gesuba may die rapidly. However farmers said that, those bought in Durame are disease resistant and relatively productive.

Different activities and inputs are needed for cows, such as building better houses, planting fodder and taking care of them. People appreciate the vet's presence at the kebele centre, which is there since 2 years. However, sometimes drugs are not available at the kebele, and people have to take cows to Durame town. There was no case of epidemics killing masses of animals.

With regard to problems, feeding the cows during the dry season is challenging, as the public grazing land is shrinking. Moreover, prices have changed: the price of *frushka* (by-product in grinding mills) went up from 70 birr per quintal four years ago to 345 birr per quintal now. In comparison, milk was 8 birr per litre four years ago and now only 13 birr; butter was 100 birr per kg three years ago and now only 230 birr; cheese was 30 birr per kg three years ago and now 50 birr. So, farmers said the feed is getting too expensive and the price increase for milk and milk products is not commensurate. And yet, to have very high milk production they need to feed *frushka* to the cows.

Regarding possible solutions, farmers said that:

- *Model farmers, traders, civil servants and households with children in South Africa benefited from the dairy farming revolution, but the poor are just 'observers'; the government should do something about this. They could help farmers in providing credit for more people, by making farmers guarantors one for another. The support so far is very limited.*
- *If the government provided the best type of hybrid cows for sale this could be dependable, instead of buying cows from the market with the risk of getting cows that are less productive and susceptible to disease.*
- *Especially, government support is needed to expand better quality cows with high butter productivity because milk is less important than butter in terms of monetary value.*

Dairy production - Dairy production is women's domain in the Kambata culture. For women wanting to sell milk, the buyers require cleaning the breasts and using a clean container to milk the cows, therefore they do so to get the market. There is no other material needed for milking a cow. For butter, women must also use clean containers as much as possible and use clay pot to shake the yoghurt and produce butter. They also use another pot to boil and produce cheese. They use enset/banana leaves and plastic plates to store and take butter and cheese to the market. There is no DA or government advice with regard to production of milk and milk products.

These days more milk is sold compared to five years ago. Model farmers mentioned that on average, a household having a Holstein cow may sell up to 15 litres a day. Farmers having Jersey cows mostly use them for butter production but if they prefer to sell milk, they can sell up to 7 or 8 litters a day. It was estimated that about 80% of the milk from Jersey cows is processed at home to produce butter and cheese; and more butter is also being produced than five years ago. Butter is sold on the Durame open market; there is no butter market within the kebele. Milk is sold either to the nearby women's milk processing cooperative, or to the processors in Durame. There are no milk traders to collect and sell it elsewhere.

The price of milk does not vary seasonally that much, but it has increased by up to 5 birr per litre over the past five years. Butter gets more expensive during holidays when its price can increase by 30 birr, and it has also shown a general trend of price increase over time, from 120 to 210 birr per kg in five years.

In terms of new technologies and livestock products, as mentioned earlier, there is one milk processing association located in the neighbouring kebele – Zato Shodera. It started working around 2008 EC. Some women from the kebele use to provide their milk to the association to process it. Another big plant is being built in that kebele by Azeb Mesfin and there is a chance for the community members to benefit from that.

Bull fattening - At least half of the community is engaged in livestock fattening, of bulls and shoats. The strategy is to feed one or two very well, rather than having many at one time. The World Bank credit fund and OMO MFI encouraged the practice since 2003 EC and World Vision also provided training for farmers on bull fattening and a few households have children sponsored by World Vision, and they could get these bulls from this NGO. Also a few poor households obtained shoats from World Vision. Farmers estimated that about 100 households have bulls being fattened at home and some even give out bulls for shared profit.

Bull fattening has double importance for the community. Firstly, oxen are used to plough, then they are fattened and sold for the market. Thanks to the income from fattening some people built iron sheet roof houses, others were able to buy hybrid cows, families get clothes and also have funds for Meskel, some bought better house utensils.

Bull fattening and dairy production have strong gendered dimension in Aze Debo (Box below).

There is a clear gendered pattern in relation to cattle, with women dealing with dairy and men with fattening. Male farmers explained that therefore, there is some competition between men and women in households. For example when the man wants to give more feed to the bull he is fattening, his wife argues to feed the cow rather; or when there is a need and animals have to be sold, the woman says the bulls should be sold even though they are ploughing at that moment, whereas the man wants to sell the cow instead. One of the model farmers said that mostly it is men that finance the purchase of hybrid cows by spending a big amount of money, however due to the culture, women manage and control the income from milk and milk products, so when women started to sell one kg of butter for 210 birr and to earn a high income, some of them began to disrespect their husbands.

Another farmer said that, men spend up to 38,000 birr to buy a cow hoping that allowing women to get a better income would help the family in general. This is happening for many households and women these days have a chance to join *equub* and saving groups because of these cows, though the above

mentioned 'misbehaviour' of wives is also observed in a few households. For example the wife of a teacher living nearby the model farmer is highly disrespecting him, she even wanders around and spends much time visiting friends and going to the town. She is also spending money like a rich person, so she is abusing the income that was supposed to be for the needs of the family. Women also send butter and cheese to their parents and relatives without the knowledge of the husband, which causes conflict.

Box 11 Gendered in relation to dairy and bull fattening

Respondents said that well-fattened bulls will be sold 12,000-25,000 birr depending on the size. This compares with a well-fattened goat which will be sold 3,000-4,000 birr, a sheep 4,000-5,000 birr, and a well fattened cock up to 400 birr during holiday seasons, otherwise 200-300 birr.

When it comes to government interventions, castration of bulls (and also horses and shoats) is available in the kebele. Livestock raised for meat is castrated just to make fattening easier, and the donkeys and horses because the owners want them to be passive so that they do not react forcefully against them or run after female counterparts.

When farmers were asked about opportunity for youth to engage in fattening, they said that young people here should not do this because it requires land to feed the animals. However, their view does not seem to be taken into consideration in the government rural job creation efforts (see [Young people's economic and other experiences](#) chapter). Like young people, poor people don't have enough land, space and capital to engage in fattening. A few poor people in the community tried fattening but with less attention and follow up to the animals, which made the fattening less successful, so that they found it hard work and became less interested.

Poultry

According to the model farmers, the introduction of poultry is a government-led initiative. At the beginning, the wereda started to distribute chickens. NGOs have never intervened in this sector, even World Vision which has a big role in the area. The kebele FTC tries to introduce improved breed of chicken, and they are encouraging farmers by displaying a sample poultry site in the kebele compound. Almost every farmer has these types of new chickens.

In 1970 EC a new type of white hybrid chicken 'from Britain' was introduced, but as they were clearly visible to predators, they were gradually eliminated. They were very good at laying eggs. One of the farmers said that disease used to affect them very seriously and he remembers that twenty of his chicken died in one day. However, under this government, red hybrid chicken were introduced ten years ago and distributed at different times, with increased emphasis in the past five years. The wereda administration try to bring 48 days old chicken through the kebele administration to sell to farmers, and DAs mobilize the community to adopt these new hybrid chicken. Firstly, the wereda was bringing chickens from Debre Zeit, Meki and lately from Mekele. Recently, they started to bring them from the Wolkite/Gubrea area.

There are two types of red chickens: first type is better for eggs and the second for meat. One hen can lay 280-320 eggs a year. They were introduced 10 years ago. Even World Vision was involved in the poultry sector, as the NGO provided 5 days training for 3 groups of farmers (50, 60, and 150 people in each of the rounds at different times). Pioneers who introduced both types of hybrid chickens were model farmers and rich households; currently these people have 20-25 hybrid chickens. Community members mentioned the following characteristics of hybrid/local chickens:

- A separate house must be built for hybrid chickens;
- Hybrid chickens affect the garden if they are not kept in a house;
- Hybrid chicken do not run and fly fast to escape from predators like the local chickens that are lighter;
- Hybrid chickens are still less resistant to diseases than local ones;

- Eggs from hybrid chickens are never used for hatching; only local hens hatch their eggs. Farmers have not tried to put eggs from hybrid hens for hatching by local ones, which would avoid having to continuously buy new hybrids.

The livestock DA encouraged farmers to build separate houses for the hybrid chickens and showed how to build them. Farmers were also provided guidance on how to feed chickens/ and protect them from predators. The DA explained that farmers were not always willing to build separate houses, and asked the wereda for building materials.

Different benefits from poultry production were mentioned. Households are able to sell eggs from their improved production. Chickens are sold 150-400 birr depending on the size, which is another income source. Some farmers said that they are able to cover the costs of stationary materials for their children and to buy clothes for them during holidays with this income. Children are told that chickens belong to them – so they take care of them better, hoping to wear new clothes during holidays. One of the respondents said that his son has 10 chickens and he seriously takes care of them. It is also beneficial for children's nutrition as these days more eggs are available for them and family members to eat.

Some respondents estimated that still, about 65% of the community does not have such improved chicken at all due to different reasons:

- Many prefer to protect their garden and grow coffee seedlings and vegetables, rather than bringing destructive chickens;
- The very poor even do not have funds to buy the 48-day old chicken from the kebele and there is no credit for this purpose;
- Some say that the hybrid chickens demand a lot more care than the local ones, and are highly affected by disease, so they prefer to keep local chickens. And at least there are one or two local chicken in every household.

The three model farmers mentioned that farmers need training on poultry, especially in terms of awareness and skills. Besides, the price of 48 days old chick increased from 20 birr to 57 birr over the past seven years, which discourages many to have them, because these hybrid chickens need great care, and even all of them might die in a day. The production of eggs is much higher from hybrid chicken, but the hens need a feed mix bought from Durame to lay eggs regularly which is expensive.

Modern bee-keeping

Bee keeping has been a traditional farming practice in Aze Debo for generations. Bee-keeping is slowly modernising due to people's own interest as well as thanks to support from World Vision and KMG, who provided training and gave a few modern hives to farmers.

Some said that initially, the wereda sent a well-known beekeeper from Aze Debo in an exchange visit to Bonga area. When he returned, he set up a honey producers' cooperative with 26 members, including some women. World Vision provided training to honey producers and gave out 6 modern beehives; KMG also provided modern hives for a few farmers (someone talked about an NGO which provided modern beehives to 16 farmers). Others said that modern hives were introduced 11 years ago by the Kale Hiwot church's Miskida Sikea project, though it could not expand due to limited skills, the small number of producers and the assumption that beekeeping is an inherited skill, and also there is no producer and supplier of these modern hives in the wereda.

Indeed, a first challenge is that, community members believe that honey production is a sector left for the few who have been trained by their parents in the past. Because of this, there are no farmers trying to join the sector. Also, there is no training to change this attitude and getting equipped with new skills; or, according to some respondents training was given but not to the 'right' people (see below). In addition, efforts to introduce modern technologies were quite limited. Even those who

are involved in beekeeping are mostly dependent on traditional beehives. Apart from the cooperative and some small-scale honey farmers, there are 5 large honey producers, but only two of them use modern beehives.

Regarding trading, some honey producers claim that when World Vision and KMG sent letters for the kebele to recruit appropriate people, the administration mostly selected their relatives who never attempted beekeeping. These people received the modern beehives and kept them without use for a long time.

There are also challenges in using the modern beehives, as described by a young man:

When he tried to transfer the bees into the modern beehives, they tended to leave the second day though he did not know the reason. Gradually after trying several times, on the 8th attempt the bees started to settle in the modern beehives. After his personal effort, the chairman initiated the cooperative which started with ten people using 20 traditional beehives.

The cooperative members wish to have more modern beehives, but the product is not found in the wereda even when they want to buy it. The bees don't enter into the modern hives easily, but once they settle in, the product is much better than in traditional ones. When the modern beehives is done out of Tid tree timber, the bees don't like it, but they prefer it if it is made out of Wanza tree. The smell of the paint on the box discomforts bees.



Picture 4 Modern and traditional beehives

Modernisation changes taken together

Overall, modernisation concerns different aspects of agriculture: the most important change is apparent in relation to cattle and dairy products, to a smaller extent in relation to poultry and bee-keeping. In terms of crops, the most visible interventions are aimed at intensification of agriculture (provision of fertiliser, seeds, weed killer, pesticides).

The most successful model farmers believed that agricultural modernization is benefiting the community through livestock production (mainly dairy farming and poultry) as well as through irrigation, production of vegetables, improved seeds, planting in row and the application of fertiliser.

Crop-livestock & products mixes

Livestock production and livestock products seem to be more important in the community’s farming economy. Crops are also important, but livestock and livestock products sold on local markets are said to bring more benefits for households relying on them.

Crop production

The table below summarizes the most important types of crops, which include coffee, grain crops, beans and pulses, root crops, vegetables, fruits, and trees. This section provides an overview of each of these crops and also includes khat.

Coffee	arabica (local name: marefo), robusta (medoye), liberica (dirbo)
Grain crops	teff, maize, wheat barley (for those in the mountains)
Beans and pulses	bolekea and ater (local names)
Root crops	Potato, bolos godere (locally well-known long-standing potato type), sweet potato, carrot, beetroot
Vegetables	tomato, cabbage (three different types), beetroot, pepper
Fruits	banana, avocado, mango, sugarcane, apple (lemon and orange are extinct due to worm attack)
Trees	eucalyptus, tid, zigba, wanza, bisana (but also Sosa, tikur enchet, palm tree, gravilia and few griar are there)

Table 1 The most important types of crops in Aze Debo

Coffee

Coffee has been grown in Aze Debo for a long time. Since ten years, the regional agricultural bureau is trying to distribute seeds of improved breeds of Marefo and Medoye coffee from Jimma and Yergachefe areas. In 2009 EC, 50 kg of these were distributed to farmers experienced in growing seedlings of coffee. Though it is highly productive and resistant to the coffee berry disease (CBD) it is prone to the stem drying disease. Not all farmers grown this type of coffee.

The DAs help farmers by advising and following-up on how they are making raised beds, spacing between seeds, depth of holes, and how they should only use compost and avoid chemical fertilizer to grow coffee seedlings. World Vision also played a big role, providing training for 86 farmers last year and for 68 others this year mainly on the techniques of coffee farming.

The main challenges faced with coffee production are two types of disease known as the Coffee Berry Disease (CBD) which aborts the coffee berries from the beginning, and the other called stem drier which makes the hole plant dry. The latter is spreading out and becoming very serious. The pesticide for the CBD used to be sold for 30 birr, but now it is 250 birr and it must be sprayed seven times so it is very expensive. Besides, this pesticide is not even found in Durame or Alaba towns, so people have to travel all the way to Shahemene and Hawassa to look for it. For coffee affected by the stem drying disease, farmers are advised to burn down the affected coffee plant or burry it away from their farm land, and to not plant anything on that space for some time. No pesticide appears to be available for it.

Grain crops

The most important grain crops are teff, maize, wheat, maize and barley (for people living on the hills). Maize, teff and sometimes wheat are grown using improved seeds. The crop DA said that about 65% of farmers use improved seeds for these crops. The other farmers say, “we don’t have money to buy both seeds and fertiliser”.

In 2009 EC about 2075 quintals of teff, 1500 quintals of wheat, and 100 quintals of barley were produced in the kebele according to data collected by the DAs. They also said that about 2500

quintals of maize were produced and about 1380 quintals enset were processed for food. This data was collected by the kebele agriculture office as required by the Hosanna Agricultural district/office for research, not supervisory, purposes. Most of the time households grow teff for sale though they tend to consume a small portion of it these days.

Beans and pulses

There are two kinds mentioned by model farmers: beans *bolekea* and *ater*. There is no provision of improved seeds for these crops and they are mostly produced through inter-cropping. The DA data for 2009 EC show that 350 quintals of *boleke* and 125 quintals of *ater* beans were produced.

Vegetables

Tomato and cabbages are the most important marketable vegetables. Among root crops, potato, *blog* (locally well-known longstanding potato type), sweet potato, carrot and beetroot are the most important. In the past five years tomato and cabbage production expanded more than for other vegetables. As noted earlier, small-scale production and trade of vegetables is said to be increasing thanks to irrigation, with around 20% of the community trying to engage in it.



Picture 5 Irrigation – taking water with a bucket



Picture 6 Irrigation – taking water from a well

In addition, some farmers use moisture of the soil to grow tomato and are able to harvest it without irrigation. These farmers plough their land very well after harvesting maize in September/October, so the soil keeps the moisture, and tomato is planted immediately after maize is harvested. Some even started planting the tomato under the corns' shade, which allows the tomatoes to grow well without irrigation. Many farmers also dump dung on the ploughed land to help the soil improve its moisture and fertility before sowing tomato.

DA support households with advice in terms of land preparation, sowing techniques and ways of taking care of vegetables. The wereda agriculture office brought tomato seeds, but there is some controversy: some say that these are better and more productive than those from Durame traders; others say the reverse and that although they are expensive, those bought from vet shops in Durame are highly productive. Tomatoes are more demanding than coffee, more vulnerable to frost and pests, and requiring more labour. There is also a new type of tomato seeds recently brought by the kebele, disease resistant but less productive, and widely expanding. Moreover, in 2010 EC World Vision provided a 6-day training for 60 farmers that live around the big pond and provided them with improved seeds of tomato and cabbage.

According to the kebele agriculture office's report last year only *godere* and potato were grown on 21 hectares of land in 2009EC. However, the crop DA said that practically not even 5 hectares were grown with these crops. Beetroot and carrot are grown on small raised beds in the gardens. Other root crops are mostly grown in intercropping system. The government used to supply improved seeds of root crops but in the past two years the wereda stopped it. DAs support farmers by showing how to prepare raised beds and through advice on soil type suitability for various plants, row planting, techniques of transferring from raised bed to main land, and following up their effort to grow vegetables and root crops.

Fruits

The important fruits are banana, avocado, mango, sugarcane, apple. Lemon and orange are extinct due to worm attack. Avocado and mango are said to be '*wondo*' types. Improved types of apple seedlings were distributed by World Vision in 2009EC. KMG (a local NGO) also did the same in 2005EC. Fruits are consumed and also sold in the market. There is no irrigation for fruits and DA support is limited, responding to individual farmers' need and request for help mainly for grafting and layering (technique of getting roots on the stem), but few farmers need this technical assistance.

Trees

Eucalyptus, tid, zigba, wanza, bisana, sosa, tikur enchet, palm tree, gravilia and griar are important types of trees. Eucalyptus, tid, zegba, wanza and gravilia are sold for construction and for timber. Tikur enchet, girar, sosa and eucalyptus tree are also sold for firewood. Government support to grow these trees is limited. There were attempts at providing seedlings of some of these trees in the rainy season, and different kinds of tree seeds are also provided to the kebele to grow and distribute to individual farmers. Respondents mentioned that these days many trees are cut out for income. Eucalyptus recovers very quickly after cutting, but the number of wanza, zegba, girar trees is decreasing dramatically and people do not re-plant them.

Apart from trees grown by individual farmers for income, the wereda NRM office together with the kebele administration provides every year tree seedlings to mobilize the community for tree planting on communal grazing land. The campaigns are made mostly in summer season.

Chat

There is only one type of chat in the area and though not appreciated by the church and generally in the community, about 20% of the households grow chat. Around 5% of the community grow chat for the market. About 10 households grow chat using irrigation from hand-dug wells. The leading chat farmer sells chat for 150,000 birr a year. The DA said that chat is not on their agenda and there is no

dedicated support for farmers to grow it. He even recalled that last year he reported that 50 households were growing chat and the size of land allocated to this at a meeting, but the wereda agriculture office head insulted him and said, 'who asked you to have this in your report?'.

NGOs also do not support farmers who grow chat in the kebele. The DA said that only 5 people used to grow chat five years ago but now there are 50 household having chat plant in their garden/farm. The DA says that parents/adults grow it more though the young people chew it with their friends. However, farmers explained that the younger generation insist to grow chat in their parents' garden by convincing them of its economic advantage. It is the Protestants who grow chat: when they are challenged by the churches they pretend that they remove it, however they expand it in practice.

The most important cash crops and changes

Coffee used to be the main cash crop ten years ago. However, due to coffee disease and the high cost of the pesticides needed to tackle the diseases, its production has been decreasing in the past 7 years. Currently coffee is competing with eucalyptus as the most important cash crop. People who dedicated a relatively larger portion of their land for eucalyptus trees are now benefiting more since the price of wood is dramatically increasing, and farmers started to lose hope in coffee.

Coffee and eucalyptus are followed by tomato and cabbage production, which is increasing thanks to irrigation, despite the fact that it is at an early stage. Banana is an important cash crop as well, as it was 10 years ago.

Cash crop inputs

The main inputs are fertiliser, seeds as well as pesticides and weed killer (see above sections).

Financing inputs

Farmers finance their inputs using the following methods:

- selling agricultural products from the previous year (1/3 of crops grown are sold whereas a higher proportion of enset is consumed at home)
- some sell livestock
- a few farmers have enough savings to pay for inputs and they do not need to sell anything
- traders and civil servants have alternative income to use for inputs
- credit is available only for fertiliser; farmers have to pay cash for improved seeds or any other inputs (three years ago, seeds used to be obtained with half payment though OMO).

Farmers noticed that there are a few people who remain indebted for several years, sometimes up to four years, which increases the interest they owe. Some of them do not even realise that they have a debt to repay. This year the wereda decided that fertiliser can be purchased by cash only. As a result, some farmers decided to plant maize without fertiliser. The DA gave a different information, explaining that credit is given only for summer season as households are likely to have financial shortage, but during the belg season it is always cash and there is no fertiliser distribution on credit.

Sale

According to farmers, the shortage of land means that a lot of people grow crops only for subsistence and only a few produce for the market. However, there are crops which are widely produced for trade, including coffee, teff, maize, wheat, tomato, cabbages, banana, potato and *godere*. The scale of trade varies depending on the crop.

Coffee is sold within the wereda to the coffee processing plants or other big traders and retailers, if a farmer does not have a license allowing to sell coffee outside of the wereda. The capital needed to get such a license amounts to 1 million birr; this allows selling coffee outside the wereda "*where there is better market/value*". If anyone attempts to take it out of the community and Durame, it is considered as contraband.

Irrigated crops, such as tomatoes, cabbages, banana and potatoes are sold locally in Durame, Shinshicho and Alaba markets. Banana is even taken to Shashemene. Eucalyptus and tid trees are sold to traders coming from Nazret and different other towns. Maize is produced in the community, but with little surplus, so traders bring it from Wolkite/Gurage zone to sell it in Aze Debo mainly during the dry season.

Prices

The irrigated crops have better sale price these days. Unless people make a mistake in harvesting there is no problem in storage or transportation; for example if tomatoes are collected when they are red, it will be easily sold on the market. A basket of tomato (50 kgs) was sold 100 birr or a little more three years ago and is now sold 200 birr today.

Sale prices of other products have also changed in the past five years. For example, for maize it was 250-300 birr per quintal, but now 750-900 birr; teff was 600-800 birr and now 2000 birr; wheat was 500 birr but now 700 birr. Wheat price has not changed much because flour factories came to existence and people are now buying wheat to bake bread for wedding, funerals and for households use, and the trend of using enjera from teff is increasing over time.

Unprocessed dry coffee was 15 birr per kg five years ago, and now it is 40 birr. The processed one was 35 birr and now it is 100-120 birr depending on the season. One of the model farmers said that, a quintal of dry coffee used to be 180 birr ten years ago, and now it is 4000-4500 birr.

The sale price of eucalyptus tree also changed dramatically: ten years ago a farmer could get up to 5000 birr from a 1/4 hectare planted with these trees; these days with the same plot size one can earn up to 50000 birr.

Livestock

Among livestock, hybrid cows, bulls, poultry, shoats and bees are important, in this order. The most important types of livestock for which there were notable recent changes have been covered in the section on **New livestock & technologies** (cattle, poultry and beekeeping). This section focuses on the other types of livestock, such as sheep and goats.

Sheep's and goats

At the end of 2009 EC there were about 172 sheep and about 225 goats in the kebele. Farmers said that the number of sheep has increased since ten years but their quality has not changed. There are two new types of goats, which the wereda is trying to introduce with the help of the Ethiopian Catholic Church - *borena* and *doyogena* – from Sidama and Hadero areas. Farm Africa is also supporting this initiative. However, it is not clear from the data how widespread these are. Efforts to modernise shoat production are not as strong as with regard to cattle, poultry and to some extent beekeeping, and the number of these small ruminants in the kebele is quite small.

Children and a few young men and women may buy small remnants like sheep and goats and small children take care of them, collecting tree branches and grasses to feed them. Households which cannot afford buying hybrid cows keep sheep or goats. World Vision also provided goats to very poor households four years ago, but these were fewer than 20. A few model and middle-level farmers may also have goats for fattening rather than reproduction.

There are no special inputs except feed collected from the trees or people's garden. Sheep are fed with enset and banana leaves, different tree leaves and leaves of corns. More tree leaves are needed for goats. People also buy *frushka* to fatten goats, which was less common in the past. People also just let shoats graze on the public grazing land. There is a vet service where people bring shoats for medication and castration service when they want to fatten the male.



Picture 7 A man who brought a goat to vet

Non-fattened sheep are sold up to 1800 birr depending on the size; fattened and big ones are sold for 4000-5000 birr. The price for a fattened goat is between 3000-4000 birr depending on their size. Smaller-size goats, though with a good weight, might be sold 1000-1200 birr. People do not usually sell thin and non-fattened goats, but for non-fattened goats the price will remain under 1500 birr even if it is big in size. The main markets are in Shinshicho and Durame. People prefer to take them to the nearest market in Durame, as it is closer, and prices are higher than in Shinshicho. Hotels in Durame also buy fattened shoats.

Diversification

Diversification, understood as combining farm with non-farm activities, appears to be an important factor of economic success. Rich farmers have the chance to engage in non-farming activities: they are able to engage in trading of crops, animals and coffee and buy *bajajs* or motorbikes for their children, in addition to their advantage in the farming sector (ploughing land rented from the school, sharecropping from others and share-rearing arrangements). Wives of rich people mostly engage in managing hybrid cows and earn a good income from milk and milk products. Usually these rich farmers have migrants in their family, and remittances are an additional source of income.

Middle wealth farmers face more constraints in diversifying their livelihood activities. However some of them try to sell eucalyptus, timber, coffee on a small scale, trade shoats from Shinshicho to Durame town, and their wives mostly engage in petty trade on the market (butter, coffee, fruits, vegetables). Some of these farmers have children working in different places who support them.

The poor have little chance to engage in economic activities beyond farming, daily or contract labour, and paid work for the PSNP public work duties. Women in the poor households also strive to engage in petty trade in a smaller scale selling more of vegetables.

Credit and other sources of resources

See **Savings, credit and debt** section in the first chapter. There are MFIs and banks in Durame offering services to people from Aze Debo. However, these are fairly limited. In addition, as said above 'government-supported' credit is not provided for any other farm input than fertiliser and even for fertiliser this appears to be changing. Some farmers did access loans and wereda officials said that a few farmers do not repay on time. Indebted people might request for extension of the repayment period in agreement with the MFI, and in this way there is no big outstanding debt in the kebele. Women's cooperatives are perfect in repaying debts in the kebele, while young people are the ones who have a big delay in repayment. These are different types of loans, for women/youth packages (see other relevant sections).

Co-operative farming

In general cooperatives in Aze Debo are exclusively focused on farming, apart from the youth sand and stone mining cooperatives. All farming cooperatives have some access to credit, and young people are especially encouraged to join them.

Farmers' co-operatives in general

The first farmers' cooperative was established during the Derg regime, and it included farmers from three kebeles. Under EPRDF, its structure remained the same until 2004 EC. After 2004EC every kebele started to have its own farmers' cooperative. People were not interested in joining it, as they had contributed money to the former one and because they found that this money was wasted, and they did not want to start again from scratch. Even though fertiliser and seeds are provided through this cooperative, people are not much interested in joining. Attitudes to cooperatives are generally rather negative and this includes those set up for young people as part of the government rural job creation efforts. See more on this in the [Perceptions of the interventions](#) section of the [Young people's economic and other experiences](#) chapter (below). The cooperatives described below were generally set up as part of these efforts, except for the still functioning beekeeping cooperative.

Poultry cooperatives

One poultry cooperative organized by young women is exceptionally successful because they are said to be committed, and also their work does not require grazing land like bull fattening and dairy. In this poultry cooperative five women have benefited for the past 6 years. The funding was provided through OMO MFI as the wereda allocated funds for youth. Besides funds, the wereda provided them with technical assistance and links with hatcheries elsewhere in the area; the wereda also buy their products to distribute to farmers. The wereda vet service provides vaccine to the chickens (the vaccines are bought as package together with feed). DAs also advise farmers and promote their products.

Bull-fattening cooperatives

Cooperatives which took loans for bull-fattening were less successful. These young men do not have enough space and feed to fatten the animals. Also, they used their loans for different purposes, e.g. petty trade, opening small shops or teashops, or in the meantime they just spent the money and became indebted. Some even migrated away after they spent the money they borrowed. Some groups shared the capital which was supposed to be for starting the group business. Young men are less committed than young women in cooperatives, and this causes conflict among members.

Milk products cooperatives

There is a milk product cooperative run by women known as '*Witetuma, Firegenet* saving group'. It has a milk-processing plant established with the support of USAID Feed the Future Project through the ACDI-VOCA NGO. The plant created a market for milk producers in Aze Debo and other neighbouring kebeles, in addition to milk buyers from Durame town.

Bee-keeping cooperatives

The bee-keeping cooperative established in 2006 EC is the only cooperative which received land from the kebele, on the mountains. The data on number of members is not consistent, but some respondents said that it expanded in 2008 EC. Currently they would like to have more modern beehives, but these are not available even if they wanted to pay for it. Bees do not accept modern beehives easily (see above in the [Modern bee-keeping](#) section for some of the challenges with regard to this subsector), but once they do the honey is much better than in traditional hives.

The challenges specific to the cooperative include:

- land shortage - the cooperative obtained 15x25 meter land from the kebele, but this is on the mountains where there are wild animals and risk of theft of honey by people from the neighbouring wereda/kebele. Besides, bees need close follow-up and care, and somebody should live on the top of the hill as a guard;
- capital shortage to expand the business, build shade, buy beehives, build an office for the cooperative;
- lack of modern beehives on the market;
- lack of training. In 2009 EC, members of this cooperative submitted an application asking for training on modern beekeeping, business management/document keeping, but there hasn't been any reaction to that.

In 2008 EC, the group earned 5000 birr from honey trade. When the wereda officials visited them in 2007 EC, they spent 2000 birr to slaughter a goat, make enjera and *kineto* (a local drink), hoping that they would get good support from them, but the wereda didn't support them yet. In 2009 EC the cooperative was formally registered as requested by the wereda, but they did not get any support afterwards. The cooperative chairman feels that the legalization didn't bring them any assistance and he doesn't hope it might even in the future. The cooperative members said that the group was discouraged to continue when no government support was forthcoming in 2009 EC; however, the chairman encouraged them saying that their own effort will one day bring them success.

There are different benefits coming from honey production. One of the members who used to serve as leader of the cooperative was able to send his children to university using the income from honey, and they became teachers. Some people, mostly women, are able to buy shoats and improve their economic status. This group also gradually turned into a saving group, with men saving 50 birr per month and women saving 25 birr, and they can pay different amounts like 10 birr once and 15 birr another time in a month.

A kilogram of honey is sold 160 birr, and traders come to the village and buy so they don't need to go to the market to sell their product. In the area, a full big can of 30kg honey is given as bride-price and also as mediation gift when elders try to reconcile disputes, so honey has cultural value which always boosts its market value as well.

The cooperative members are adult people; there was one group of young people who started a cooperative in 2008 EC, but they later dispersed as they were not committed. The kebele tried to create jobs for these young men but they didn't continue. They even received 6 beehives from World Vision, but because the cooperative did not survive this was useless. Out of these 6 beehives given to the youth, three were given out to the older farmers' cooperative who are still putting effort in beekeeping. (Young people have a different story about this; also see above allegations of nepotism in the way the kebele select people to attend beekeeping training).

Irrigation cooperatives

An irrigation cooperative for young people was organized by the wereda cooperative development office and involves 29 men and women. However, they were not given land due to land shortage in the kebele, and they are trying to irrigate on their own parent's land. The support from World Vision was 3 diesel generators, two of which got broken within a year.

There is no other group farming.

Investor farming

In the wereda, there are investors involved mainly in bull fattening, flour factory, farming of crops and vegetables and coffee processing. Only one coffee plant is found in Aze Debo kebele, owned by an Ethiopian investor from Durame. The opening of this plant has created seasonal job opportunity for hundreds of people in the community.

There is an older coffee plant which started working in 1999 EC, called 'Zeraro coffee plant'. It is located at the edge of the kebele, in the neighbouring kebele Zato Shodera and it is similarly owned by an Ethiopian investor. This has created job opportunity for many young people and community members who live in the surrounding kebeles, including Aze Debo.

Government farming interventions – agents and beneficiaries

Wereda and kebele interventions

Crop interventions

A number of interventions (or attempts) have been already described in other sections:

- Irrigation is described in the section **Irrigation**
- The potential of tomato and cabbage production (linked to irrigation) has been described in more detail in **Vegetables** section.
- There are new seeds in the kebele, described in the section **Seeds**.
- About fertiliser, see the **Fertiliser** section.
- About pesticides, see the **Pesticides, weed killers and other chemicals** section.

In addition to these, the two main crop programmes implemented in the wereda were the crop clustering system and the village gate programmes.

No information was provided on the second programme. With regard to clustering, various kebeles were selected for different kinds of crop clusters. For example, Hollegeba Zato, Hotamme, Sheshera, and Adiro kebeles were selected for teff specialization. For wheat, Zato Shodera, Fullassa, Dega Kedida and Garame Ambericho were selected. The cluster method was said to be conducive for management and also for marketing.

In the villages there are some experimentation sites where new technologies and practices are tested. Usually around 6 people are selected and provided seed and fertiliser for free. They try new farm inputs for the first time, and their farm will be used as a display for other farmers. Their farm land together could have half a hectare in size. Similarly, clustering is practiced with 5 people whose farmland is located next to each other. They will produce a specific crop in large volume. In the last year, about 40% of the farmers in the wereda were included in the specialization scheme.

Livestock interventions

The government interventions in livestock involve: expansion of hybrid cows and other cattle-related interventions, promotion and supply of improved breed of chickens, to a lesser extent promotion of/support to modern beekeeping, and finally some minimal efforts with regard to shoats. These efforts are described in the sections **Cattle**, **Poultry**, **Modern bee-keeping**, and **Sheep's and goats**.

One important and relatively new service in the kebele is the vet service. The veterinarian is hired by the wereda and his services are free. People only have to pay for drugs. The veterinarian says there are challenges with animal drugs:

I don't know what the government is thinking about the service, because there is no organized vet clinic at wereda level even, and they don't buy lab reagents on time. Animals in this kebele are receiving drugs imported from China and we have to give them double dose due to poor quality drugs. There are better drugs in Hawassa, Shashemene and Addis Ababa, but the wereda is not buying quality drugs from these towns.

The community members are not that happy with the service, because they expect that drugs will heal the animals if they bring them here. When this does not happen, they assume that it is the problem of the veterinarian himself. Sometimes, people from the community go to the wereda vet service and bring drugs, and also there are people considered as skilled due to 6 months training

long years back, they just give the drugs to animals without care, and when the animals don't show progress, people bring them to the kebele vet service.

Agricultural Research Institutes

There is no Agricultural Research Institute in the wereda.

Farmers' Training Centre and beneficiaries

The kebele council hall is also used as FTC training centre but the school has given land for the FTC practical demonstration and fodder farming, which the kebele is using as FTC field.

Non-farming

Non-farming refers to economic off-farm and non-farm activities outside of primary agricultural production. Activities such as self-employment and wage employment, formal or informal, year-on or seasonal, part-time or full-time and involving services, retailing, construction and manufacturing are treated as nonfarm activities. Both earned and non-earned incomes (e.g. remittances from migration) are treated in the same manner.

Non-farm work opportunities

Regarding nonfarm work opportunities, the main options in Aze Debo are:

- trading of livestock, crops and wood
- petty trade
- transport services (bajaj, motorbike, minibus, sometimes Isuzu)
- shops along the main road to Durame and a few, very small, inside the kebele
- personal services (shoe shining, beauty salons, barber shops)
- small-scale hospitality services (tea/coffee shop)
- a few productive businesses such as a bakery and wood workshops.

Opportunities for women

Women in general are involved in petty trading of fruits, vegetables, crops, coffee, and production of local drinks. Some work as agricultural daily labourers. There could be a few female households who receive food or cash for work, but this practice has decreased recently because of the PSNP.

In general, work opportunities are limited, therefore some of them decided to migrate to Sudan or towns and cities within Ethiopia. Also a number of women started migrating to the Gulf. Migration experiences are not always positive, as noted by an urban female migrant saying that *"if people migrate, the only thing they enjoy is being able to help their families back home financially and enable their families to develop an asset like build houses and buy cows. Unemployment is the major push factor for the young to migrate and it is good if something is done"*.

Successful young women in the kebele are those who have managed to do some small business or coffee trade better than other small traders in the kebele. They were labelled as medium level and successful traders because they have managed to sell coffee to wholesalers and also to the coffee factory in the kebele. These women started the business on their own, without support from the government.

There is an increasing number of girls who completed grade 8 and 10 in the kebele. Some have married and are involved in their household work. There are also some women who stay at home to assist their families in their own household's work and whatever business they have. However, this kind of work does not help them to change themselves economically in the future.

Opportunities for men

Men are more and more interested in non-farm work opportunities. Young men indicated that there are no government interventions that helps young people to involve in the fields of work they prefer to make a living like “*technical trainings for woodwork, electricity and the like*”.

Men are involved in different kinds of trade of farming products (livestock, crops) and wood. There are about 8 young men who have bajajs. Four of them are funded by their family, and the rest was able to buy vehicles after doing some kind of other job. There are around 24 donkey carts owned by farmers, all of them providing transport service. However, for many young people and others these options (motorbikes, bajaj, shops) are not realistic, because poor households cannot afford buying them for their children, and it is not easy to get jobs that allow saving money for such investments.

The quote below provides an example of how some parents manage to support their children in establishing their business:

There was a man having a bakery; his father gave him land on the road side and assisted him to build a house there. In addition, this man used to fatten shoats earlier and sold them all when he needed the capital to start the bakery business. He sells bread to local tea shops, he also opened a teashop where he sells bread, soft drinks and tea. He started the business two years ago, with the help of his father.

Some men run productive businesses, like wood workshops. However, problems are caused by the frequent electricity cuts, sometimes for as long as a week. Besides, power is too low to work at night and very early in the morning. Another problem is related to inflation which increases input prices.

As further described in the **Young people’s economic and other experiences** chapter, the lack of job opportunities is a real problem in Aze Debo, especially for the young generation. This quote from a religious leader illustrates this widespread perception and reality:

Young people do not have jobs even after graduation, so their hopes for a better future are decreasing. This generation is not even serious in education, they rather spend time playing and doing useless things. Most of them do not have good grades, the ones who graduated even do not have the chance to work. There is large generation of ‘non farmer, non-professional, and non-trader’ which is a risk to the community and for the country.

Crop and livestock trading

Trading generally

People in Aze Debo are involved in trading at different scales. Bigger trade is dominated by men, and women are more involved in petty trade. Usually traders are also farmers and the scale of their trade activity depends to an extent on the scale of their production, although there are also farmer-traders who collect products from other farmers to sell them (this is even one of the reasons why rich richer farmers able to buy from others selling cheap at harvest time and to sell when prices are rising, are said to benefit from inflation). Due to the rising market for dairy (notably, linked to the expansion of Durame), the trade of livestock products is increasing. In terms of crops, the most important marketable crop was coffee, but due to diseases it has recently been decreasing, as farmers partly shift to other crops such as eucalyptus and vegetables as said earlier.

Women are involved in dairy production and trade. Several female small traders sell coffee, avocado and banana which come from their own farms. It is typical for most women in Aze Debo to sell small amounts of their farm’s products and purchase some household items in return. These businesses are not ones they live from; it is an additional means of income to support what they gain from their farmland. For instance, some women collect up to three or four ‘tassa’ (a small container) of coffee and sell it in Durame market once or twice a year. As these are small amounts, they often carry it themselves to the market, to save on transportation costs.

Below is a story told by 3 mothers, who are involved in trade of butter and cheese.

One of the respondents sells butter and cheese she uses to produce once a week until her cows stops providing milk. But the amount she sells from her own product is small. She uses 'weficho' (a leaf cut in different sizes and used to make a price for the butter and cheese) and 3 medium size weficho of butter are sold for 150 birr. Cheese could be sold from 50 up to 70 birr. She has been doing this trade for the past 10 years. In the past 5 years products have become more expensive. In the past one kilo of butter was sold for 65 birr but now it is sold 220 birr.

Another said that last year, one kilo of butter was sold from 140/150 birr and it was 200 birr during holidays. There are traders who collect small amounts of butter from small sellers and they sell it in kilos in the market for hotels or big purchasers. This year, butter was sold 270 birr during the holiday 'Meskel' Finding of the True Cross holiday. She walks to the market every Saturday to save the transportation cost (5 birr, or 10 birr to go and return).

She gets 50 up to 80 birr profit from cheese. She doesn't make butter all time, rather she purchases/collects butter for 30 birr from others, sells it and make 5 birr profit from it. She also sells cheese but often she doesn't make it at home. Rather she collects it from other very small traders and sells it with a small profit. She uses her income from the trade to buy fodder, food oil, potato, tomato and cabbage.

Her trading could be improved if she transitioned from small trade to large trade. That could happen if she could have access to a loan or bigger capital that would enable her to collect the product from small sellers and sell it for bigger enterprises like hotels and restaurants or to people who purchase in kilos. She has also tried to breed hens since 2009EC. She has a plan to sell them on the market in the future.

Crop trading

According to the biggest trader, the most important cash crop is coffee, but as said earlier, recently its significance has been decreasing due to coffee disease. This problem appeared around 1977EC, but in the past 7 years has become more serious¹⁷. Besides coffee, and eucalyptus and other trees, other cash crops are banana, tomato, avocado, mango, and to a lesser extent orange, lemon and recently apple. Teff, beans, wheat, barley, maize and big beans (*adenguare*) are also produced and sold depending on surplus. Teff, wheat, barley and all grain crops are ripe at the same time, around October and the market starts in November. Maize is more demanded and has better prices, followed by teff. Sometimes coffee is more profitable when the price is good nationally.

The main market is in Durame. Farmers collect coffee from their own farms and sell within the wereda. One of the coffee traders, who has been working in this business since 1960EC, said that the administration does no longer allow taking coffee out of the wereda without a license. He himself does not have such a license because it is expensive – the requirement to get one is to present 1 million birr of capital. The licensed traders get better profit because they are able to transport coffee and sell where prices are better. In the past, this trader used to sell up to 20 quintals of coffee, but now his capacity is limited to 7 quintals. In his opinion the coffee disease very much affects the production and trade. The coffee market is highly competitive because everyone, including unemployed girls, engages in collecting and supplying it to processors and traders, who buy in amounts depending on their financial capability. There are many traders in Durame town and market who collect coffee. Usually, when a producer finds a client, they work together for a long time, but they always can change a partner if needed. Payments are conducted in cash.

¹⁷For more information about coffee, please see section Table 1 The most important types of crops in Aze Debo

Traders check prices through phone calls to make sure that if they go to the market in Durame, prices are not too low. Inflation does not affect the price of crops beyond fluctuations linked to the rainfall pattern – for example, recently traders in Wolkite increased the price of maize from 700 to 1000 birr when they heard that the rain was late (up to April) in 2009EC. Later, when it rained for two days the price went down to 650 birr because people did not want to buy and store it when they hoped that they could grow crops.

There are no traders' cooperatives in the area. In general, competition is said to be more common than cooperation among traders, although the three largest crop traders in the kebele sometimes lend crops to each other when a buyer comes to one of them at a time when he is short of supply.

Livestock and livestock products trading

As reported by the richest trader, usually people buy oxen for ploughing for one season then sell them after fattening them. Some traders buy cattle from Aze Debo and transport them to Arsi. The informant said that, he buys heifers of hybrid cows and gives it to people who can feed and share milk, but he is not involved in cows trade.

The most important livestock products in Aze Debo are milk and milk products. Milk is sold to the milk processing plant in the kebele, or to hotels and cafes in Durame. Women sell butter and cheese after processing it at home. No one in the community is involved in milk trading, but some collect butter and sell it during Meskel, or other traders come from Durame, buy it locally and sell in there. The middle-income households, which typically have one milk cow and one ox and one or 2 calves, sell milk products to the market although not on a permanent basis. The amount of milk they get from their cows increase when they give birth. They get up to 70 or 80 birr from selling butter - the amount of butter is determined by the size of the leaf they cover it with.

For women, the most important economic activity is selling dairy products such as cheese and butter (please see section **Trading generally**).

Challenges for crop and livestock trading

One of the challenges related to agricultural trade expansion is limited access to capital, which was mentioned mainly by middle and small-scale female traders who would like to move to bigger trade. Another problem was the decline in coffee production in 2009 and 2010 EC, which decreased the amount that could be sold.

Productive businesses

Construction

Construction is one of these activities in which young people would like to be involved. One woman also indicated that young people would like to be involved in technical trainings for woodwork, electricity and the like, because they are less interested in farming. However, government support to make this happen does not seem to be sufficient. See also **Young women's stories** below.

Below there are two examples of people having different types of construction businesses.

Case 1 - A 35-years old man opened his own wood workshop, along the main road side, in 2009 EC. He had been working as assistant carpenter for 2 years on building houses and making doors out of timber. Then his father gave him space to build his house which is used as wood workshop in the front and for living at the back. The land is still in his father's name though. He bought a multipurpose woodwork machine last year for 30,000 birr, from Hawassa town. He bought also other hand tools. His family provided him 10,000 birr and he had 20,000 birr savings from working as assistant carpenter. When he bought the machine, he couldn't buy timber because of lack of money, so he began working on others' timber by charging them 7 birr per timber for the use of the machine. Now he began to make chairs, doors and windows. Sometimes the machine causes him problem, but technicians from Durame usually fix it for him.

Electricity cuts are frequently and sometimes it gets off continuously for a week. Also, the power is too low, which forces him to work at night and very early in the morning. He buys inputs from Durame market regularly. But the price is increasing over time dramatically. He employs an assistant whom he pays 70 birr per day in the days he is able to work. Another carpenter wants his machine service and also farmers are users of his products. The market is steady since he started, the progress is slow but it has not dropped.

There were two other wood workshops having machines, but the one which belongs to the church is broken. There is not much competition, and they charge the same amount to process a single timber. He has no licence yet, but the wereda forced him to pay 1,500 birr tax recently, and advised him to get a licence if he wants to continue. When he complained about the amount of tax the wereda told him that they will close his business. He is not sure whether to continue or not: if it doesn't satisfy him with good progress, he is planning to sell the machine and open a shop instead of the woodwork activity. He is also engaged in farming as he inherited ¼ hectare. He plants coffee, enset, potato, maize, banana, chat. He hopes that he can earn at least 2000 birr per year from chat. The church leaders wanted him to stop growing chat, but he said „*I have a very small land and I wanted to plant items that may help earn better income. I will remove/clear it when I improve my life*”.

Case 2 - There is another man who apart from his small farming is involved in carpentry and construction of houses in Aze Debo and Durame. He also makes doors out of timber to fit the houses he builds. He was trained by his uncle in Nazret for two years and he got a chance to work as assistant carpenter in Durame for a site where ‘Kuteba houses’ were constructed. After a year and seven months he became a well experienced carpenter. He remembers that he was hired as assistant carpenter for 4 birr a day in 1988 EC. However, in 1990 EC he began to work independently by taking contracts himself. Even now he is well known carpenter so that the contractor who agreed to build the Dekeya Millennium school gave him the sub-contract.

In the past few years, there are a number of people who want to build new houses, so usually he will have 4-5 houses at a time but he gives appointment to the clients by registering them according to their order. He had 5 people registered on his list at the time of the interview, but the clients found it difficult to buy corrugated iron sheets, because it suddenly went up from 150 birr to 220 birr over two months. His major tools are saw, hammer, rope, ‘*tumbi*’. He hires a machine for 7 birr per timber when he has to process timber for the frame of the roofs, and to make doors.

Box 12 Men in construction-related businesses

As mentioned above, since several years there are mining cooperatives and young people working at different mining locations across the kebele. However, due to the conflict that arose among them in 2009EC, they were made to stop the work by the kebele officials. In 2010EC, the mining locations were allocated and given to different youth groups, including the largest mining centre.

Young men are also involved in construction although acquiring the skills and getting start-up capital are challenges. An example is presented in the box below.

A young man involved in carpentry

He is a 22-years old man who enjoys working in construction. In 2010 EC at the time of the interview he is attending 10th grade. He never dropped out of school and he had no chance for other kinds of training yet. For his family he ploughed, worked on sowing, weeding, harvesting etc. and he also collected firewood, fetched water, washed clothes and kitchen utensils etc.

He began working with two of his friends on carpentry mainly building a house and making doors and fitting them to houses. One of his friends had carpentry skills and he trained them through continuous practice while they were assisting him, however the kebele/wereda didn't give them training or bring them into the benefits that formal cooperatives get. He said that he and his friends have no information about the support to cooperatives and such activities at the kebele. There was no support from NGOs or government yet. He worked with his friends on the carpentry for the past 12 months. He earns about 1,500 birr a month and each of the three partners earn the same amount from the carpentry work. Since they do the work up to the satisfaction of the community people, they are now well known and invited

to work for many whenever there is construction. Sometimes people call them or they come to their home to deal and offer them the contract.

An experienced carpenter who is 45 years old invited these two young men to work with him when his former assistants left him and began to work independently. Mesfin's parents were happy when he got the chance to work with this well-known carpenter, because he is interested in this kind of job. He is saving the money he earns and he recently registered to start the process to get a driving licence. He has to spend 10,000 birr for that. He used to work as daily labour before, like cutting eucalyptus tree, loading on trucks etc. and saved 2500 birr from that, and since he started carpentry he was able to save 7500 birr. So that now he has enough saving for getting the drivers' licence.

Box 13 A young man involved in carpentry

Skilled self-employment

The people mentioned above working in **Construction** are examples of skilled self-employment. Another instance of skilled self-employment is a bajaj driver, the case of whom is described below.

He is 28 years old and married. For 3 years he was driving somebody else's motorbike. At that time, he bought a hybrid heifer for 7000 birr. After two years he began selling milk. After saving for three years, he bought a new motorbike which he used to give transport services for another three years. He also joined an *equb*, which was 1000 birr weekly. However, the income from the motorbike decreased, and the amount he saved with the *equb* also dropped to 300 birr a week. Then in September 2010EC, he bought a new bajaj. For this, he sold the old motorbike for 27,000 birr, his cow for 38,000 birr and the heifer for 10,000 birr; he got his lot of 20,000 birr from the motorbike owners' *equb*; and his teacher and a friend living in Alaba town lent him 40,000 birr. This friend also has a bajaj in Alaba. With these sources and his savings, he bought a brand new bajaj from Shashemene town with 142,000 birr.

Unlike other young people in the kebele, he has three types of driver licence (motorbike, bus, truck). Even though he should have a bajaj driving licence according to the law, the traffic police officers do not force him since he got these three different licences. Once he bought the new bajaj, he had to pay 3,500 birr to get a numbered plate, and 1,000 birr to be member of bajaj drivers' association in Durame town. When he started transportation service with his new bajaj, he joined the bajaj drivers' *equb* and got his pay-out last month, so he was able to pay the 40,000 birr loan taken from his friends. He did not employ anyone yet, but his younger brother has a licence for bajaj and helps him whenever he has to rest or do other farm activities in his father's garden.

He is married but he is living in his father's compound using the hut that his father left after building a nice house with corrugated iron sheets roof, cemented floor and well painted inside and outside.

He would like to work much better with the bajaj but the income is not as high as he expected. There were only 85 bajaj owners in Durame in 2009EC but in 2010EC they reached 152. However, he mentioned the bajaj is safer with less risk of accident, passengers are not exposed to rain and sun or strong wind like with motorbikes, and of course this means a relatively better income. There are 7 bajajs in Aze Debo. The demand for transport is mostly by rural people to go to Durame town, those living in Durame do not have a lot of reasons to travel to the community, which reduces the number of passengers. However, market days are good since many people who go from rural areas to Durame want to travel there and then return back home. On a non-market day, if one of the bajajs gets at least 2 passengers, it will leave and others get the chance/turn. He said that, the area has no factory or other sorts of job opportunities, so, many young men want to engage in the transport sector, so both between motorbikes and bajajs, there is clear competition.

His network includes the association of bajaj owners (152 currently), who have regular meetings and save 40 birr monthly. The association started last year and one has to pay 162 birr to be a member, which also goes for the association's savings in addition to the monthly contributions. The association is planning to open a spare parts shop for bajaj which will also sell motor oil. They decided this because the traders in Durame town are charging them a lot for spare parts and oil. For example, a litre of motor oil is sold 300 birr in private shops. They discussed with the government about opening the shop, and he said there is encouragement from the administrators.

He enumerated the following challenges:

- the quality of internal roads as explained below
- limited demand in Durame as it is a rather small town and there are 152 bajajs which have to work to get income,
- insufficient number of gas stations – see below.

Asphalt road allowed bajajs drivers to have easy access to adjacent rural places. Driving bajaj into rough roads is costly because the bajaj costs a lot (142,000 birr) and the spare parts are getting expensive over time. If the damage is serious one has to take the bajaj up to Shashemene and Hawassa to get it fixed well. The wereda transport office gives direction to bajajs which include very rough roads, however the association refused to accept these new road lines by explaining the issues just mentioned. The office promised to reconsider directions, but no decision has been taken yet.

Moreover, there are only two gas stations and if both do not have supply, the bajajs and motorbikes have to buy gas from retailers which inflates the price by at least 3-5 birr per litre. Currently, one litre of petrol costs 25 birr from retailers. The stations say, 'we don't have it', but they sell it to the retailers in the night. The government does not control these fuel stations.

Box 14 A case of skilled self-employment

Food processing

There is a flour factory in Bezena Binara kebele near Aze Debo, but it does not employ anybody from Aze Debo. People do not buy products from there apart from the bakery owner. The plant takes their products to the seven towns in the wereda. Moreover, there is one pasta factory being built now at the border of the kebele adjacent to Durame administration.

There is also the Mishkida Eta Milk Processing Women's Cooperative which has milk processing equipment. It was established in 2004 EC by 36 women from three kebeles (Aze Debo, Zato Shodera, and Bezena Binara) with the support of ACIDI-VOCA and LM & ND NGOs. The dairy is built on the road on the way to Durame at the border of Aze Debo, on land which was given for a farmers' cooperative which failed. The cooperative also has a milk products shop in Durame.



Picture 8 Chiller at the dairy cooperative in Aze Debo

ACDI-VOCA gave them a bajaj to collect milk from the villages, a water reservoir, 9 aluminium pots, and milk processing and cream separation machines, each costing 40,000 birr. LM&ND gave them a generator and milk container of 1000l as milk chiller.

Several respondents mentioned that milk production in the three kebeles in which they operate is high but people are not willing to supply them due to delayed payments. The competition from Durame seems to be significant, both as they seem to push the buying price up, and they pay timely. Not long ago private processors in town began buying a litre of milk 13 birr (up from 12 birr, and 7-8 birr a few years ago), and the cooperative had to raise it to 13 birr too, to remain competitive. The fact that the cooperative pays less timely also plays in their disfavour. Cows are milked in the morning and evening, but the cooperative collects milk only in the morning, as farmers want to sell or process themselves at least the evening milk to get cash for their immediate needs. Private processors in Durame pay sharp in 15 days, so people prefer that.

The woman cooperative leader said that they have 5 permanent employees, which costs them 2,700 birr every month and this and other associated costs reduce their income. Since 2005 EC their profit is not more than 3,000 birr a month. The number of members also increased to 68; one has to pay a 150 birr contribution to be a member. By raising the membership fee they hope to raise their capital thanks to the contributions, and to mobilise more households to supply milk to the cooperative.

Their challenges include the lack of capital, competition with private processors in town hence lower supply by the farmers, and the risk of market failure due to limited outlets.

Hospitality services

There are about 11 tea and coffee shops in the kebele; 5 of them were already open 5 years ago. Tea shops are located along the main road side. During week days they are able to serve all clients and sometimes demand is very low, but on Saturday which is market day in Durame they cannot provide enough service as the demand gets higher. The owners are young men, four of whom are married.

Some of the respondents said that there is only one areke house which was opened by a returnee migrant from Metehara 3 years ago. However, research officers observed around 7 of them inside

the kebele. The areke house mentioned by respondents is located at the border of three kebeles: Binara, Zato and Aze Debo; the owner of the bar is suspected to be HIV positive. The case of women selling areke in Aze Debo is described in the section **Shops**.

Non-farm producer co-operatives

Apart from farmers' cooperatives which dominate, there are:

1. women savings cooperatives (5 such cooperatives were established by World Vision, the other one is known as 'Witetuma, Firegenet' saving group)
2. a handcraft women's cooperative (adult women having formed a kind of association, but not registered as cooperative at wereda level though they have some support by the kebele)
3. dairy women cooperative (described above in the **Food processing** section)
4. young people's cooperatives dealing with sand and stone extraction

The information on the handcraft women cooperative comes from the leader. They are a group of women organised in a form of association (although not registered by the kebele yet) to prepare handcrafts. This association was established in 1999 EC. Initially, it had 10 women who contributed 10 birr each; they started making lace. The founder attended 10 days of training in Harar. She was providing technical support to the members, but they rapidly quitted because it was not profitable. She mobilised 10 women again and started making handcrafts in 2007EC. The association has currently 15 members. It was the founder who mobilised these women on her own initiative and brought them to work together. The association has one head and also a cashier. They gather on Mondays at the kebele compound in a small working room that was given by the kebele when their requested a working space. They make colourful and decorated handcrafts (baskets, bags from sisal, baskets-tables of different sizes, other household items).

They purchase the required amount of coloured thick plaiting and sisal from Durame market. It has become expensive overtime and it has become challenging for them to get good profit from their products. They sell one medium size food-table basket work for about 550 birr and basket work disc for about 120 birr. Bags cost from 50 to 150 birr. The challenge is low demand and the lack of access to other markets. They have never taken any loan, and they have no debt. They share the profit gained from their monthly trade, but the amount is small. They have started saving (5 birr monthly) in 2009EC within their association.

On achievements and problems, in general they see their attempt to work and do their handcrafts as an achievement. They have not been officially registered by the kebele and they do not have access to a loan or any financial support.

The mining cooperatives are the only type of non-farming cooperative for young people in the kebele. They were organised by the wereda and kebele in 2006EC, and since that time they are involved in extraction and selling of sand from dry river bank and quarry. There are about 6 cooperatives of this kind and each has 20-25 members. Previously, the business was controlled by one person, but the wereda decided to give it to the youth. This activity helped the young men to improve their lives since they were entirely dependent on their parents earlier. They can buy nice clothes, some are able to save with OMO MFI, and a few of them also recently built a house for themselves and married.

Other non-farm producer groups

There are no other non-farm producers' groups.

Other services

Services described in this section include: markets, shops, personal, health, leisure, petty services.

Markets

There is no market in Aze Debo. In Durame there is a big market every Saturday, and a small market every Tuesday. Traders having a permanent space at the open market have to pay weekly tax for that. Petty traders use bajajs to transport their items to Durame market. Isuzu and minibuses also serve to transport people and items from Shonea market to Aze Debo or Durame town. Transport has improved in the past five years due to the asphalt road, and these days there are also more modern minibuses. There are more people engaged in trade of different items due to easier transport, as well as because of the lack of job opportunity for the youth and landlessness people.

Most people from Aze Debo buy things from Durame market, as small shops in the community do not have everything they need. Moreover, prices are higher in these shops than in the market. For example, mobile cards are 1 birr higher than in town for each card type, or soap costs 12 birr and only 10 birr in Durame. Shops in the community work until 8 pm mainly on the road side where there is grid connection.

Shops

There are about 17 shops in the kebele. 14 are on the main road side and around the kebele centre. The other three are inside the villages and very small, mainly shops through a living house's windows. Three of the shops are big ones having full shelves. The shops sell soap, salt, pens/pencils, kerosene, hair products, matches, exercise books, paper, food oil, mobile cards etc. Two of the seventeen shops are owned by two young women. The case of a man, owner of a shop, is described below.

Petty trading is the domain of young girls who currently live with their families. Young girls also tended to open shops or beauty salons after completing grade 10, as mentioned by young men. The case of a young woman who opened a beauty salon is described in the section **Personal services**.

A small village shop owner

He is 33-year old and has 2 children. His main income is trading, but he is trying to plough land. He rented 1/8 hectare from the school for 1500 birr for two years; last year the school put it for auction, for an initial price of 400 birr. He inherited ½ hectare near the mountain where he plants banana, enset, coffee and eucalyptus trees. From the eucalyptus he earned 12,000 birr three years ago and now he is about to sell trees again, but he hopes to get more. He also has grass land from which he sells grass and earns up to 600 birr a year.

He owns a 20x30 meters' plot on which he built a house and opened a small village shop in 2010 EC. He got 12,000 birr from his *equb*, he sold a *habesha* cow for 8,000 birr, and he had savings from his salary (500 birr a month) for his playing musical instrument/keyboard for the church. He sells salt, spaghetti, pasta, matches, soap, mobile cards, hair products, and even grains like maize, beans, lentils etc.

He said the trading is dormant and profit is low in the past few months due to the price increase in Durame town. For example, the price of pasta increased to 260 birr, from 190 birr. He hopes to continue the business but he is rather leaning to crop trading by bringing corn from Wolkite town. The wereda came within a week from the start of the business, and encouraged him to work and advised to report if the business is about to sustain in order to have licence.

The competition is high because road side shops are many these days, and only the villagers from his side buy his products. In order to attract new clients he gives them plastic bags for free, and sometimes he gives items in credit, but he learned that giving credit is not advisable because some people are not returning the loan on time.

He did not get any credit from government and NGOs to assist his business.

Box 15 A small village shop owner

As mentioned earlier, although some of the respondents said that there is only one areke house, our research officers observed 7 of them inside the kebele. The case of a woman selling areke inside the kebele is described in the box below.

A woman selling areke in Aze Debo

She sells areke inside the kebele. She used to make areke at home, but due to shortage of firewood, she stopped this and five years ago she started buying it from Shone and Durame, and selling in the kebele. She used to bring 5 litres once a week, but with the financial help she got from her friend who lives in the next wereda Shinshicho, she has increased this to 20 litres.

Her customers are mainly middle-wealth older men. Women also come and have a shot, but not so often. There is not much competition because there are only a few people in this business and they are located in distant locations. The community despises the business and that has significantly reduced the number of areke houses in the kebele in recent years.

She sells one glass of areke for 6 birr. It is profitable and her family largely depends on it. She has no licence and pays no tax. Regarding problems, some people advise her to quit this business because of religion. She combines areke selling with other activities. Like other women in the community, she sells cabbage seasonally in Durame market two days a week. She buys from wholesalers for 50 birr and sometimes for 25 to 40 birr and she retails it and get 5 to 10 birr profit.

Regarding government support, a kebele official conducted awareness raising on savings, and together with other beneficiaries of this training they started savings in 2010EC. She saves 10 up to 20 birr monthly. She has saved about 70 something birr so far, and she has a saving book.

Box 16 A woman selling areke

Apart from small shops and areke houses, there are bakeries which work as if they were shops. Usually it is young men who do this kind of job. They sell sambusas along the main road from Durame, and they do not need transport as they sell their products at the doorstep in coffee/ tea shops which do not have these items. Out of these five businesses, three of them were opened within the past 5 years. Below is the case of a young man who has a bakery.

A case of a young owner of a bakery in Aze Debo

He is 23 years old; he lives with his parents and runs a bakery. His father gave him land on the road side and assisted him to build a house there. In the past, he used to fatten shoats, and sold them all when he needed capital to start the bakery. He sells bread to local tea shops, he also opened a tea shop where he sells bread, soft drinks and tea. He started the business two years ago, with the help of his father.

In terms of inputs, he gets flour from the neighbouring flour factory, and oil from Durame. He spent about 15,000 birr to build the bakery building. He produces 400 breads a day, as there is demand in the community, and he can produce 200 breads in 20 minutes. Five tea shops are regular clients and they collect bread every morning. The flour factory provides him flour on credit any time. He does not employ anyone but his younger brother and sisters help him in all the activities. He buys clothes, exercise books or other educational things for them. He also supports his family in providing them free bread and sometimes he contributes money whenever the family is in need.

During summer people do not have a lot money in the community, and demand reduces. When coffee production decreases, households do not have income to spend on bread or other things as usual.

In terms of competitors, there is only one other bakery in Zato kebele. He got a licence last year, and paid 1,800 birr annual tax. He spent 200 birr to get the licence and the process was not difficult. Initially, he refused to get a licence and tried to fight with the wereda officers. They sealed his business for two days and the kebele almost arrested him. The kebele chair advised him not to confront the government and he agreed after 2 days. On a daily basis he spends 100 birr for firewood, 20 birr for the donkey cart to fetch water, 35 birr for yeast, 5 birr for salt and 700 birr for flour, and the profit is 40 birr only. He works 7 days a week and gets 280 birr monthly, therefore he feels that paying 1,800 birr as annual tax is unfair.

There are no problems in relation to the business, the supply of inputs and the output market are smooth, but the market is low and does not expand. He also has a tea shop and shop which are far from the kebele centre (he didn't mention his income from these). He did not get any support from government, NGO or any credit to assist his effort.

Box 17 A young owner of a bakery in Aze Debo

Personal services

There is one shoe shiner, three barbers, two beauty salons and one tire repair point. There are no blacksmiths in the community, they are based in Durame and people go there. There was only one barber five years ago and the rest of the businesses mentioned here emerged recently. The pioneer barber is working for share with the owner of the premises, but the rest except the tire repairer are working in rented premises. The young man who repairs tires also sells fuel for motorbikes and bajajs, and he is working in his father's house. Many young women have beauty salons in the kebele centre, and the case of one of them is described below.

A case of a beauty salon owner

She opened the beauty salon at the end of 2009EC with the help of her family, mainly her brother, who provided her the initial capital to buy 2 drying machines and fulfil other major inputs for the business. She pays 300 birr for house rental. Her income is enough only to cover rental expense and other inputs, such as alcohol, which are used to operate the tool used to do different hair styles. But it doesn't give her much profit.

She had no employees at the time of interview. She hires someone who washes hair during the peak periods of her business such as holidays and wedding times. Her service costs 20birr. Sometimes she may have 2 to 3 people in a week but her business is often on the weekends and during holidays. In terms of competition, there were 4 other women beauty salons in the kebele in February 2018, then one was closed, and two others were opened. The demand is low in the kebele mainly because women prefer to go to Durame. In addition, the number of beauty salons has also increased in the kebele.

She hasn't started paying taxes so far. She has planned to process a license, if she finds the business profitable or continuing in the near future. The major problem are electricity cuts, which happen usually during peak time. Low demand is also an issue. She heard that the government provides loans for young women to organize in groups and do some business like hen breeding - but she didn't hear of any business support for young people who are involved in other business like hers.

Box 18 A beauty salon owner

Although the government has become stricter when it comes to taxes, petty trader women and in general young people are not asked to pay tax yet and also the nature of their business is not settled like shops. The petty traders mostly buy items from the village or from other market and sell it in Durame. Young people believe that petty services, in addition to work at coffee plant, offer some alternative to farm work, but other work opportunities started to emerge in the past 5 years, such as transport services, or a small number of jobs in carpentry

Health services

There are no private health services in Aze Debo. There are four private clinics in Durame. They are said to be too expensive for most people, and only the richest use their services.

Leisure services

One of the leisure services are the areke houses in the kebele.

There is also a recreation area where young people spend their time, near a grazing land and a pond. There are two places where young men play football, one of which is properly built with nets provided by World Vision. The organization also provided sport wear for football players this year. Volleyball is also widely played in the community. Though football used to be favoured, now youth are leaning to volleyball because games are associated with gambling/*kumar*. The football and volleyball grounds areas found in the Millennium school compound and near the kebele office compound. There is competition between kebeles and villages, mainly for football, once a year. Young people from Hilfata and Wonki Kebeles come to play on the playground in Aze Debo.

One place which has DSTV opened recently, and young men gather there and watch European leagues/champions league.

The recreational services are not sufficient, according to young people. For football and volley ball the youth themselves buy balls, and sportswear, despite casual NGO assistance.

Transport

Thanks to the recently asphalted road there is a good connection to Durame. On market days people use bajajs, donkey carts and a big bus that crosses from Shinshicho to Durame town to participate in the market.

In general, transport options for the community are divided into short and longer distance transport services. The short distance is usually from the villages to the road side and from the kebele centre to Durame town. This service is provided by donkey carts to transport goods/products from homes to the road side or even up to Durame town. Motorbikes are serving up to door steps whenever needed. Bajaj as a new transport mean emerged around 2008EC; they transport people and some goods in small weight/amount to and from Durame market to the kebele centre or to the road side villages. There are about 8 young men who have bajajs. Out of these, four are funded by their family; the others were able to buy it after being employed as motorbike drivers for a few years. There are around 24 donkey carts owned by farmers, and they also provide transportation services.

Isuzu buses and minibuses provide transport from Durame to Shinshicho, Alaba, Shahemene etc. Minibuses have started working from Durame to Shinshicho in the past two years once the asphalt road was completed. The bajaj service from Aze Debo to Durame also started after the completion of the asphalt road.

There are very old IVECO/ENETRE trucks transporting sand and stone from the kebele to the town, but none of them are owned by people in Aze Debo. Only one young boy has a bicycle and it is not common in the kebele.

Theft and burglary

In 2008 EC there were about 10 thefts of chat and electric wire. This decreased since 2009 EC because of a new initiative: about 4 people selected from a development group have a security turn starting at 8 pm until midnight to prevent robberies. Coffee shops are also advised not to provide service after 8 pm at night. In 2009 EC, there was a house burglary. Different things from the kitchen were taken; in 2010 EC, an agricultural daily labourer's house was robbed as well. The community policeman mentioned that, there was a well-organized young group having guns around Checha area at the border of Aze Debo. This group used to stop cars at night and rob people, but the wereda police made a big effort to catch these robbers with their guns five years ago. There was also theft of eucalyptus tree from public forest, and banana and sugarcane from farmers' houses. Young men said that, there are some young men and women who steal, banana, coffee, eucalyptus tree etc. This causes conflict when the owner suspects anyone, which also causes conflict between households. According to young men, *"iddir leaders who are elders will curse the suspect if he does not admit what he did, and those above 25 take this seriously, while the younger don't fear the cursing"*.

Regarding prevention, the militia focuses on theft and other illegal tendencies such as gambling, grouping and fighting.

Government involvement in non-farm self-employment

The government support to non-farm activities is very limited. With regard to young people, as mentioned elsewhere, there has been two recent messages from the government addressed to them. Firstly, they are strongly encouraged to join cooperatives, and secondly, to join military. The youth and communication officer from the kebele was invited to the wereda office and informed about these guidelines. Later he returned with a letter/notice to gather and inform the youth and

the notice was also posted on a big tree next to the kebele office. Development group leaders are also involved in passing this information. But as also explained in the

Farming chapter, the government support to cooperatives focuses on farming activities except for the stone and sand quarrying ones, which officials say do not need any support. In addition, young people noted that there are biases in the selection of those who benefit from this support.

For instance, the young woman mentioned above who is struggling with her beauty salon, said that there are opportunities for the youth to organize and start activities like bull fattening, but those that are given the opportunity are not youth – they are older and they have close contact with the kebele people. This view was confirmed by a female farmer, who indicated that *“there are no government interventions that helps young people to involve in the fields of work they prefer to do to make a living like technical trainings for woodwork, electricity and the like. Young people today are less interested in participating on agriculture related activities”*.

The limited support offered otherwise is described below.

Support – land, training, credit

Land

Due to shortage of land, the wereda does not distribute any land in Aze Debo. The only exception was the beekeeping cooperative which received land on the mountains. All examples given above and mentioned in the interviews suggest that to open any kind of non-farm business, one has to get land privately – either from one’s parents or renting from a private person or for the church which built some premises on communal land they obtained from the kebele.

Training

There are different government trainings offered to kebele volunteers and people involved in farming cooperatives. Some of these may be useful for non-farm businesses too. For instance, a female kebele leader was trained on saving and credit practices (VSLA) (in addition to training on gender related issues/women’s rights and health activities). She is not involved in any business activity but these kinds of training were provided so that she could raise other women’s awareness. Perhaps more directly useful, in addition to being trained on the specific farming activity they chose, the young people groups are trained by the youth and sport office on book keeping, business management, organizational development, cooperative bylaws and group management.

Vocational and skills trainings are mainly given at the TVET college in Durame, and NGOs like World Vision provide technical training like mobile maintenance, although respondents seemed to say that this is not the case in Aze Debo.

Credit

See **Savings, credit and debt** section in the first chapter. Although there are MFIs and banks in Aze Debo, their lending services are restricted. Except the wereda youth budget for cooperatives through the rural job creation programme and the group credit from OMO MFI, there is no other type of finance source/credit for entrepreneurs. OMO microfinance has been there since long ago and for the past 10 years is closely working with the wereda structures. They manage the loans provided under the government rural job creation efforts for young people. The kebele chairman said that young people take loan and try to improve their lives. The Household Asset Building (HAB), a World Bank credit service, was also managed by OMO MFI, but very little seems to have happened with this (respondents said that there was no dedicated livelihood development support associated with PSNP, which the HAB loans would have been for).

Wisdom, the World Vision-funded MFI, is also providing credit to people in the area. People/groups who may back their loan on time could get double loan amount for the next round, like from 5000 to

10000 birr. World Vision also organised village savings groups. However, the NGO doesn't provide loans to these groups, instead, it encourages them to save and lend to members from the group saving. These loans could support non-farm activities. It is not clear from the data to what extent this is the case.

Support for women

In 2010 EC the wereda/kebele started to work with women cooperatives on savings. One female Development Team leader said that since last year, her work is focused on teaching about saving and mobilizing mothers to do savings in their respective development groups/neighbourhoods. Besides, women have a saving group organized by World Vision in June 2009 EC.

Young people

The government interventions for the youth focus on farming. Some of the respondents said that young people lack life skills and because of the lack of opportunities, they tend to turn to different activities like chat or drinking. Another issue is the fact that there is no government intervention that helps young people to involve in the fields of work they prefer to do, such as technical trainings for woodwork.

Business licences and taxation

Wereda officials explained that there has been a relative increase of tax on non-farm activities, and no change in licensing in the past 5 years. Kebele officials said that the most important tax is business tax and income tax. Licenses are also required, but not all business people have them. There are no sale taxes.

Business taxes

Licensed traders have to pay tax to the wereda office, and the kebele has no mandate to collect business tax. The tax rate is determined by the wereda and it was 600-1500 birr per year in 2008EC, but in 2010 EC it was higher. Two people having tea shops submitted a complaint about this high tax, but there was no response.

Income taxes and licenses

People do not have to pay tax for milk, tomato, and fruit trade, however recently Durame town administration has started to ask people who sell anything on the open market to pay income tax every market day. Respondents explained that the government is becoming serious and harsh on tax collection compared to the situation in 2007 EC. Government interest for tax collection from businesses in rural kebeles further increased in 2010 EC, and the wereda tax office is moving to each rural kebele which is new to people trying to trade in a small scale in the villages.

Reactions to tax collection attempts were sometimes dramatic. People in Aze Debo were saying '*Can't we work and live? Shall we stop what we are trying to do?*'. One young man was about to hit the wereda officer who was sealing his shop, and the kebele officials mediated in the conflict. A man having three kids and no land was working on a bakery so when they forced him to have a license and wanted to seal his business, he almost got mad and asked the wereda officials what to do to support his family, by explaining his being landless and his problems. The kebele gradually tried to appease him and made him get a licence. There was also another example of a young man, a shop owner, in Durame. He brought money after working in Addis Abeba as a daily labourer but after three years of trading, the government last year asked him to pay 70,000 birr tax and sealed his shop. He behaved as mad and started to talk to himself on the road, looking for the tax officer to fight him with a knife. He finally calmed down with the support of his brother. Currently he tries to find a new job rather than have his own business.

Licence fees

The government is said to try to force every established trader including small shops to have a license. Until last year, only one person having a shop and the biggest trader had licenses in Aze Debo. Then in 2010 EC the wereda came and sealed shops and other businesses in October so that they forced most of them to have a license. Tea shops however still did not get license as the wereda only said that they should get one, but they did not do anything more serious. Those who have got a license are expected to pay profit tax at the end of the fiscal year.

Most of the wood traders are not asked to have a license, though a few putting their woods on the main road side were asked to have it. Skilled workers who build houses are also not forced to have a license. Women and youth petty traders are not asked to pay tax yet and also the nature of their business is not settled like shops. The petty traders mostly buy items from the village or from other market and sell it at Durame town.

There are requirements of having a kebele ID, filling form etc. which do not make the licencing process easy. A person has to go at least twice to the wereda office to complete the licencing process. There is no special benefit or convenient environment created for those licenced traders.

Below are two examples of traders' experiences with licenses:

- A middle trader has never had a licence in his 50 years trading history, because the government in the past had no interest to push everyone to have it. Under the current government his business has decreased, and he runs it only from Aze Debo, he does not anything in Durame, like a shop.
- A small trader has no trading license in Aze Debo or in Wolkite, but when he has to transport pepper to Addis Abeba he uses a friend's licence. No one asked him or his family to have a trade license.

Coffee is an important cash crop in the kebele and to sell it for a higher price outside the wereda, one must present a license. The issues around getting license for coffee trade are described in the [Farming](#) section.

Non-farm employment

Formal government/NGO employment

Civil servants working in the kebele including ten kebele workers (including the police officer) and 30 teachers. Some respondents mentioned that there are around 20 civil servants who work in zone and wereda offices in Durame and live in Aze Debo, as they have land and home in the kebele. Three of them ride motorbikes to their office and back home. There are also many educated people from the kebele who are away for employment elsewhere; at least 120 people graduated and left for employment in the past 10 years, going to Hawassa, Addis Abeba, Hosanna, Mizan Teferi, Nazret, and Metahara.

Four men and one woman from the community have NGO jobs, working for World Vision and KMG. These people have houses and farms in the kebele. They don't have houses in town and their life is not that unique compared to rich farmers. All have only diploma and none of them has a first degree, so they have no higher position in the NGOs.

Employed by the kebele

There are two guards employed for the kebele office. The Millennium School has two guards as well. The first two are paid by the kebele from the FTC income, but the payment is in kind (usually grains). Moreover, when there is PSNP and Food Aid these guards are given priority. Two of the four guards

are militias. The school guards are given cash when the school sells grass, and they do not receive Food Aid or PSNP. The contracts of these guards are renewed every six months.

Private employment

Some young men migrate to Fincha, Dubti/Afar and Metehara sugar factories to be employed as farm and factory labourers. The factories send buses to Durame, Shinshicho and Adero areas and collect seasonal farm labourers around October every year and the buses take them back in August. Flour factory located in the area does not offer significant employment opportunities. Recently, a few young men also migrated to Dukem East Industry zone in search of employment.

The only private employment in the kebele is at the coffee processing plants; 150 women and 50 men are employed by the two coffee processing plants for a few months in a year. People who opened these plants are based in Durame.

There are daily laborers who work in the kebele. Most of them come from neighbourhood kebeles and engage in house construction. The labour cost has increased in the past couple of years and is now reaching up to 150 birr/day.

There are a few female households which do work for food/cash. However, this practice has decreased because of PSNP support provided to the poor.

Migration

Migration changes

Compared to previous years, international migration has continued to be extremely important for livelihoods, especially for young people, who have little access to land and many of whom seemed to have lost hope in education. Sudan, Djibouti and Arab countries are new destinations which have appeared within the past 7 years. Brokers are said to be the reason for these new routes.

There are some wealth-related differences in the destinations chose by would-be-migrants. Those who have richer families in Aze Debo or relatives in South Africa are more likely to migrate to this country. South Africa was the main destination of mainly young men (in the course of two weeks between the two fieldwork rounds, two young men migrated to South Africa). Some respondents said there are no returnees from South Africa in Aze Debo in the last 10 years except one person. Others said that migration to South Africa decreased because of the high cost of and news of death of some earlier migrants who went through the land-and-sea crossing route. However, the prevailing feeling among community members is that migrants are successful, because they send money or build/ renew their families' home, buy hybrid cows, or their families have better clothes.

Those who migrate to Sudan, Djibouti and Arab countries are mostly from middle wealth families. Migration is funded by parents who sell cattle and who have hopes for support if their children's migration is successful. Respondents mentioned that recently two young men returned from Sudan and one girl from Beirut. Those who migrate to Sudan and Djibouti do not support their families so much, and even two of them came back to work farming with their parents. So, people believe that it is less 'important' to migrate to these destinations compared to South Africa. Some of the returnees from these destinations came back to Aze Debo and demanded land, as reported during interviews with six male farmers. In addition to young people, they were described as "land seekers" who cannot access land from their families (because plots are small) or from the kebele (which does not have land to give them).

Migration for work

International migration

Migration to South Africa

South Africa, together with Arab countries, is said to be the main destination of migration, especially for young men from 17 to 40 years old. Recently relatives or friends living in South Africa are facilitating the travel of other young men, covering the substantial cost and asking them to work in their business for free for at least a year. Many families want to gather funds to send their children abroad. Sometimes, parents raise up in Sunday church session and say, “*my child entered South Africa safely and praise God for me and pray for my child to be safe and successful there*”. This way, everyone will know who went to South Africa.

Migration, especially to South Africa, is associated with wealth and success. Young people, when asked about plans for the future, frequently mentioned “*migration to South Africa*” as one of their dreams. People who were successful in economic terms because of migration as well as most influential and richest people in the community having children in South Africa are regarded as models for young people in Aze Debo. People who have migrants in their families tend to be richer and they can afford many things that other community members cannot. For example, since hybrid cows are expensive, households having children in South Africa are more likely to have them (as well as model farmers, salaried people and traders) than other farmers. Young women indicated that the most beautiful girls in the community are ‘recommended’ to the family who has a son who lives in the South Africa to ensure that their daughter is going to be in safe hands in the future.

Many people start different kinds of business with the idea of saving money to fund their migration. So, doing business is not always a way to make a living in Aze Debo, but only one of the ways to leave the community. Help from relatives or friends who are already in South Africa is also a big hope for would-be migrants. Migration is both, a response to the disappointment because of the lack of jobs and land in the community, and a hope for a better life for oneself and one’s family.

Respondents indicated that most recently migration costs went up considerably. Going there by plane was said to be about 230,000 birr, which is becoming unaffordable. For those who migrate by crossing borders all the way, it now requires about 180,000 birr. As said earlier, in some cases former migrants already living in South Africa are those providing the money to cover the cost of migration of others. This money is often paid in South Africa, not in Ethiopia. When presented with the idea that such sums could be used to open a business in Aze Debo/locally, one young man indicated that one cannot start anything worthwhile with 180,000 birr and he would not do this, suggesting that earlier migration to South Africa has also prompted rather high expectations.

The rich farmer expressed opinion that although the government tries to get young people into cooperatives, the amount given is not enough, and it does not help a lot to reduce the trend of migration or the interest to migrate away. Some respondents also thought that whilst local jobs in factories, which they were calling for, might reduce other types of migration (e.g. to Gulf countries or other towns/cities in Ethiopia), it might not do much to reduce migration to South Africa.

Below there are several stories of community members about migration.

Case 1 – a man who returned from South Africa to Aze Debo

His cousin was living in South Africa since 1997EC and helped him to migrate in 2006EC. He returned in 2010EC. His cousin got money to go to South Africa from selling his father’s house in Durame and migrated when he failed to have good results after grade 12. His cousin encouraged him to join him and he went there. He only had to contribute 40,000 birr; the rest of the cost was covered by his cousin. He used to work in one of the four shops of his cousin and in his truck selling yogurt and bread. He did this and did not change job until he returned. He said that life in South Africa was good but he wanted to start some business for the family here and show to his brothers for them to take

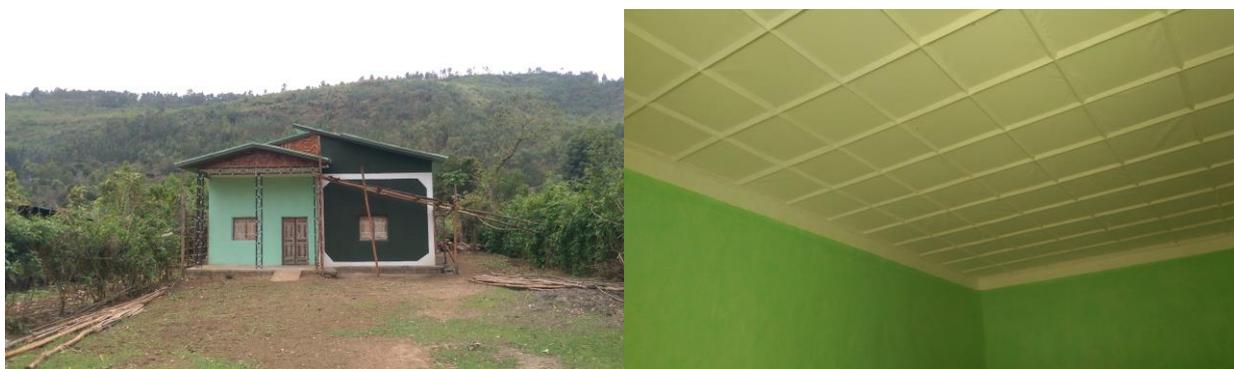
over, and he is planning to then get back to South Africa. He was able to send his brother to South Africa to work on his spot. He travelled through Kenya and Tanzania to South Africa using the link that the brokers arranged for him. Thanks to remittances, his family built a house and bought a bajaj to one of his brothers.

Case 2 – migration as one of the problems of the community – rich farmer’s opinion

People from Aze Debo initially were migrating to Metehara, but gradually they started to migrate to South Africa and people who went there are able to buy cars/trucks and build nice houses; their impact is not only for the family but they also changed the community. People want to migrate mainly because they do not have enough land, and the university graduates do not have a better life than migrants. In this area many young men with a university degree are sitting idle, so the effort to migrate is increasing and even those employed in a government office are migrating because the salary is not enough these days due to the inflation.

Case 3 – FGD with young people about migration

There is a trend to migrate to South Africa, Addis Ababa and Hawassa, and more rarely to Sudan and Djibouti. Even children who are 10 years old have this idea in mind and some might drop out of school from grade 8 or when they complete it, which means around the age of 16-17. Young people are encouraged in that direction by the clothes that the returnees wear, the support they can bring to their family, and the changes in their life in general. Respondents did not know the number of migrants, but they mentioned 60-70 migrate to South Africa in a year. The people who go to South Africa mostly engage in jobs like selling in shops but the details are not known. These who migrate internally mostly go for labour work and employment in factories. Some migrated to Hawassa industrial park but priority was said to be given to people from the Sidama ethnic group, so that some young people who went there were not able to get jobs and returned to Aze Debo.



Picture 9 A house of a migrant’s family in Aze Debo. On the right side a gypsum roof inside, not very common in an average house in the community.

Sudan

Migration to Sudan started when people from Aze Debo went to Humera (Ethio-Sudan border) in search of farm labour mainly to harvest sesame. Gradually, they started to cross border to Sudan and the news about work opportunities there was circulated to the kebele and some young men began to join people being already there. Four years ago mostly women migrated to Sudan, but it has decreased recently as the Sudanese economy deteriorated and the Sudanese Pounds dramatically lost value over the past few years, making it more difficult and less worthwhile to get jobs there. Below there is a story of a female migrant who was in South Sudan.

Case 4 – female migrant to South Sudan

She was 33 years old and migrated to South Sudan in 2007 EC, and then returned after 3 years with a capital of 25,000 birrs. She travelled with the help of brokers and paid them 5,000 birr although the total cost was more as she had to also give several of her first months of salary to the broker.

Before she migrated, she had tried doing business (coffee selling) for about a year. She used to sell tomato by taking it to Shinshicho. For a while she had no job. Moreover, 2 years before migrating she had worked as a daily labourer in Hawassa and it caused a health damage on her and had quit the job. It was her final decision to migrate, and it came because she saw other women in the kebele saw migrating to Sudan. She collected money for her travel from the coffee business.

She travelled to Metema on car and then a broker welcomed them. She and the other 5 women stayed at the broker's house for 16 days. They shared their food with them, like kudira, and moropo. It was difficult for them to eat that and they served them potato, rice and macaroni. In terms of payment for the broker, initially she paid 5000 birr for his 'service'. Then, when he got a job for her and others, they left half of their salaries to him because they had no residential licence (she was no longer sure for how many months and mentioned 3 or 4 months for which this was the case). Firstly, she was employed for 200 pounds. In the next years, her salary increased to 300, then later to 400 pounds and she started saving.

She worked for a family that had 7 members. They were Muslims and talked in Arabic. They used to have many guests on Fridays. The Sudanese people were Muslims in majority, but there are also Protestants and Orthodox Christians. They allow them to go to church once a fortnight. She worked for one family for 4 months then changed. In her 4 years stay she worked for 4 different households. She usually did house chores (house cleaning and washing clothes). Their employers asked them to cook Sudanese foods and they were getting upset because they couldn't cook it. They asked them to cook Ethiopian dishes as an option. But overall they are good people especially if one speaks their language.

Once in a year, she used to send 2000 or 3000 birr to her family. And also send 10% of her income to the church once a year.

It has been 4 months since she returned back home. She hasn't worked on anything since then. She has no plan in mind too. She said that she would work on anything she would get or she could. The research officer observed that there were eucalyptus collected in her compound to construct a nice modern house with *korkoro* (corrugated iron sheet) roof for her mother and herself. Their house was a traditional hut with a thatched roof.

Migration to other destinations in Ethiopia

This section describes urban, industrial, and rural migration within Ethiopia. These kinds of migration are less important economically than international migration, but involve a larger number of people, mostly young, including both young men and young women.

Urban migration

According to community members, young people migrate to Addis Abeba, Hawassa, Dukem, Metehara and Tendaho (in Afar). A few migrated to Dewelea, Somali region (between Dire Dawa and Jijiga). The first three destinations (Addis Ababa, Hawassa and Dukem) are selected for jobs in factories, and labour work. This kind of migration (to Addis Ababa, Hawassa and Dukem) started in the past 5 years; and in the past two years, young people mostly migrated to the industry zone in Dukem. Some of the young men who migrated to Dukem seem a bit successful, though some of them returned due to recent instability.

The Metehara and Tendaho destinations are chosen because of sugarcane factories where the young men get labour jobs. These factories have been destinations for generations, and some people settled there. Several community members mentioned in the course of conversations on other topics that they have had family members who were in Metehara. These migrants didn't get

much change in their life and were unable to support their family. Some returned back and left for Addis Ababa looking for other labour opportunities.

The migration to sugar factories decreased but Dukem is becoming a new destination for industrial labour. Various estimates were given with regard to the number of young people migrating to these different destinations; some said about 85 young people, landless and mostly from poor families, between 20 and 27-year old, and most of them having completed grade 10; others mentioned a higher figure of 100-150. Though a few women also migrated, most of them are men. Most of these migrants return back during Meskel festival. Some respondents said that these migrants rarely decide to return and live in Aze Debo; but there were cases of returnees among the interviewees; and as said earlier, some of those who went to Dukem returned late 2017/early 2018 because of the conflict between Oromo and Welayta people, as they feared the attacks might also be directed against all people from southern Ethiopia.

Urban migration among young men and women in the community is high and most respondents said it would continue in the future since there is no job opportunity in the kebele; although many also thought that if there were jobs locally fewer people would go to these destinations.

Industrial migration

Industrial migration overlaps with urban migration up to certain degree. There are young people who migrate to industrial sites in Shashemene and Hawassa to get a job, but most migrate to towns seeking for any labour work.

Working in industrial sites was said to be harsh and even dangerous, therefore some people came back. For example, one of daily labourers from Aze Debo, migrated to Addis Abeba in 2005 EC and then went to Dukem town and worked there for 3 months, the payment was 75 birr a day but to be paid every two weeks. He rented a house for 300 birr a month, but he found the job was heavy and dangerous for his health, and decided to get back when he failed to find another job there.

Rural migration

Regarding rural migration, community members mentioned that people migrate to the Gurage zone in the Wolkite area. This destination is chosen because early settlers from Aze Debo who went there during the Derg are hosting them and facilitating conditions for share-cropping, or they work as employed farmers and are paid in the form of getting land for a certain period, which they use to grow their own crop.

In addition, nine years ago the government tried to resettle people to Mizan Tepi and Kefa areas. These were mostly 10th grade graduates and landless people; some were single, a few were married before resettlement and went there with their families. The informants said that most or all these settlers are successful in farming there. Information is obtained when some of them come to visit relatives. Some even got enough money to migrate to South Africa from there.

Women sometimes migrate for marriage. For example, a few women get married to Hadiya men and migrate to live with their husband. Similarly there are women who got married to Kambata men from other kebeles and moved to live there.

Perceptions of the impact of migration on the community

Generally

There are mixed opinions about migration.

Some respondents raised issues. The community policeman, who also wanted to migrate to Sudan but was imprisoned in Metema for 3 months and returned to Aze Debo, noted that returnees practise gambling which is negatively affecting the community peace. The issue with migration arises when people die on their way, according to a female kebele leader. She also believed that young

people are less interested in education, and turn to employment in local business or only dream about migration. This affects the community in different ways. Firstly, families do not have money to pay for migration of all their children, secondly, parents are left alone without any help, and thirdly, young people do nothing even if they stay. She also underlined that *“we have seen families improving their assets because of the remittances their children send them; but it would be good if the young people see migration as a last option and it would be good if they first stuck to their education”*.

However, the prevailing opinion is that migration is indispensable; young people who migrate and help themselves and their families are well considered; the most striking cases of success are those who succeed in migrating and working in South Africa; others migrating to Sudan or elsewhere in Ethiopia are less able to help their families so that these other forms of migration attracted less attention in conversations.

Regarding remittances, some respondents mentioned that around 75 households get remittance irregularly and mostly families get remittance during Meskel festival. Some send for families to renew their houses, buy hybrid cows or motorbike for their siblings. According to different respondents, there are about 7-15 motorbikes which belong to young people in the kebele, and most of them are bought thanks to remittances. The diaspora also often try to buy a house in Durame, either through their parents or wives living here. The remittances helped both the farming and trading activity. In interviews on migration, several respondents mentioned examples of people who were able to buy houses costing one million birr or more in Durame, trucks of several hundred thousand birr etc. and the biggest hotel in Durame was said to be owned by returnee migrants.

Moreover, some migrants send money to church leaders to keep it in bank for them, because they fear that parents might spend it when they need money. They also send remittances to the church for the church to use to support poor people in the community or to implement development projects in the area. The first and only grinding mill in Aze Debo was set up by the one of the Protestant churches thanks to remittances from the diaspora, which greatly helped people as they do no longer have to do the long walking to Durame (in the past it was all the more an issue that there was no asphalt road and transport like today). One wood workshop was also set up by the church with the same funding, and at some stage it was employing about ten young people.

Opinions of young people

Opinions of young people are further described in the section on **Migrating** in the chapter on **Young people’s economic and other experiences**. In general, migration appeals to young people who do not have many work possibilities as a very interesting option. The best option is to go to South Africa – people who went there are considered to be very successful. Young people liked the fact that those who migrate are able to accumulate capital and help their parents, and in general they have better life than those who *“spent their life on education”*.

Female migration for marriage

Young men who migrated to South Africa or within Ethiopia may take their fiancées or get married to young women whom they have met from the kebele, and they take them to where they have established their life. During a focus group discussion young men said that apps like IMO, WhatsApp and Viber are used to send pictures of girls from Aze Debo and other villages to South Africa by relatives of migrants who live in Aze Debo. In this way the men living in South Africa select their wives from the villages. Young women in Aze Debo were said to dream of finding someone in South Africa who would marry them; however lately, young women are less keen to move and join their husband in South Africa, because of the allegedly higher risk for young women left alone at home whilst their husband is working, to be abducted for ransom.

There are also women who migrated to neighbouring rural communities and urban areas, including some more remote towns for marriage (see above).

A rich urban female migrant believed that it is not good for women to migrate, as they face much more challenges during migration than men. She said there was a lot of violence in urban places, where people come from different parts of Ethiopia, talking about people being murdered, some women having unwanted pregnancy and then falling into economic problems. These issues are compounded by the fact that these women do not have families in these destinations.

There have been no in-migrants coming to Aze Debo since many decades (in an earlier round of research, there was a mention of Amhara households who had come decades earlier in the community, but this was not mentioned this time). But there are returnee migrants from different destinations. Those coming back with some capital and intending to live in the community or nearby (e.g. Durame) try to open a business or undertake economic activities depending on the capital they were able to accumulate.

Economic and political inequality

Economic inequality

Very rich and rich

According to a knowledgeable person in the kebele, 10 percent of the community is rich. Farmers, traders and returnee migrants were more likely to have a good basis to be/become rich.

Characteristics of rich people were:

- mixing of farming and trading activities
- having land
- migrants in families in the US or in South Africa.

Mixing farming and trading activities

Rich people were farmers who were considered as economic elites due to their success in farming and trading. They were rich mainly thanks to diversified farming activities (crops, cattle), they were pioneers in poultry, involved in bull fattening, share-rearing for shared product and trade, and having children in South Africa. Thanks to cattle, their wives could involve in dairy production and brought additional income in this way. This trend was described by a community member:

Those who are from richer families have the chance to stay rich. They are less affected by the changes in weather/rainfall and reduction of farm product because they own bigger farmlands and have multiple sources of income including livestock products. Those households who have sent their children abroad to South Africa or Sudan and other countries have shown improvement in their living in terms of food, housing and clothing but most haven't established a business that could avoid dependence on their children's remittance. They haven't worked or invested to become self-sufficient for various reasons.

Rich people were able to benefit from inflation, as they were able to buy products when prices were low and sell when prices were higher. Sometimes they went to buy in places where prices were low, for example to Wolkite, something not possible for poorer traders. One of the community members said that rich people did not have to sell and buy products immediately, contrary to those who barely made ends meet and had to sell whenever they could. Another big advantage over smaller traders is that they can sell different crops in big quantities. This was described by a community member as follows:

The few rich however benefited from the inflation impacts, because they have the money and they collect any crop output including eucalyptus tree and cattle, when it is very cheap, because other people sell it cheap as soon as they produce it when they are challenged economically or pressed to buy food for their families. The rich will sell all these items waiting for seasons when prices are better, so the situation is benefiting them.

A farmer interviewed as rich had half hectare and he rented another half hectare from the school. He planted different crops: teff, maize, beans, wheat and cabbage using irrigation, *godere*, enset, coffee seedlings and coffee for sale, potato, sugarcane, avocado, papaya, pepper, and banana. What was important, he engaged in nearly every type of production with surplus for the market. Besides, he had two *ferenji* and 2 hybrids cows, 1 ox, and 2 calves. He buys oxen and sells them as soon as the farming activity was completed, because there is limited grazing and feeding them is less economical once they are fattened, and he has no children to herd them. His strategy was to buy crops during harvest at low price and sell when prices went up. In his view, trading economically more important, but it requires bigger capital. Also having cattle is important. Rich farmers, a trader of hybrid cows and a rich crop trader were among those benefiting more as they had more than 4 cows, and they also gave cows for share profit (sharing of milk and calf equally).

One of the constraints to business expansion is access to electricity, mentioned by this rich farmer as one of key problems in the community. He said that *"I have electricity and take the bulb to shine on my garden and work at night (kutkuato), when I don't get enough time in the day. Wood work and other businesses could have been expanded if there was electricity. Students are studying with kerosene lamps, which discourages their effort to study at night"*.

Rich people could also afford to get grid electricity even if they lived inside the kebele, like another rich farmer who decided to pull the electric line to the inner village where he lives. He paid for the wood, giving access to the line to some of his neighbours with small contributions from their part.

Access to land

Access to land was also an important factor to become rich. A few very old and rich people obtained land under Haile Selassie and their family which inherited land from them may hold up to 4 hectares of land. This is quite significant when compared with the current average land plot size of half a hectare, and the poor people's plots of 1000-1500 square meter land including the space where their house is built.

Obtaining land was definitely not easy, as explained in other chapters, including for investors. Rich farmers were at an advantage as they were able to rent-in or sharecrop whatever land might be available from other farmers. In worse position were young people and returnees who did not have the chance to obtain rural land since there was no reallocation, except for ex-soldiers by wereda decision. Inheriting land from parents is also not frequent due to small land holding for many of the households, even the rich ones.

Another sign of being rich was possessing a house in Durame. For example, the richest farmer bought a house worth 1 million birr in 2009 EC in Durame, and the older coffee trader had two houses there, one of which worth 2 million birr because of its business location. Although people living abroad had limited possibility to get land on their return (which is described below), they helped their parents to buy houses in town.

Migrants in family

Another characteristic of rich people was having family members abroad, usually in South Africa. For the richest farmer, his son went to the US. International migrants helped their families better than others who tried to migrate internally. Some families have received funds to develop their farm, business and renew their houses or get new ones. The migrants' siblings could complete education, engage in some economic activity like bajaj, motorbike transportation business, or setting a boutique in Durame town. Some of them helped their family members to get to South Africa.

International migrants also could be considered as another category of rich people. For example, a rich international migrant was only 26 years old, but already had 4-years migration experience and on his return to Aze Debo, he started a business of transporting crops and other items to Durame from neighbouring kebeles and towns. He financed his brother's wedding, built a new house for his

mother and bought a bajaj to his younger brother. His case was described in the section Migration to South Africa. This migrant was quite young but seemed to be independent and rich. However, on the basis of interviews with young people most were said to be rich thanks to wealth of their parents, not because of their own work.

Community perception of rich people

The rich farmer just mentioned is well known in the community because of his wealth. According to one of the DT leaders, the household/business of this rich farmer was progressing over the past few years and people believed that it was also thanks to his children, who lived abroad.

People in the community also believed that these rich people were rich because they accumulated capital, and also were able to use it wisely to grasp different opportunities. However, as indicated earlier, some respondents also thought that rich people might not be able to remain rich without continuing to get remittances from their family members especially those in South Africa.

A middle-wealth male trader indicated that diversification is key to economic success:

Most of the rich became richer because of expansion of their business and farming activities. Some are able to give more and more cows for share rearing, share fattening and to plough others' land for share cropping. However, there are a few disadvantaged like him who entirely depend on coffee trading.

Lifestyles

Regarding lifestyles, a rich person was usually associated with better house and better household equipment (TV, mobiles, etc). Sometimes they had houses in Durame. During Meskel, people with migrants in the family could afford more sumptuous celebrations; and the diaspora in South Africa also sent money to churches in Aze Debo to buy bulls to slaughter and distribute meat to poor people in the village, in return of which a big prayer session is organized to bless them; in the church session the names of young men who sent money are read out loud. Houses of families with a migrant or returnees especially from South Africa were an interesting illustration of differences in lifestyle, as they were strikingly different from the houses of people who did not migrate (as the pictures above show).

Rich households sometimes provided food or crops or lent oxen to plough to very poor households if they were neighbours or relatives. Although they helped poor people, they did not lend money to anyone for business purposes without interest.

Networks

Rich people held multiple roles in the community. For example, all three elders interviewed in the course of the fieldwork had additional positions as iddir leaders or church preachers. As the work on farms needs to be done, they often hired other people to do it for them.

Middle-wealth

The middle wealth households were said to represent 20% of the community. They generated income from their farm products and medium level business. Some of them could also have support from children working in various jobs and places. These households also include civil servants and others who have permanent jobs. Usually they had smaller land plots than the rich people – about one hectare. They had houses with a separate room for livestock and kitchen together, and possessed a sofa and wooden furniture.

Middle wealth farmers have a limited chance to diversify their livelihood activities; however some of them try to sell eucalyptus trees, timber, coffee on a small scale, or trade shoats from Shinshicho to Durame town, and their wives mostly engage in petty trade like selling butter, coffee, fruits, vegetables, and retailing crops at the market. According to female farmers, they grow mainly teff,

maize and coffee, vegetables, (cabbage, tomato, potato, carrot, pepper), fruits (avocado, mango, banana). They had also enset plants. They owned 1 cow.

Those who migrate to Sudan, Djibouti and Arab countries are mostly from middle wealth families, and promise their parents to help them and in this way convince them to sell their cattle to fund their migration.

In the knowledgeable respondent's opinion, half of those in the middle-wealth group did not change their economic status over the past ten years, some even faced challenge due to drought, because they are not considered for food aid and PSNP support. Half of them, however, improved their status gradually based on their hard work, and for some of them, support from diaspora children. Hybrid cows, farming and trading also contributed to their gradually improved status.

In the opinion of the same respondent, these days the very poor people are recovering due to the support from the PSNP, therefore they are not begging or disappearing by migrating elsewhere like in the past. Some bought shoats and chicken, and few of them even bought heifer. In contrast, he said, the middle level farmers are getting worse or staying in the same status because during drought, the rich can resist, the poor are supported by PSNP and EFA, but the middle level farmers are helpless.

Poor, very poor and destitute

Respondents did not always differentiate between poor, very poor and destitute. Usually they made a difference between poor and "*those very poor, homeless, supported by church*". This section differentiate between poor and very poor/destitute people.

Characteristics of the poor included:

- being landless, or having only small land (1 *timad* max) with a traditional house without separate kitchen, often cattle inside, shared with numerous family members
- no or a few cattle, chickens
- no people from the family abroad
- belonging to lower clans
- sources of income: PSNP, selling farm products (teff, coffee, avocado, banana) and farm inputs (fertiliser), no permanent job, only involvement in petty trade like selling fruits, various labour work activities in the town, share-rearing with richer families
- problems with payment for health services, medicines and children's education, lack of food and clothes
- older people and widows, younger people taking the habit of being passive
- not applying fertiliser on their small land
- crops like teff, maize, *godere*, tomatoes– but in small quantity because of small land size, low productivity of their farms, no irrigation hence very vulnerable to rain shortage.

Example of a very poor woman:

By the time her husband passed away, about 4 years back, it was hard to survive for her and her family. That was because her farm didn't give a good product. It was difficult for them to wait till their boloke and maize would grow and reach the time for harvest/for use. There was shortage of rainfall around their place. They got by asking people who live in more moist locations to give them enset leftovers/root 'amicho'. The amount of PSNP payment back then was too small, 30 birr (90 birr for 3 family members). They have also begged for maize from neighbours.

Respondents had mixed opinions as to whether the proportion of poor people had been decreasing or increasing. Thanks to PSNP support many of them could get by and survive, but this kind of

support was not considered as a way to get out of poverty. Poor people were said to not be able to improve their situation because of a combination of factors including:

- the lack of, or having only a few, assets
- no possibility to start accumulating capital because everything is spent on daily needs,
- the culture of being passive and not looking for ways to improve one's situation.

This was expressed by a religious leader:

Some poor improved a little bit in the past 10 years because some are selling milk, others are being supported by their children, and the government is also helping. Still, there are many poor people remaining in the same status and even a few who got worse. Landlessness/lack of enough farm land is the root cause coupled with laziness.

People had difficulty to differentiate between very poor and destitute people. Most of time, when asked about these two categories, respondents were enumerating characteristics of very poor people. Sometimes they used words like "beggars" or "homeless". Among these characteristics some were critical ones to determine whether someone was perceived to be poorer/very poor. These critical factors included 1) the lack of/small amount of land, 2) being supported by the church, and 3) being supported by PSNP. With regard to land, even if they had some it was relatively smaller than land owned by the poor. Secondly, there were several people who gathered near the church and are supported especially during Meskel and Christmas. These people probably did not even had land. The church also offered help with rehabilitating their houses, giving medicines and clothes, and ploughing whatever small farmland they might have. Even the kebele manager said that the government provided PSNP only, and the largest support was offered by Protestant churches:

Most of the activities aimed to help vulnerable people in the community were done by religious institutions- protestant churches. They have provided poor people shelter, constructed them houses; assisted them financially during holidays, and provided educational materials for children from poor households. There were no government interventions except PSNP and direct support that she was aware of.

Regarding PSNP, most of those poor people who cannot work, old people, widows are under PSNP Direct Support.

The poorest woman in Aze Debo belonged to the lower clan of potters, and was supported by the PSNP, her church and her neighbours. Her family situation was difficult: her husband passed away, she shared her house with one daughter whose husband was drinking, and two sons. She said that people sometimes discriminated her:

Her husband's family should have stood by her side and they should help each other during difficult times. But they don't have a peaceful relation. Although not in terms of associations, she feels like she has been neglected by the community because she is from a craftworkers' family and that she is a craftworker herself. Except exchanging superficial greetings, they don't really keep her close/maintain a close relation. She often feels like the community has neglected her. "They insult me for no reason. They harass me for no reason. Sometimes when they insult me, I cry".

Poverty also influenced her daughter, who did not finish education and got married at the age of 10. The poor woman was receiving support from her middle-wealth neighbours, who explained reasons for support in the following way:

Everyone needs supports at times. And this household needs it. They have very few income sources and limited income. We feel the need of supporting them for we observe their life over time. Although we are not among the rich households in the kebele, thank God we have enough, and we can share what we have with the person who needs this support. The household is very pleased to see how grateful they are from the little support they have

received. They (poor households) hardly have the initiative or capacity to figure out how they can improve their lives unless their children by chance migrate abroad. It seems like they have been drawn out long in poverty and developed dependency on the PSNP and other small supports they receive.

Regarding community members' perceptions of the poor people, there were a range of opinions. Firstly, people claimed that the PSNP creates dependency among poor people, not only because they are constantly using PSNP and do nothing to exit poverty, but also because it is the only programme allowing them to survive (as said by a returned agricultural migrant). The respondents who had (a) more stable source(s) of income and generally managed their life, were more critical towards PSNP and poor people. A middle wealth trader claimed that:

The very poor are advantaged because of PSNP support because they are not demanded to work for the kebele, and they just accept the support and they can also get help from church. Some of them are able to buy small ruminants and chicken to improve their lives.

It is not clear that the government support contributed to stop intergenerational transmission of poverty. In the opinion of some of the respondents, it does not.

It seems that there was no factor that would provide a first step for poor people to lift themselves out of poverty, as they needed to build a basis of assets to gradually improve their situation. More on this in the social protection chapter.

Relations between very rich and very poor

Women, especially younger and poorer women, found it difficult to respond to questions on relations between very rich and very poor people, mainly because they were less exposed to the community life.

Both female and male non-farmers claimed that support from richer to poorer was decreasing:

The rich people in the kebele may provide support in kind or for share benefit, to the poor they know because they live nearby or to their relatives (a female non-farmer)

Providing support to the poor is less practiced these days. The rich often provide money for the poor during holidays. Or they give out cattle for shared benefit. Often they don't provide anything for free but rather in exchange for labour or benefit (a female non-farmer)

Support from rich to poor is reducing in the past five years (male middle trader)

However, this issue of decreasing/increasing support was debated among male farmers. In a group discussion, four out of the five participants said that the support from rich to poor decreased. They explained that times are changing and everyone should work hard for himself/the family; *"things are becoming expensive over time, producing crops itself is costly due to high inputs price and labour"*. However, one of them had a different opinion and said that still *"there is support like food for a day or two (potatoes, crops, coffee and even sometimes money). And the poor also help the rich family by contributing labour"*.

Sometimes richer people tended to help relatives rather than non-relatives, as mentioned by non-farmers:

- *The rich support their relatives, neighbours and people close to them. The support could be by lending oxen to plough, food/crops, lending money and advice.*
- *In his observation, the rich just support their relative, not other poor.*
- *He said the rich help their children, relatives and rarely their closer neighbours, however the help to non-relatives is decreasing.*

- *He knows that rich households sometimes provide food or crops to very poor households if they are neighbours or relatives. That this has not changed that much.*

Richer people tended to have more critical opinions towards poorer ones:

- *However, such support for the poor is reducing from time to time, because people assume that all the poor are getting monthly salary from government.*

Political inequality

Elites

People identified as elites hold this status thanks to their economic success or social positions. What was characteristic for Aze Debo was the fact people having higher economic status were more likely to hold higher social positions as well. People considered as elites were:

- rich farmers
- religious leaders
- clan leaders
- elders.

Often it happens that one person holds multiple respected positions. For example, community elders were also rich farmers and had migrants in their families. Based on the interviews with farmers, there were three most important people. Two of them were mentioned first of all as elders. The third one was mentioned as religious leader of one of the Protestant churches.

1. The first person is 50 years old, rich through both trade and farming, he is mainly involved in mediation and marriage issues and clan conflicts. He has children in USA and South Africa. He has a big house and shop in front of the kebele office and in the past was working at Metahara sugar factory. Farmers said that he is educated, and people say that he is graceful and honest in mediating conflicts. He can influence anyone together with other elders and mostly issues handled by him and the other two people will get conclusion/resolution. He is very tall, graceful and highly calm with an honest personality and his speeches are acceptable to all. His network is with community elders, church leaders and traders. He sometimes interacts with wereda administrators and court whenever necessary.
2. The second person is 65 years old; he is an evangelist, trader and model farmer, has children working as teachers in the community and other children living in USA and South Africa. Farmers said that he is the richest person in the community. He was kebele chairman both under the Derg and the EPRDF regime, he served as clan leader for more than 4 years, and currently he is one of the respected community elders. His impact on the community is positive: he mediates in conflict, he is an elder to be sent for marriage request, represents the kebele as important person to deal with different public issues at wereda level. He is a respected farmer and trader, and he is *"a person of principle who follows his plans and words strictly"*. He is believed to have a network with clan leaders, community elders, traders and he is well known by the wereda administrators.
3. The third person is a leader of the Mekane Yesus church. He is a model farmer who has coffee, sugar cane, false banana, maize, teff, *godere* and he is doing very well in farming. He has children, all of them drivers. He lends money for people who faced problems in the neighbourhood. He sent his daughter's husband to South Africa. He also buys hybrid cows and gives them to widows related to the church to share milk and calves with them. People say that he is providing humanitarian support to these poor women who are members of his church, but he also gets benefits for himself. He is known for collecting seeds of mango and pepper and sells seedlings by using the spring near his farm. He sells about 20 beds of seedlings of coffee at a time to people coming from different places including from Alaba

area. He also served as clan leader for a few years and everyone wants him for mediation of conflict because he is good in convincing people due to his speech and the respect shown to him by the community in general. He is said to be a committed church leader who lives by what he says, therefore he has an impact on spiritual life, community peace and reconciliation. He is said to be brave enough to confront both the kebele and the wereda with requests/issues on behalf of the community, and courageous enough to comment on weaknesses of the administration at meetings. He is said to be highly disciplined, considerate of the situation of other people, a very spiritual and hard working person. His network is said to be with different church leaders, community elders, clan leaders, kebele officials, wereda officials and other model farmers.

Apart from these elders, there were others, but they did not seem to be as influential as those mentioned above. The first was 60, he is also *iddir* leader, rich model farmer who is rich mainly because of his coffee farm and he has children in USA and South Africa. The second was more than 60, church leader at Mekane Yesus, well respected and committed to deal with community issues and mediation, rich farmer and trader, and he also has children in USA and South Africa.

The table below presents all three most important men in the kebele and their features.

	Elder	Religious leader	Clan leader	Contacted kebele administration	Iddir leader	Rich farmer	Migrants in family	Opinions about him
1 st influential person	Yes, primary role	Not really	No info	Yes, even represents AD in wereda	No info	Yes, "successful businessman"	Yes	Good speaker, skilled mediator
2 nd influential person	Yes, primary role	No info	Was in the past	Sometimes yes	No info	Yes	yes	Kebele leader under Derg & EPRDF
3 rd influential person	No info	Yes, primary role	No info	Yes, very brave	No info	Yes	Yes –his daughter's husband	Good at convincing people

Table 2 The most important men in the kebele and their features.

People considered as influential seem to have the following characteristics:

- Being a man and older than 50 years
- Being a rich farmer
- Having migrants in family
- Being an elder and/or a church leader
- Being in contact with kebele/wereda officials from time to time
- Being skilled in conflict mediation, being honest and speaking well.

Membership in a given clan was not mentioned directly in interviews. However, informal conversations suggest that clan is an important feature which decides about the status of a given person. The most influential were the leaders of Gala, Dubo, Nurto and Ebejena clans.

There is no customary leader but there are *iddir* leaders who are said to be influential in the community. In 2010EC *iddirs* were said to be used by the kebele administration to messaging the community quite extensively. Therefore, people were not convinced by them and did not trust *iddirs* a lot, contrary to clan meetings which still enjoyed respect.

Apart from these most important people who are generally respected by the community, who gets invited at wereda meetings and trainings is also a measure of someone's importance. As mentioned by wereda officials, elders and religious leaders are invited to participate in trainings and meetings at wereda level on various occasions. On average, they participate about 4 times a year to trainings by different wereda sectors; for example, women's affairs, health and agriculture offices. Some community members were of the view that people who attend these meetings and training are sometimes related to the kebele officials and therefore selection is not fully fair.

There are no female elites who could be taken as successful in the kebele.

Other individuals seen as influential within the kebele and wereda were:

- An influential businessman who trades coffee and oxen. He buys oxen from Shinshicho market and sells them at Durame town market. He also buys weak oxen and gives them to farmers who can fatten and share profit with him, and he does this with many farmers and tries to maximize his profit. He is also church leader and community elder, and he has some leadership role in his Nurto clan though he is not the major leader. He is also known for his *godere* production for the market and his huge enset production. He is sometimes invited by wereda administrators to represent the community in any discussion.
- Another is a 75 years old man, also a farmer, church leader and elder. The community accepts him very well, as he mediates any conflict. He is sometimes invited by wereda administrators to represent the community in any discussion.
- Yet another is a church leader, farmer, around 35-year old but well accepted by the community.
- The youngest influential man is 29 years old, he completed grade 10 and works in a quarry cooperative. He married in 2010 EC. He gives advice of all kinds to young men, mediates conflicts among youth around the quarry or anywhere in the village.

With regard to civil servants and traders in other places, people tend to forget those who left the community and did not return. However, the following people are still influential and are said to have connections with wereda:

- The first, around 72 years old, was working as manager at the Metehara sugarcane factory for several years; he built a house in Durame, has many successful children, and regularly visits the community though he is living in Durame.
- The second, around 35, is a returnee from South Africa. Currently he lives in Durame and has a house there. He was a strong farmer and known for his good behaviour and mediation skills even before he went to South Africa. He is an orator and people accept him when he talks. He often comes to the community and is still influential.
- The third used to work at the wereda militia office, he is from Aze Debo. Since this sector deals with conflicts and security, he was very much involved in conflict mediation. Now he is retired, but he is still well respected and involved in any community issues as required. He also lives in Durame.

Political activists seem to be important in the community. One is the head teacher at Witte primary school, protestant. He is also:

- one of the 7 kebele cabinet members
- the spokesperson in the kebele council
- a member of the land grabbing prevention committee (led by another political activist and the kebele chairman)
- a member of the kebele health committee
- involved in meetings of youth, command post, women league
- involved in all political issues of the kebele and respected by the community.

Another political activist is the kebele chairman.

Middle-level people with potential influence

There were different people who could be potentially influential:

- One is a male successful model farmer whose house is located in a non-electrified area of the kebele but he paid a lot of money by himself to take the electric poles to his house, he has satellite TV, he produces coffee, and irrigates to produce tomato and cabbages, he is

development group leader and a respected protestant religious person, he is also known for the long time he's working on his farm activities. He is also a mediator in his small village though not playing an elder role in the entire kebele.

- The only woman identified as successful was a farmer. She is a widow with six children. She sent her children to school, one of her daughters married, and she helped two of the boys to have a driving licence, one of whom was able to get a job as driver. She also made one of her boys to be cattle trader mainly of ferenji and hybrid ones. She has a large farm land and oxen which she successfully uses by working herself in collaboration with her sons. She also plants fodder and sell animal feed.

Inclusion in government public services & interventions

Inclusion in government public services and interventions is described in the section **Perspectives on nepotism and corruption**.

Social protection

Vulnerability

Types of vulnerability

In Ethiopia in general, and holding true for Aze Debo, the major forms of vulnerability include health problems and shocks, livelihood problems and shocks, and food insecurity. The ability to withstand these challenges depends on a combination of factors, such as the severity and frequency of shocks/problems, the level of a household's assets, and sometimes access to social networks (family, friends, formal and informal associations). Usually poorer households, due to smaller amount of assets, are less able to withstand shocks and get better off over time.

Aze Debo as a whole was more vulnerable in 2008 EC due to the drought in 2007/8 EC. Coffee diseases, which extension services were not able to treat, were also causing shocks, especially given the importance of coffee as a traditional cash crop. While informal social protection mechanisms were the first source of support during shocks, there were also formal social protection programmes which targeted specific vulnerabilities.

Aze Debo has been recognised as a chronically food insecure kebele in a chronically food insecure wereda since the introduction of the Productive Safety Net Programme (PSNP) in 2005GC. In 2012 at the time of WIDE3, respondents estimated that around 30% of households were PSNP beneficiaries; the support was said to have decreased in 2010 EC, although this may not be the case in terms of proportion of households but proportion of people. The PSNP support was complemented by food aid provided by World Vision in more severe drought periods or when the neediest beneficiaries were not supported by the PSNP.

In addition, the Community-Based Health Insurance (CBHI) has been rolled out since 2008 EC. The programme is aimed to ensure that people in the 'informal sector' have access to health care services. The CBHI is supposed to be rolled out on a voluntary basis at wereda, kebele, and household level. However, the government goal is to achieve as high a membership as possible, so that everyone is protected against 'catastrophic health expenditure'.

Categories of vulnerable households/individuals

Categories of vulnerable households and individuals are determined by a mix of gender, age, wealth, residence and specific individual factors such as disability. In Aze Debo the following categories (and numbers) of vulnerable people were identified by respondents from the community:

1. Disabled adults and children: 3 women and 2 man (2 women and 1 man with visual impairments, 1 deaf man and 1 deaf woman).
2. Mentally ill people and their families: 1 young man (age 20), 2 women (age 12 and 18)

3. Old people needing support: not identified as such, as they are included under the PSNP direct support as a very poor household and vulnerable people.
4. Orphans: more than 100 orphans were said to live with the support of grandparents or relatives and support by the government.
5. Women heading households: around 42-47 female headed households who lost male heads due to reasons such as accidentally by illness but not chronic diseases or age. Data provided by the HEW indicates that there were 167 female households supported under PSNP Public Works and 24 female households supported as Direct Support. So, there were at least 191 female households in the kebele. The 42-47 households singled out by community respondents may have been especially vulnerable.
6. Children heading households
7. HIV positive people: 3 male and 1 female but it was estimated that around 25% of the community might be HIV carrier by now if tested. Since 2008EC, the number of carriers is believed to have steeply increased as a result of reckless sexual practices and increased mobility of the community between towns for business and other matters.

Informal social protection system

There are two main forms of informal social protection assistance extended to poor/vulnerable people: 1) support by other individuals/households and 2) support by community organisations. Support by individuals was extended mainly in emergency situations more than in an organized, continuous way of providing assistance to the vulnerable or poor people.

Support between individuals/households

People support each other on family and neighbourhood grounds. Examples of support between family members/neighbours included:

- A female leader of cooperatives stated that visiting sick people, taking them food and provision of psychological support is widespread, especially among neighbours;
- A person from an influential family said that her households provides assistance for even distant relatives, who assist them with some work and in return receive food, shelter, and some cash (about 150/200 birr); they also raise their children and send them to school. One boy who was raised with this family supports them very well: he collects and prepares fire wood, fetch water, cook and take care of them very well. In different occasions they gave cows for shared benefit to poor households. They also provide food for poor and desperate people who ask for help;
- A male farmer lent 100 birr to his close neighbour when he wanted to buy a donkey and another male farmer lent his neighbour who is also a relative of his wife when he needed money to pay his fertilizer debt;
- A middle trader provided food and lent money to his relatives facing food shortage due to crop failure;
- A small trader, who does not live permanently in the community, sends money to his family;
- A thriving service provider built a house for his brother for free when he was able to supply the materials. But he didn't remember any help he has given to others;
- A skilled self-employed man borrowed a significant amount of money from his friend living in Alaba. He also borrowed 3000 birr someone else when he faced shortage to buy motorbike this year; he does not remember any other major help except for transporting a few people for free when they did not have money at that moment;
- An agricultural daily labourer got 450 birr on credit from his relative six months ago, because he was a bit sick and unable to do farm works; he helped a widow on her farm for free this year and even last year;

- A returned agricultural migrant gave food and 50 birr to a stranger who came to his house and asked for help; he also lent money (500birr) to others;
- A social court leader provided coffee to a newly married couple near his house a few months back, and he remembers that 9 months ago he gave food to one old lady next to his house because she did not have food;
- A clan leader provided wheat and corn to two very poor and vulnerable families having 4 children each and suffering serious food shortage, who live in front of his house. He assisted these families not only this year, but at different times mainly during the Meskel festival, and when there is serious food shortage.

This type of support was based on neighbourhood and family relations. Sometimes these relations overlap, for example, people who have family relations are also neighbours. Moreover, people having roles in community-based organizations also can support others as individuals, not only as representatives of these institutions.

Forms of support included both food (a clan leader, a social court leader, a middle trader, a female cooperative leader) without expectation of receiving something in return, but also money. Some people also lent money or other assets as loans and expected return – this was the case especially for those who provided capital for business purposes.

Migrants are an important category of people who support their families. As mentioned in the **Migration** chapter, they were able to build houses for families who stayed in Aze Debo, buy bajajs for their siblings, or support education.

As noted in the section on **Economic inequality**, some respondents thought that the support from the rich to the poor was declining, as people focused more on their own life. However, it is difficult to establish a general pattern. Some people expressed an opinion that as the PSNP is a source of funds of poorer households, there is no need to help them so much.

Community organizations

Iddir, Protestant churches and clans are the membership-based institutions involved in the provision of assistance to the needy people. Also *equbs* can be considered as informal social protection mechanism, but geared more towards changing/improving livelihoods rather than satisfying basic needs like the provision of food or help when a person is sick.

Iddirs

The importance of *iddirs* in Aze Debo can be illustrated by one of the *iddir* leaders who said that people are less committed to help each other these days, but their commitment to funeral services has not changed. *Iddirs* provide mainly funeral services and in people's minds it is very important to be a member, regardless of their economic situation. Membership ensures that one is not left alone during bad times especially at the time of family loss. Members provide psycho-social and financial support to the family that lost someone. Members pay about 10-15 birr if somebody dies. *Iddirs* may also overlap with other community organizations. For example, there was a special *iddir* for mothers, who often were also members of a mothers' church praying group. They provided social and psychological support at different times, but it is difficult to state which membership was a stronger 'motivator' to provide this help.

Iddir expanded their roles and started to provide other kind of support. For example, if a person lost cattle due to illness or car accident, her/his *iddir* members raise 10 birr or so and give that money to the victim. Money may not be comparable to the value of lost animal: this kind of insurance is called 'embaabes' which means 'tears wiper'. *Iddirs* also lend money for people for any major issue, during drought, and for Meskel festival or if anybody is sick and at times when they are in need. *Iddir* has been a source of credit since a long time but they began to lend out big money as they accumulated

capital. They require guarantors to sign for the borrower, and currently they give up to 5,000 birr loan. The interest rate of *iddirs* is considered to be more reasonable than MFIs.

Church

Protestant churches have been involved in social protection activities for a long time in Aze Debo. Churches have an important role both in satisfying basic needs of very poor people and in livelihood-promoting projects. The first and only one grinding mill and a wood workshop were opened by one of the Protestant churches (thanks to migrants' remittances).

Different kinds of support were provided by the church. For example, a poor woman had her house rehabilitated. Others were provided with clothes and food during Meskel. Poor people are occasionally given cash or in-kind support throughout the year. Poor children receive educational support (i.e.. for books, clothes). There are community groups formed under the church. There is a group that offers psycho-social support for different women, which presumably is the same as the church mother's prayer group. A religious leader also found his role in terms of provision of spiritual advice to be important. As he explained, he *"prayed for many Christian fellows by going to their house, some were sick, others were new couples who need advice and spiritual encouragement, and others were church members who left behind and became reluctant to attend"*.

The kebele manager confirmed that most of the activities implemented to support vulnerable people in the community were done by Protestant churches. They were also involved in livelihood development support: over the past 2-3 years, together with World Vision they built business centres and mill houses and made them available for rental and service to the community.

There were different examples of help received from the church:

- A poor female farmer (age 60) whose husband died 17 years ago and with 1000m² farm land - Mekane Yesus church constructed a house for her 7 years ago; nowadays they help in farm work and provide clothes during holidays.
- A female small crop trader: a pastor helps ploughing her land for sharecropping.
- A very poor woman: in 2009 EC Mekane Yesus Church renewed her house. It was a hut and they built her a corrugated iron-roofed house. This woman has no income at all. She has a small plot of farmland that is ploughed by her step son who lives next door and sometimes by the church pastor.

Sources of church funding include, among others, own financial resources, funds from the diaspora (especially from South Africa) who send money for church humanitarian and livelihood development support activities, and monthly contributions from followers.

Clans

The importance of clans in terms of social protection is less apparent when compared to churches or *iddirs*. Clans are involved in many community issues, and they rather focus on support for their members. For instance, in 2009 EC there was a motorbike accident when a Gala clan member killed another Gala clan member. Members contributed through the Reda elders committee for the victim's family, who received 20,000 birr. Clan members also organise themselves in any emergency situation, and also for funerals. As there are also clan-based *iddirs*, it is difficult to state which role/institution is leading in such cases.

Formal social protection interventions

Productive Safety Net Programme and Emergency Food Aid

Aze Debo has been included in the PSNP since the onset of the programme.

The main crisis faced by the kebele was the severe drought of 2000 EC, and later in years 2002/03 EC which was considered as less severe. Several NGO stepped in to assist many households, including

stronger households who in normal years would not need support. The PSNP transfers were extended to 9 months and according to knowledgeable respondents, around 30% of households were beneficiaries. However, a number of community respondents blamed wereda officials for having been late in reporting the severity of the drought and as a result, 30 children and 5 elderly people died of starvation. In 2002 EC sweet potatoes had totally disappeared from the area and farmers were unable to replant it. It had to be brought from Arba Minch in 2003 EC. In 2010 EC there was no drought, but people recalled time around 2008 EC as a drought year.

In addition to PSNP, World Vision provided food aid during the time of drought, but also for these households which did not benefit from PSNP due to insufficient quota assigned to the kebele, or to those households who were in need in the half of the year when PSNP transfers were not provided.

Selection and appeals

Selection of beneficiaries for the PSNP was conducted by a special committee comprising 7 members¹⁸. Development Agents supported the process of selection. Sometimes the kebele administration asked *iddirs* to gather members and select the poorest of the poor.

The table below presents the total number of beneficiaries of PSNP in 2010 EC according to the information given by the Health Extension Worker.

Type of support	Number of households	Number of individual beneficiaries
Public Works PSNP	Female households: 167 Male households: 261 Total: 428 households	Female: 726 Male: 640 Total: 1366 individuals
Direct Support PSNP <i>including Temporary Direct Support PSNP</i>	Female households: 24 Male households: 20 Total 44 households <i>including 16 households of TDS (12m and 4f)</i>	Female: 61 Male: 57 Total 118 people <i>including 52 people (28m and 24 f)</i>
Total:	472 households	1,484 people

Table 1 PSNP beneficiaries

Assuming that there are about 7,000 people in Aze Debo, and more than 1,038 households (both figures given by local respondents), this would indicate that more than 40% households received PSNP transfers whereas fewer than 20% people were beneficiaries. This suggests a very strong tendency to ‘spread’ the support i.e. provide support for only a few members from a household to be able to reach more households.

According to some beneficiaries, selection was not very systematic and allegedly not all beneficiaries were poorer and more food insecure than some of the non-beneficiaries. Two reasons may contribute to this perception. First, if the quota for the number of beneficiaries, received from the wereda and not negotiable, is too small compared to the number of people in need, the insufficient level of support at the kebele’s disposal may push administrators to adopt different strategies to support as many households as possible. This seemed to be the case, such as the ‘spreading’ of transfers among households mentioned above, or, as was also mentioned in interviews, frequent re-targeting and removing people from the programme even if they should be supported so as to include those who had not received anything so far. For example, in 2009/10 EC, 11 households

¹⁸ There is contradictory information regarding selection committees. The HEW said that the PSNP selection and the CBHI management committees are the same, including: kebele chairman, women’s affairs, young affairs and advocacy, school director, representative of agriculture office, kebele manager, HEW and coordinator; however, she also said that the PSNP selection committee has seven members whereas the list above for the CBHI committee includes eight members. The agriculture officer said that there are differences in these committees.

were removed from support, but 5 new ones were added, and another 6 households received support for more family members. It is not clear if such retargeting had been done before. The wereda agriculture officials mentioned that changing and replacing households could happen even 2 times per year, but community members were not aware of such schedules.

Secondly, community members thought that there were some bias and that the kebele officials may have their “own criteria” of selection. Kebele officials and community members did not agree with regard to whether selection was fair or not.

People submitted appeals mainly because 1) in their opinion they should have been included to the programme; 2) they believed that the support provided for maximum 5 household members is not sufficient. There is an appeal committee led by the kebele chairman and comprising 3 community members selected by the PSNP beneficiaries, whose task is to mediate between the community and the kebele administration. Although people have the right to appeal, they rarely do it and if they decide to do it, it is done verbally, not through an official document. The appeal process was described in the following way by one man who was not a PSNP beneficiary:

He is about 45 years of age and he has six children. He has ¼ of a hectare of land, where he produces teff, corn, godere, beans, coffee, banana and avocado, enset. He asked the kebele and the committee to include him in PSNP, they always say ‘next round’. He said that he verbally appealed frequently about this but not in a written form. They sometimes say that there is no space and promise him to give him a chance when possible. There are people in better economic condition and who have fewer children, and who are considered for PSNP. For example, there is a man who has cattle, and give cattle for shared profit, and yet he is included in the programme. That man has land shortage but he has better wealth and property. There is another man who sold his land by contract; he sold a lot of land, and drink alcohol and waste money, and yet he is always supported by PSNP. The respondent said that he wonders why government help such people.

The kebele manager admitted that there could be tensions because the quota is too small and not all people deserving it can be included. Also, the cap of maximum five family members regardless of the actual size of the households caused dissatisfaction, compounded by the fact that this rule appears to be applied selectively, according to some of the beneficiaries.

Food aid was provided by World Vision. As this supported some households that were also PWs or DS beneficiaries of the PSNP, it seems that some respondents mistakenly counted this support together with PSNP transfers. However contrary to the PSNP, for food aid beneficiaries received in-kind support only. As explained by the person working at World Vision office in Durame:

Food Aid (“direct support”) is provided for vulnerable people in the community including persons with disabilities, older people, people who have a chronic illness, those that cannot support their families, and the poorest of poor people in the kebele. Those people were targeted by the kebele PSNP committee and coordinator. They have the mandate to identify the targets and the World Vision staff overview the targeting process.

Beneficiaries are selected every 3 or 4 months, with the last selection done in March 2018GC. The quota for the whole wereda was reduced for this retargeting: the number of beneficiaries decreased from 16,250 to 7,000 in all 18 kebeles. World Vision started to give priority to other localities that were more affected by the drought, such Bolla, Hamido, Shasera, and Langute kebeles.

Type, amount, duration of support

In 2009 EC PWs beneficiaries received support in cash from January to June¹⁹. The maximum support for a household was only for 5 family members, with only one person that could be a DS beneficiary. DS beneficiaries were provided with 12-months support. There are contradicting pieces of information saying that both PWs and DS beneficiaries received food (PWs – maize and/or wheat and DS - food oil, wheat/maize), but the community members explained that in-kind support comes from World Vision and is provided at times of drought.

One big issue in early 2018 was the recent reduction in the amount of PSNP transfers. In 2008 EC, PSNP transfers for 5 household members was 875 birr per month; this came down to 625 birr in 2010 EC²⁰. According to wereda administrators, the reason behind the change was the devaluation of the birr. However, kebele officials thought that one reason might also be that money was deducted as contribution for the Renaissance Dam. Community members speculated that the wereda deducted money from transfers to fund a truck for a truck owner who killed a boy in Wota area in the wereda. When the community complained about it, the wereda promised to do something but eventually nothing changed. People argued that people in Mudula and Adya kebele kept receiving the same amount as before, so it fuelled allegations that the wereda is misusing money. The deduction just happened suddenly without earlier notification.

There hasn't been any activity dedicated to nutrition or women' and children's health under the PSNP. The HEW provides nutrition awareness for all mothers, including those who are PSNP beneficiaries. In her opinion there is a significant change with regard to the nutrition of mothers in general. The challenge was failure to fully change into practice what they know about nutrition. They have old customs and they refuse to implement new things.

World Vision was said to be the first organisation that provided support to people in Aze Debo during the drought in 2008 EC. Beneficiaries were provided in-kind support. Initially the standard food ration included 15 kg of cereals, 0.45 oil and 1.5 kg pulses. However, in 2010 EC the rations were halved, as the quota of support for the wereda was reduced.

Timeliness

Delay in PSNP cash payment for Public Works as well as Direct Support beneficiaries, ranging from one week to even two months, was raised as a serious issue. This and the reduced amount of transfers were said to be the two main negative changes in the PSNP within the past 3 years. Community members appealed about this in 2009 EC, but nothing has been done in this regard. In their views, one of the possible reasons for the delay is the introduction of M-birr payment, which was managed by the richest trader in Aze Debo. There were speculations among community members that this person takes part of the payment of those beneficiaries who own him money. In the richest trader's opinion, those people pay him on the same day, so there is no need for him to do so. One of DS beneficiaries even said *"I am thankful to him (the richest man), because he helps the poor until the payment comes. Besides he does not charge interest on the money he lends. He was lending money well before he was given the responsibility of M-birr management"*.

Experiences of PSNP beneficiaries show that delay in payment caused food shortages, which in turn prevented them from going to PWs. They also compared the efficiency of the current M-birr

¹⁹ Some respondents mentioned that the support is provided for five days a week. This may refer to the policy that for one family member to be supported a PW household should work five days and many, perhaps most households, get support for four members. Or, that the kebele is implementing a simplified rule whereby someone from a household (or all adult members?) work five days a week. It is not clear from the data.

²⁰ Information on the transfers was not consistent. Some respondents mentioned 150birr per household member, but others were talking about 125birr per household member.

payment with the earlier payment modality through OMO MFI, which they assessed as far more timely.

Direct Support

Based on the interviews with the community and the HEW, there seemed to be no awareness of the policy provisions enabling pregnant women or women with malnourished children to transfer to PSNP DS. The research officers found a female and male Permanent DS beneficiary, but not a Temporary DS beneficiary. Profiles of both permanent DS beneficiaries are presented below. Neither of the two was a non-paying member of CBHI.

The woman was transferred from PSNP PW to the DS scheme in 2009 EC. She is old and lives next to her step-son's house with her 16 years old grand-daughter. When she was interviewed, she had not received money in the past 3 months. She went to the kebele and asked about the reasons for delay, but the administration said that they will pay and that it is because of a problem related to money transfer. In her opinion, she needs support because she has no other support and even does not have enough food to eat 3 times a day. The girl living with her goes to school and she takes care of her grand-mother during off-school hours. The woman did not provide any information about selection process, fairness or conflicts related to the programme.

In the previous years she used to receive 350 birr at the times of PSNP support; it was further reduced to 275 birr in 2010 EC, and it has been a while since she last received any money.

Box 19 Case of a female DS beneficiary

He is 65 years old blind man, he has three children and a wife living with him. He is PSNP DS beneficiary since 2008 EC. The DT in his village selected him for DS since he is blind. He is not expected to work in return to the support. The youngest boy is 12 years old so, he said no one can work for the kebele/public work. When he was included in the program, he was told the support is for five years. It was difficult for him to assess fairness of the selection because he does not know anyone having better life and being supported by the programme.

He receives 12 months support and the amount of money is 500 birr though it was 700 birr earlier. He prefers cash, because he can spend it on food and other items required for the household. The 200 birr began to be deducted since last July (2009 EC) for the construction of the (Renaissance) Dam. The kebele administration gathered all beneficiaries and informed them that since that time on, every beneficiary will contribute 50 birr from every transfer. The blind man asked on the meeting to get a receipt, but the kebele replied that they could not issue it, and that the wereda deducts this amount before funds are transferred to the kebele.

Appeals are submitted to the kebele chair and appeal committee. The payment is mostly late up to 15 days; sometimes two delayed tranches of transfers are paid at once. He asked the person who distributes transfers about how long the dam contribution can continue, but the man did not know.

He said that in last September they received the payment of July and August because they were not able to pay for 60 days. When he was asked why this long delay happened, he said "*Yewef Wendu Yesewhoduaytawekem*" ("*you never know the sex of a bird, and the thoughts in human mind*"), and added that he suspected that maybe the officials used the money to do some business during those 60 days. When the payment arrives, Petros Melore the rich crop trader deducts debts of beneficiaries who took crop in credit from his store, [which that person denies as explained above]. This blind old man is highly thankful to Petros, because he is helping the poor not to get hungry until the delayed payment comes, besides he is not inflating the price when credit is taken. Petros has been lending corn for very long years, even before he was appointed to pay PSNP money.

He believes that he has benefited a lot from the PSNP since 2008 EC. His family used to skip at least one meal a day, but now he is able to buy corn at least. He said "*I will pray for the programme to continue*". He believes that some beneficiaries are able to buy a chicken and shoats using PSNP transfers. He himself bought one hen but it was killed by predators. He has been told that the PSNP programme will stop after 5 years, but he wished it would continue for 10 years.

He joined the CBHI in 2009 EC and paid 200 birr for membership.

Box 20 Case of a male DS beneficiary

Public Works

In past three years, Public Works focused on construction of internal roads and of watershed structures, pond construction, environmental sanitation activities/cleaning, working on the FTC farmland and also livestock fattening, cleaning the kebele compound and office. PWs beneficiaries are expected to work until 2 pm, 5 days in a week. Support is provided up to 5 family members. There are no special provisions for women, except the fact that they are not expected to work as much as men.

Livelihoods development support

There was no livelihood development support being part of the PSNP. The kebele manager indicated that *“World Vision and religious institutions were involved in building business centres, mill houses and make them available for rental and service to the community in the two-three years - in general, but not specifically to PSNP beneficiaries”*.

Graduation

According to the kebele manager, there had been graduation before she took the position, around 2008/09 EC. A female PW beneficiary, graduated and then re-integrated into the programme, said that *“it’s not very clear how households are graduated. It is not very much explained. But people do not raise this question and avoid getting in conflict with authorities”*.

Below is the case of a man who was a PSNP beneficiary in the years 2004-2008 EC, then was graduated, and thanks to a combination of factors was able to improve his livelihood:

He is 54 years of age and he has 6 children. He was in the PSNP between 2004-2008 EC. He did not complain as at the time of graduation his status was better than others. He saved money from PSNP and built a bigger house. In 2005EC, he also could build iron sheet roof house with 4 rooms including the living room. He started to save money from the PSNP and from his military pension and engaged in bull fattening. He used to get about 200 birr, and for the pension he used to get 370 birr but now it is around 745 birr. Currently he has only two bulls to fatten, because it is dry season and there is no enough feed. He gets profit of 2000-3000 birr from one bull. He also receives bulls from rich people to fatten and share profit.

At the moment of graduation, there were people relatively poorer than him, and less aware of the programme who wanted to remain dependent. People complained about the graduation: half of them only because they want to live with the support forever, but half of them really needed the support further and should have been given the chance for a few more years. Sometimes the rain delays and make people vulnerable, so it puts them in need.

A few PSNP graduates received shoats or hybrid heifers, but he did not receive this and he does not know how the selection among graduates was done. Around 20 people got this special support just before graduation, among the 120 household who graduated at that time. ‘Genzeb ena Wegen’ yeredal’ which means ‘money and friend/relative helps’, by which the man meant that this special support was given unfairly to those who are close relatives/friends and some who gave bribes to the decision makers. If you have money and buy kebele administration food and drink, you will be more favoured than others.

Only 3 out of 10 PSNP beneficiaries are wise enough to change their life with the support, so he feels that the PSNP should be cancelled altogether, or revised.

Another graduation case illustrates a situation of someone who was in need and was removed from the programme with no livelihood support beforehand, and was reintegrated later on.

He is about the age of 55, he has been PSNP beneficiary for four years and graduated and returned back again in 2009 EC when his living condition was assessed to be very bad.

He learned about graduation when the kebele posted the names of 7 people on the kebele notice board, saying "you graduated from PSNP". The kebele announced also that every year some people will graduate and that is how everyone will graduate finally. Moreover, those who are getting better will graduate earlier.

Even though he was not happy about the decision, he didn't appeal. He was not informed ahead of time. There was no special support before graduation.

Due to delayed rainfall there was drought two years ago, which affected the community widely and even animals died. He got food aid during this period (75 kg of wheat, 5 kg of pulses and half 2.5 l of oil), from World Vision.

His Development Team and recruitment committee decided that he should join PSNP again: his children were suffering from malnutrition and even their body began to swell up. However, he did not ask to be included again and even he was working in other people's farm when he was registered for the programme again. Finally, the development group leader told him that he is included again.

Perceptions of usefulness

In general, the PSNP was regarded as a crucial support for very poor households, which were not able to withstand problems related to the drought, preventing them from falling into even deeper poverty. One of the beneficiaries said that he "prayed for the programme to continue".

Outputs of Public Works are considered to be useful for the community: road construction to let the ambulances pass to the houses of pregnant women, irrigation and watershed construction, afforestation. These works were selected by discussion between the wereda and the kebele, but it depended on seasonal demand in the community, and it could be also road clearing and expanding, widening ponds and fencing them, trees planting, some activities at the FTC. Also the fact that there are various PWs was advantageous for people who had different health limitations, as they can contribute in a way that is appropriate for their health conditions.

However, opinions were rather mixed and mostly negative about the potential of PSNP to change people's economic situation in a sustainable way. People mentioned factors such as dependency syndrome, PSNP beneficiaries abandoning work on their own farmland, and their inability or unwillingness/lack of interest in improving their livelihood. For example, the son of the richest man in the community said:

If you see PSNP, it seems to support people, but it makes people poorer and idle. Many of them get tired as they work on the mountains every day and they ignore their small land which could have been used to support family. They receive 300-600 birr monthly for six months, which does not make any change in their lives compared to the time and energy it takes, besides it affects their attitude and they are becoming more dependent than in the past. When there is no PSNP support for six months, since they do not have anything planted in their garden they borrow money or grains, so in the next six months of support they pay their debts and get hungry even at times when the support is there. For example, this is a time to sow maize but most of the PSNP beneficiaries who are farmers do not plant it and they let pass the rainfall, missing the opportunity. The government should revise this programme to make these households productive instead of building dependency and idle attitude.

These people are given fertilizer on credit without their will, but since they are not ploughing their very small plot, they sell it right away. However, the kebele puts too much pressure for them to pay back their debts, so you can imagine where these people take money from, they stopped even the small farming attempts. Whenever there is a watershed programme

launching ceremony, the cost for bread, coffee or banner printing is covered from the PSNP money and deducted from their regular payment, while they are working on the watershed sites more than others. In addition, every contribution which the wereda orders is deducted from PSNP users, so these people are not real beneficiaries. They are rather harmed and getting poorer.

Community Based Health Insurance (CBHI)

CBHI implementation

The CBHI was introduced to the kebele in 2008 EC. The community was informed about the new scheme by the kebele officials, mainly kebele cabinet members. The leaders of 1-5 networks and DTs also informed people. The kebele chairman and other officials wanted to give a proper example for others and registered as first members.

By the end of 2009 EC, the kebele data show 767 household members. In 2010 EC 86 new households registered. However, among the earlier 767 members, some did not renew membership in the period fixed for registration, which in 2010 EC was from end January to end March. Yet, the HEW said that she had not recorded the number of beneficiaries who registered then did not renew their membership, or who registered, left, then registered again. Up to end 2009 EC registration had been conducted at the health post throughout the year. In 2010 EC this changed and the wereda put a fixed registration period.

At the beginning they learned that the CBHI was brought by the wereda health bureau and also zonal level offices. CBHI information was provided by the kebele officials and also development team leaders. They were informed that all community members are expected to become members and that it will allow them to get access to health service across different government health facilities whenever they need.

They registered during the period of mobilization of the community. The beneficiary and the family believe that it is advantageous for members to get access to health services regardless of whether money is available at the time of need. During registration photos of family members were required. Registration was conducted at the health post in the kebele compound. They received CBHI membership card in the weeks after registration, when photographs taken during registration arrived. Many households were registering during the first round of the first year. However she did not know how many of them renewed their membership in the later years. People can refuse to register and nothing happens to them except covering their costs whenever they seek health service.

Box 21 Household paying member of CBHI membership process

In 2008/09 EC, the premium payment was divided in several instalments. Beneficiaries had to pay 54 birr three times per year, so in total 162 birr for a year. In 2009-10 EC, beneficiaries paid 200 birr, and in 2010 EC – 200 birr. There is an additional payment of 5 birr for new beneficiaries, for the CBHI card. Moreover, in 2010 EC, the period for payment was limited and all payments had to be completed by March.

Beneficiaries were not given a receipt at the time of payment, but they were told that they would be given it later together with others. They do not think that there is variation of the amount paid for CBHI across households. They were informed by the HEW and the kebele officials that membership payments are to be paid each year whether they used the service or not. Payments are collected by an officer who is assigned from the wereda CBHI office. The money is forwarded to the wereda CBHI office, which is independent from the health office.

There is a special committee which is supposed to manage CBHI. As explained in the section on PSNP, there were different opinions as to whether its members are the same as for the PSNP.

Non-paying members of CBHI

In the programme there is a provision for the poorest 10% of the community, or so-called indigents, to be given free access to CBHI. At the time of fieldwork in 2010 EC, there was conflicting information as to whether there were any non-paying members in Aze Debo. The HEW stated that there were such people. She also explained that there are households that want to become member but do not have money to pay; they come to discuss with her and ask her to help them by doing something; however, she said, it is not possible to include all households who do not afford the membership payment among the non-paying members of CBHI, as the quota is limited. However, the research officers were not able to find even one such non-paying member in the community. The poorest people in Aze Debo, who are also PSNP DS beneficiaries, were paying the 200 birr of premium from their own money.

Implementation challenges

There are numerous implementation challenges with the CBHI. Firstly, for the kebele there is a problem with achieving registration targets. The data suggest that in 2010 EC, approx. 25% of the community had not yet decided to join the programme. In addition, whilst some households joined the programme in 2010 EC others left it or had not renewed their membership. Moreover, with the way the data was recorded, as explained above any household registered earlier then stopping then registering again would be considered as an additional member. So, the actual membership might have been lower than the records showed.

The HEW also mentioned that the introduction of a fixed registration period in 2010 EC caused differentiation in the length of the period of insurance for the beneficiaries. It also caused problems to coordinate agreements with health care providers/facilities.

Moreover, despite strong community mobilisation, some people still do not have full knowledge of how CBHI works. There are also misconceptions, such as some people thinking that the premium is like a membership fee (i.e. it is paid only once).

These challenges are compounded by real problems with health care services, for example, the lack of drugs in the health facilities or pharmacies, or unkind treatment by staff at the health centres.

Implementation of free service for indigents also seems to be an issue: as explained above, it is not clear if this was implemented at all, and if it is, the quota must indeed have been very small.

Community perceptions

CBHI members appreciated the fact that they can benefit from health services in case of health problems, and they do not have to worry about the costs. However, they noted the lack of drugs at pharmacies, unkind health staff behaviour, as well as the generally low quality of health services as negative aspects. These problems could have contributed to a perception of lack of reliability of the scheme.

Despite awareness raising activities, there were different levels of knowledge about the programme, which may also have contributed to different opinions about it. Some people did not accept the idea that they pay for service that is not necessarily used. Such thinking was one of the reasons frequently given for resignation. Gaps in knowledge also concerned the scope of the insurance, such as the fact that it does not cover reimbursement of glasses or dental services. Some people were not aware that they were expected to collect receipts (e.g. when buying drugs in private pharmacies) in order to be refunded.

Messaging about CBHI

The CBHI is a high priority intervention in the kebele.

The HEW explained that the lack of knowledge about the programme prevents people from enrolling. Initially, the kebele was informed by the wereda administrators about the new programme. Then all kebele administrators received information and registered as members to set an example for the community. The leaders of 1-5 networks and DT were also informed and passed on the information in their localities. Community respondents confirmed that they received information from the various kebele officials, and even community organizations like *iddir*. Officials were talking about the CBHI whenever they met for other issues, for example for vaccination or savings.

However, after three years of messaging, there are still people who have limited knowledge and understanding. This member, for instance, seemed to have an unclear idea about some of the features of the scheme:

The CBHI started around 2 years ago. They did not have clear information on how the CBHI functions. They did not understand what they will have to pay the annual payment. At first they heard people talking about the process of registering – that people from the kebele were taking photos of households and their members. However, clear explanations were not given how it works and why it is necessary to the community. They believe that there is annual payment to make to become a member. However, the kebele officials were insisting on the community members' registration during the first round.

NGO social protection interventions

In 2010 EC, the most active NGO in Aze Debo was World Vision. Not only did they support people with food aid, but they also helped poor children with educational materials. They also saved money with their MFI, WISDOM, for orphans and vulnerable children, starting from childhood until they complete 16 years of education. Money is not given to the family, rather WISDOM has a special saving records/accounts. Therefore people complain about WISDOM, feeling that this MFI is trading with money meant for disadvantaged children.

3. Selected policy topics

Land use and urbanisation

Wereda

Wereda boundaries

There was a change in the external wereda boundaries in the past seven years.

Investors in the wereda

Investors in the wereda are involved mainly in coffee processing, bull fattening, production of flour, and crop and vegetable farming. The wereda head was not able to answer the questions about the size of land given to investors, their origins, any benefits or problems, wereda plans and so on.

There were three coffee processing plants²¹. Two are new and smaller than the older one. One flour factory was being constructed. Two other big constructions said to be for pasta/food processing factories were underway at the border of the kebele adjacent to Durame town administration. The people hoped that these would create jobs at least for a few young people from Aze Debo. There were a number of investors in hospitality and other services as Durame was developing.

²¹ It is not clear how many people own these plants.

Urbanisation in the wereda

Aze Debo is located around 5 km from Durame which has been growing very fast since 2011/12, swallowing parts of Aze Debo, Zato, Bezan Binara, Abonsa, Teza, Kerchicho, Dega Kedida and Shershera kebeles. The land taken away differed in size, with the biggest land plots taken from Zato and Abonsa kebeles. Shershera and Adido were partly urban seven years ago; in 2010 EC they were parts of Durame.

According to wereda officials, provision of services improved following the town expansion, including the establishment of a new hotel, private schools, three private banks, and the upgrading of the primary hospital into a general hospital with better doctors. There were also improvements in the quality of roads, including the main road which was asphalted. New groups like the Gurage, Welayta and other people came due to the growing market in the town. Also, lifestyles have changed, with different dress styles and increasing use of the internet.

Two other small towns were expanding in the wereda. Adilo, located at 15 km from Durame, had expanded a lot in the past seven years. Water shortage which used to be its main problem was gradually solved, and it started to be known nationally for its sheep and pepper production. Traders started to go there more often, even from very distant places. The main asphalt road was there even earlier, but with the urban expansion, markets and housing were further developing. Degakedida kebele, nearer Durame, became a separate town and was moving toward municipalisation; it got a new municipal office and new urban plan at the end of 2009 EC. No other kebele in the wereda was known to be on the way to become an urban administration.

Aze Debo showed some signs of urbanisation around the kebele centre, with new shops appearing in this area and along the asphalted road from/to Durame. Due to its adjacent location one wereda informant expected the kebele to be included in Durame town within 5 years, but he did not hear or see any indication for such movement from the wereda's side yet.

Landlessness and homelessness in the wereda

The wereda officials did not have information on the number of landless and homeless people in the wereda. Community members also did not give any information about this issue.

Kebele

Kebele boundaries

The kebele boundaries remained the same except a piece of land where 26 households lived, which was included in Durame town administration. Most of the boundaries, names of places, location of buildings, grassland and forest were indicated as the same as in previous round of WIDE in 2003EC.

Kebele land use

The total land in the kebele was 526 hectares including the communal land which amounted to around 100 hectares, comprising areas such as a playground, forest and grazing land on the mountains, and grave yards. Around 422 hectares were smallholder landholdings belonging to male-headed households and around 105 hectares to female-headed households²². The average plot size was half a hectare; the poor have 1000-1500 square meter land including the space where their house is built.

The kebele centre compound included the kebele office, agriculture office, kebele council hall, health post, police office, vet office, fertiliser store, cooperative office, health post, and poultry

²² The total of the kebele land and male and female-headed households' land is more than the 526 hectare mentioned as total kebele area, which suggests imprecise land use planning.

demonstration room on 2500 square meters land. The kebele council hall and seeds store were built in 2009 EC, and the older buildings were painted in 2010 EC.

Regarding land for cooperative farming, the Dembe beekeeping cooperative was given land on the mountain known as Mal-Womno in 2009 EC. The cooperative had 44 members, and World Vision gave them modern beehives, clothes/tuta and other materials to use while harvesting honey. However, they did not start working on the land given to them, arguing that it was located quite far from the centre and required hiring a guard.

Although kebele officials did not mention it, another group which received kebele land are the youth organized in mining cooperatives. In the past few years they used to work at different mining locations across the kebele. However, due to conflict that arose among them in 2009 EC, they were made to stop the work by the kebele officials. In 2010EC, other youth groups were given the mining location (or the largest mining centre called Korrowa – this is not clear from the data). When this was done it was made clear that the land continued to belong to the kebele; the different groups were formally given different plots of that land, so that they could work without any conflict over size of working site.

The FTC was given land in 1998 EC, and got additional land behind the school near the kebele centre in 2005 EC. Since then, the DAs can demonstrate different planting techniques like teff row planting. Fodder was planted on this FTC land and the farmers were allowed to take it from there and plant on their own land to feed their cattle. An NGO called ACIDI-VOCA was the one to bring the fodder types to the community in 2006 EC; they implemented this fodder project for two years.

The kebele has 2 hectares of public land in an area known as Malea which the wereda decided to redistribute to ex-soldiers who returned after mission in 2005 EC.

The community forest land, located in the mountainous part of the kebele since the Derg (1972 EC), was about 15 hectares²³. Trees like gravilia or sergania were planted there every summer.

Grazing land was described in the section **Grazing land** above.

Regarding land for other uses, there was a communal land area near the kebele centre where young people play football and handball and which is also used for community gatherings. Land for graves amounted to around 10 hectares. Gimbela (3 hectares) was the main grave plot, and Dekeya (2 hectares), Lay bite, Lay Debo graves were also main ones in the kebele.

Urbanisation

Although Aze Debo has no urban centre, there was some form of urbanization mainly along the main asphalted road (upgraded to asphalt in 2007 EC) which connected Aze Debo with Durame and a neighbouring kebele, Shinshicho. Many small shops were open in this area in 2009 EC and it is known for a relatively better access to electricity and transport. More houses were being built there too. There were also some changes in the styles of these houses, with households shifting to modern 'American style' houses with verandas built with décor metals. There were a few houses with gypsum ceilings, which usually belonged to migrants and/or their families. There is no municipality in Aze Debo, however, there was a rumour that the centre would become a municipality in the future. No steps appeared to have been taken so far in this direction.

Durame also influence Aze Debo in terms of changes in lifestyles and ways of spending one's free time, especially for young people. Young men often go to towns. Some young women also watch Kana TV once or twice a week. When young people are in Durame town they watch movies and

²³ The Research Officers had conflicting information about the size of the forested areas in Aze Debo. Community respondents interviewed by female Research Officer mentioned a size of 5 ha whilst the kebele respondents interviewed by the male Research Officer talked about 15 ha.

some spiritual channels such as Presence TV and Prophet Eye Chufa's TV, with healing workshop and gospel preaching shows. A poor young man says he watches EU Champions and Premier League football in Durame town since his family does not have electricity. Some young men go to town on Sunday afternoon to watch entertainment programmes such as the Zenek program on EBC. Teashops in Durame show EBS and JTV, and a few richer respondents watch Satellite TV shows at home. One young man said: "*After lunch time I usually go to Durame with my friends and watch TV, mainly football, drama etc. We also walk in the town to get tea or soft drinks there but no alcohol*". Young people have different clothing styles, they like skinny trousers, notably Chinese made jeans following the example of youth in Durame so that the influence is from the urban area and what is available on the market.

Rural-urban linkages outside the kebele

The main linkages are with Durame, with some people living in town and having business in Aze Debo, and also people working in Durame and having houses in Aze Debo. From the farmers' perspective, one of the major link factors is the market which takes place every Saturday. In their view, Durame is expanding more rapidly towards Aze Debo compared to other directions. They were aware that the land of 26 households was included into the town administration. Because of better transport and access to grid electricity, and consequently increase of trade, the price of land along the main road had been increasing recently. There were no people who totally left Aze Debo to live in town, and even those who had houses in town were still partly living in Aze Debo and involved in community affairs. None of the respondents experienced directly the effect of urban expansion, i.e. they were not among the 26 households included to the town.

Land planning in the kebele

There is no integrated land use plan. The kebele chairman said that five months ago people from the regional office came and worked with the kebele LAC to conduct 2nd level certification; but regional officers did it very quickly which resulted in many mistakes. He was not happy about it at all (see more on this below).

Regarding changes in the land use within the past couple of years, as said above about 26 households were included into Durame town but they did not access any urban service. 22 of them were still working on their farms. The others are 4 returnee soldiers who did not have farming land. In the past 10 years, there were 10 soldiers who received land from the kebele, on decision by the wereda. The leader of the LAC added that Kale Hiwot church applied to get land to build a kindergarten in the area near the Millennium school, so that about 5000 square meters were given for this purpose two months ago (in 2010 EC). In 2005 EC, part of the main school land was given for the FTC and ACIDI-VOCA for fodder experimentation – it was about 9000 square meters.

Male farmers had no clue about kebele land use planning and they said they were not sure about having such land use plan. Female farmers did not talk about it at all.

Landholdings, landlessness and homelessness

Landlessness and homelessness are big issues in Aze Debo, with many consequences especially for young people.

Landlessness was among the top problems mentioned by various community members, immediately following the lack of job opportunities for young people. There is one household living in a rented house, but there are about 200 young people/households who have just houses but no farm land at all. Most of the young men and women, as well as female and male farmers, together with people holding different positions in the community, mentioned land shortage as an issue.

From the perspective of young people, the shortage of land and parents' inability to give a plot of land to all their children were a major reason why they were thinking about migration. There were also not much options from the government. As they could not have their own land on which they

could establish an independent livelihood, setting up an independent household was also constrained. Many of the young people said that they did not think of marriage as they needed to be independent first, and achieving this was difficult.

The shortage of land meant also that as young women noted, “*the government which is trying to get people in cooperatives*” did not have the land needed for farming interventions to support young people’s employment. Only a beekeeping cooperative received a plot of land on the mountains, however, one of the members of the cooperative explained that the location is not good: “*there are animals and risk of theft of honey by people from the neighbouring wereda/kebele. Besides bees need close follow up and care, and somebody should live on the top of the hill as a guard*”. The land was also said to be too small.

Apart from young people, returnee migrants from factories and different towns were also demanding land from the kebele. Land shortage also limited what entrepreneurial farmers could do, as this male farmer explained:

Because of land shortage, he couldn’t fatten more bulls as fodder growing or grazing land depends on one’s land holding. However he earned at least 2000 birr from a bull fattened.

There were several homeless people in the most immediate meaning i.e. people without a house, in the kebele. They were taken care of by the Protestant churches. However, most young people including married couples were living with their parents, sometimes on the same land in a different house, sometimes sharing the same house.

Land allocation and re-allocation

Due to general land scarcity and limited availability of public land suitable for farming, there was no land redistribution.

Land inheritance

According to wereda officials, in the past land was allocated through parents sharing the existing family land with children, and inheritance when parents died. However, several young people noted that landholdings these days were so small that parents were often not able to share, and as said earlier even inheritance was limited as not all children could inherit.

Land for cooperatives

Land from the communal land was given for a beekeeping cooperative, and several youth stone and sand cooperatives. However, at least in the case of the quarrying cooperatives it was clear that this was time-bound, and the land use rights remained with the kebele. No land was availed to an irrigation cooperative set up by the wereda cooperative development: young people were supposed to be able to irrigate some of their parents’ land but this didn’t seem to be working.

Land for investors

In Aze Debo, one of the most frequently mentioned investors was the one who has started coffee processing in 2002 EC. He is from Durame. As he expanded his business, both men and women got a chance to get jobs to process the coffee. In general, about 150 people get jobs at his plant for a few months in a year. His case is presented in the box below.

He was working in Sidama and Adero Kambata as coffee processing investor for many years. He is about 70 years old. His daughter got married with a man from Aze Debo, so he knew the kebele quite well and found it peaceful. As he is busy and lives in Durame, he does not have time to involve much in kebele life or church life in Aze Debo.

He completed 9th grade under the former government. He tried to trade during Haile Selassie regime with his family and that is how he got his knowledge about trade. He has another coffee processing plant near his house in Durame. In Aze Debo he processes fresh wet coffee in October and November, and

dry coffee in Durame for the remaining of the year.

There is a coffee exchange (ECX) department in the wereda Agriculture Office. Officials from this office advise him how to check the quality of coffee in lab, and pack and stamp coffee according to the quality standards. Also, they advise him to stop buying coffee when they assume that the coffee is less productive: normally any coffee cherry should have two pieces of seeds in it, but at some point when the quality is low it may contain only one.

The investor worked only with his children - they managed all different activities and collected the coffee from farmers. He transported the coffee to the government store in Wolayta for export. The wereda agriculture checked quality and stamped sacks in Aze Debo or Durame.

When the harvest is good, the factory works 3 months a year, but otherwise 45-60 days only. There were about 45 temporary coffee drying beds, their number varied depending on the seasonal production. The company was processing and selling 1200 sacks to the government (one sack contains 60 kg). Between 125 and 160 workers can be employed every year seasonally, the number also varies depending on the amount of coffee bought and processed. Jobs including loading and unloading, washing, drying, transporting from one point to the other using hand carts etc. There are two permanently employed guards for the plant in the kebele and his son is employed as a manager. Temporary workers were paid 35 birr a day this year, but in 2002 EC the daily rate was 7-8 birr.

In 2009 EC the coffee plant was bankrupt because the product was not taken by the government and demand was low. The wereda forced him to work in 2010EC as well. He went to Addis Ababa for a meeting and discussed about coffee market with different coffee traders and associations, but there was no result or solution.

His plant in Aze Debo is established in the middle of an inner village, so people in the area got access to electricity since the factory needed it. The investor co-funded the cost of installation of electricity to 30 households around the factory, and also of the Kale Hiwot church located nearby.

He also fitted in the trend of migration, because out of three sons and three daughters, two of his daughters were in South Africa. The rest of the children are living in Ethiopia, including one son who owns a private clinic in Addis Ababa. Two sons are assisting his coffee processing and trading activities.

Box 22 A local Ethiopian investor

The work of this investor was related to two important issues in Aze Debo: job opportunities and electricity in the inner parts of the kebele. Female and male farmers and young people mentioned that employment at this coffee processing plant is one of the options, especially for young women, apart from driving a bajaj or a motorbike (for young men) or migration. Usually it was not mentioned with great excitement by the respondents, but nevertheless people considered it as a possibility. Thanks to him electricity reached people living inside the kebele, which was probably the only option for them to access it.

In a group discussion, young people said that another big investor took a large plot of land for coffee processing and building a flour factory (which was under construction at the time of fieldwork) but he did not use it for the intended purpose²⁴. In their opinion, at least a part of the land could have been given to young people who do not have land and work opportunity.

Male farmers explained that investors are able to get land informally from relatives (through purchase). For example, the big coffee processing owner was able to get land in this way. The kebele and wereda tried to stop the building. However, in the end, a rich man convinced elders and the wereda allowed him to stay. Although he contributed somehow to the prosperity of the community, there were still some doubts among community members whether he should have received land.

²⁴The investor was not available for interview when research officers were in the kebele.

Land for other purposes

Recently, some land was given to 1) returnee soldiers, 2) Mekane Yesus church for construction of grinding mill and 3) Mekane Yesus church for a kindergarten.

In the first case, the wereda decided to give land to returnee soldiers in the areas neighbouring Durame, but without any land for farming. Young people in a group discussion said that *“there were young men who stayed in military and they get a chance to get land from government but only for constructing a house”*. This land was taken from the communal land.

In the second case, the Mekane Yesus church received land from the kebele to establish a grinding mill, in 2005EC. Then, a wood workshop was established by the church too, but due to insufficient level of electricity it was closed. Both the mill and the workshop were built by the church thanks to money sent by migrants to South Africa and America. The opening of the grain mill helped people who could avoid carrying crops to Durame, which was difficult especially before the asphalt road was completed as bajaj transport was not there by then.

In the third case, again the Mekane Yesus church received land for the construction of a kindergarten. Like for the returnee soldiers, this land was taken from the communal land and public gathering land.

Land administration

Land administration structures and procedures

Decisions about investment or any other higher level issues were taken by the wereda and the zone. At kebele level, the most important actors in land administration are the kebele administration (cabinet and council), the Land Administration Committee (LAC), the elders, and the militia and police. According to the kebele chairman, before the establishment of the LAC, the elders dealt with all land-related issues. Even at the time of the fieldwork in 2010EC, the LAC leader worked with these elders and elders were involved if cases had to be referred to the wereda institutions. Religious leaders might be involved as they could also be community elders, however religious institutions did not intervene in land issues. There was no Land Justice Committee - all disputes were dealt with by the kebele administration with the help of the elders and if parties were not satisfied with the result, they could refer to the wereda court.

Land Administration Committee

This section describes LAC on the basis of information gathered from the LAC leader, other kebele officials and farmers. Information from the LAC leader differed sometimes from the kebele's point of view.

According to the kebele, the Land Administration Committee (also called Land Administration and Utilization Committee) was established in 1996 EC when the first attempt to give certificates started. According to the LAC leader, it started 10 years ago (i.e. in 2000EC).

Kebele officials said that in 2010 EC the LAC had 4 members from the community, including two women. None of the kebele cabinet members were allowed to be part of this group. The LAC leader on his side said there were 7 land administrative committee members in 2010EC. Recently the wereda wanted to replace older members after they served 10 years, with new members. As a result, people gathered from all 28 gots, and elected new LAC members from among the kebele council members. Only one person from the previous LAC members remained, as people wanted him to continue; other people were not selected because they were not committed enough.

Criteria to become LAC member included: being knowledgeable about land in the community and honest in decisions. Most of the LAC members were about 50 years old, and only one woman was selected, because she was a council member and was considered to be very dedicated to her duties in the past. Two development team leaders are among the seven members of the LAC.

The LAC was responsible for all practical matters of land administration in the kebele, which were:

- measurement of land during certification
- solving land disputes referred to them by the kebele
- mediating conflict with the help of elders
- safeguarding public land.

The LAC reported to the kebele chairman and the kebele council. During the 2nd level certification, the LAC members assisted the team which came from the wereda to help assessing borders. In the chairman's opinion, they "*tried to avoid land disputes as they dealt with issues carefully and closely*". It probably was not the case, as illustrated by the situation below, described by the research officer:

The kebele chairman was just saying that the GIS map is imperfect when our interview was interrupted by a farmer who wanted to appeal. He said he was given a book only registering pieces of land in two places though he has land in three different places. The chair said that the regional officers came and wanted to do the measurement in a rush and a lot of complaints were coming. He is not happy about how the current GIS measurement is done. Even though the local LAC tried to support them, the registration was done in a hurry, the people just wanted to finish it and leave.

In the LAC leader's opinion, farmers accepted the service of the LAC and trusted them. He also claimed that because the LAC was established by the wereda, and the wereda officials came to see elections, people in Aze Debo assumed that the LAC was established because of the government's will. It was enough to legitimize its works up to some extent. He added that there is no benefit for the LAC members, they do not ask for it as they agreed to volunteer. There are regular monthly meetings, but whenever conflicts occur, they may also summon weekly or so. In his view, their work is 'perfect' and does not need improvement. In the LAC, all members are farmers. There is no land administration expert in the kebele.

The responsibilities of the LAC leader include: collecting letters from the kebele about land issues, calling members to discuss and see cases, organizing meetings and leading them. He does not have strict working hours and he does not get any salary or benefit. He said that he started the work just recently and he did not complain yet. In terms of his experience and aspirations, he started to work as LAC leader last year together with the other LAC members. He completed 12th grade. He is DT leader and church leader. No one from his family has a position in the community and he said he wishes to continue working for the church and for the community as the LAC leader, even if the position is not paid.

With regard to networks, he found that his work is independent and not related to the kebele or wereda. It seemed that a lot of his work is dedicated to solving conflicts. When the kebele has to deal with land conflict through the cabinet and if the case is directed to elders, the LAC works with elders to deal with it. Otherwise the issue is referred to the wereda court, though sometimes the court sends cases back to the LAC saying that they are more knowledgeable. The LAC has better connection with elders than with the local administration when it comes to mediate minor border conflicts.

The kebele council is responsible for deciding on kebele laws, including with regard to land-related issues. The cabinet is responsible for implementation together with the LAC. Meetings of the cabinet are held once a week. If the case is urgent, all cabinet members are called immediately, since everyone lives near the kebele centre.

Farmers' perspective on the Land Administration Committee

Among the interviewees there were a number of female farmers who had issues with LAC, which were resolved, and only one woman went to the wereda court. These women were advised by their

relatives to get in touch with the LAC to resolve their issues. They were aware that land issues get resolved through the kebele LAC committee, if reported to the kebele.

One of the interviewees, a 45-years old woman, contacted the LAC about a conflict related to inheritance of her grandmother's land; her brother claimed the inheritance for him and excluded her from her land rights. She submitted the case to the kebele office, which directed it to the LAC, which referred it to the community elders. The community elders, LAC members, kebele chairman and kebele leader of militia made the final decision, which was to share the land equally between her and her brother. He accepted the decision for a while, then since two years he again ignored it and grabbed all the land for him; so finally she decided to take the case to the wereda court and she got a support letter from the kebele. For the past two years the land was entirely controlled by her brother. When the case was taken to the wereda court, the brother decided to bring the elders again and begged his sister to drop the case. He accepted again the decision to share the land equally as was decided earlier. The issue started in 2008 EC and was completed in 2010 EC.

Women's rights to land

Women's rights on land were secured through the certificate, which helped them to have equal rights on all the land during divorce, death or any land-related decision. The land certificate was said to even have reduced polygamy as men did not have the right to name the second or third wife on the land registered in the couple's name. Kebele officials said this was a move towards women's empowerment and they added the story of one woman who was vice chair of a neighbouring kebele called Fulasa, and who when the chair was imprisoned for three months, ruled the kebele perfectly as any man could do.

Female farmers said that a widow could have access to her husband's land and she could inherit land. They could count on help with such issues from the kebele administration.

Among the male farmers interviewed none of their wives owned land. The land they were using was the family land owned by both men and women. They did not talk about land inherited or obtained through divorce.

Land tax

There was no change in tax contribution for land, with the tax ranging from 20 to 50 birr. This tax is paid along with contributions for Red Cross, Kambata Development Association (*gogota*), sport, militia uniform and party— together it can reach 120 birrs to be paid at once.

Land disputes

Procedures for dealing with land disputes

Any conflict was reported to the kebele chair and he called the cabinet members to resolve it, but if the case needed legal procedure, it was referred to:

- the elders and the LAC, or
- the kebele police and the wereda court if necessary.

If the problems were not resolved in the kebele (i.e. by the LAC or the elders), people could apply to the wereda court. In such situations, the kebele writes a letter explaining that parties could not reach an agreement. Then, the problem is discussed by the court, which in most of cases call the LAC members as witnesses to speak in the court. In addition, according to wereda officials, the wereda court gather evidence from the community members to take decisions.

According to the LAC leader, there is no connection with the social court in the kebele.

Examples of land disputes

There were different conflicts, for example between husband and wife about land or border disputes or conflicts. The kebele chairman claimed that Aze Debo was peaceful, and even if conflict happen, they are resolved in the kebele, as the community is Protestant.

Below are examples of land disputes.

Land dispute about fences

In the LAC leader's view, there were arrogant people who wanted to encroach public land and they fenced it or tried to build a house, and some expanded their fence to encroach on the internal road. This creates conflict with the LAC, when their reaction is harsh. Some insulted the LAC, and tried to fight with them, but the LAC use the militia and even the police is invited when people are aggressive. The committee demolishes illegal houses and fences that are built on public land.

Last year for example, a man expanded his fence. All his neighbours in the case collaborated and all illegal fences in his neighbourhood were demolished by the owners themselves, but that man refused. When the committee tried to demolish it with the militia, he shouted and even ran to the wereda to bring the police commissioner. However, this time the commissioner himself said „*the LAC knows better than me*“, so that forced him to accept it. However, the LAC leader said that there was much better peace and a more stable situation regarding land in the community compared to the past.

Box 23 Case 1 – about encroaching on public land

Conflict during 2nd level certification

Another land dispute was in Futere got, between a mother and her stepson. Her husband had passed away 7 years ago, in 2003 EC. She lived with her youngest and only daughter alive. The reason for the dispute was the fact that she was not at home when measurement was performed. Her stepson, who lives next to her door, got the eucalyptus tree garden on the small plot of land located on the left side of her house, to be measured under his landholdings. She reported to the kebele chairman and they resolved the issue through the kebele LAC. She was happy that she got the garden back, but she also wanted to have her own land certificate. At the time of the interview, she shared a single land certificate with her stepson, and it is him who was paying the land tax although she paid her share to him. She wanted to receive the share of eucalyptus tree that is found in front of their houses too. She had a plan to report to the kebele officials to get her own land ownership certificate.

Box 24 Case 2 – conflict between relatives during 2nd level certification

Conflict referred to the wereda court

This land dispute case was in Muleta, between a widow and her husband's brother who refused to give her share and pushed her to run away leaving her house. Initially, the kebele chairman with other elders handled their issue and helped her out with the conflict. They decided for her, and against his interest and asked him to hand over the farmland she deserved to own. He said OK but later refused to provide her the land and even prevented her from using the firewood available in the compound. He pressed and pushed her in many ways to go away leaving her house behind. Later, the kebele chairman and elders advised her to sue him at wereda level. After 3 months trial time, she was given the land she requested as rightful to her.

She found that the wereda judges supported her in every possible way they could. Neighbours in her surrounding were pleased to see that she was given the land that enables her to raise her children.

Box 25 Case 3 – conflict referred to the wereda court

Land measurement, certification and documentation

Measurement

According to wereda officials, land measurement was performed as a part of the LIFT project through a systematic process of aerial photography and surveying (so-called ARTO photo method). LIFT started in 2008EC in SNNP in eight selected weredas, one of them being Kedida Gamila wereda.

The measurement started a little bit later in January 2009 EC and was managed by agriculture bureau officers. It lasted for 3 months and was performed by a LIFT project officer, 1 person from wereda and one knowledgeable person from the neighbourhood in which measurement is conducted. The land owners were also present. The measurement was conducted between 10th of January and end of February 2009EC; certificates were printed between March and April, and the LIFT project was completed in April 2009 EC.

According to the LAC leader, land measurement in Aze Debo took place in 2010 EC, which contradicts the wereda information that land measurement was completed in 2009 EC in all 18 kebeles. Before this measurement, there had been no demarcation. More than 10 men and women came from the region and they divided in to groups during the process, so the LAC members were also assigned for each group to help. There was no measurement using meters, but the people were standing on the borders and taking GIS coordinates. In many locations demarcations used were certain types of plants, eucalyptus trees, ditches that were dug by land owners for flood control, coffee and banana plants, and also internal roads. The households had to provide their previous certificate for reference while the measurement was done. The process covered every piece of land including graveyards, grazing land, church land etc. According to the LAC leader, the GIS measurement was done without problem because the previous measurement already made the borders clear. The process was completed in 15 days.

There were several problems related to measurement. From the wereda's point of view, the major constraint encountered was the absence of land owners at the time of measurement. Although they were informed that measurement would be conducted in a certain period, some land owners were not available and complaints are being raised as the certificates are distributed, regarding inclusion of one's land in the neighbour's land. From the community's perspective, as seen in examples above, a number of farmers and the kebele leader were unhappy with the way the measurement was done and the result was contested in some instances.

Certification

At the time of fieldwork, people were collecting the new certificates from the kebele manager who was in charge of distribution. The LAC leader did not know how many of them were already collected, though all the certificates were available at kebele office.

Compared to the earlier land certificates, the new certificate did not have photographs and also did not include the list of children, only the couple's names. The LAC leader did not receive any questions about that, but he was expecting them in the upcoming meeting. He said he was hearing gossips that people were happy that their children's names were not written on the certificate.

A respondent from the kebele administration said that farmers did not fully understand the difference between the first and second level certification. Moreover they did not understand the coordinates and asked the wereda about it. Others required their own land holding certificate while at the time of measurement their land was measured with that of the whole family land (some of them were thinking that they could reduce the amount of tax land paid if they paid it together with the family land). In some kebeles, including Aze Debo, they were asked to return back the old/previous landholding certificate and they refused to do so. In the wereda's view, they should not be forced to return back the old ones though, because they paid to have the book issued and given to them. Farmers feared that the new one might not represent fairly their true land size as per the old one, because they don't understand the coordinates.

Male farmers said that land was measured in 2009 EC. In March 2010 EC, they were in the process of receiving the new land certificates. Farmers described the process in the following way:

People from Hawassa office came about (20 men and women) and measured every land in the community with the LAC. They have been using computers and different tools. The new certificate has no photograph at all, and the numbers are not clear with the map drawn (but

according to two interviewees, the map shows their land clearly). They don't know if the certificate helps to get a loan by using it as collateral. The kebele manager is distributing the certificate at this time, and everyone can collect it by bringing his/her kebele ID and signing on the register. They don't understand the advantage of these new certificates, they even don't have their photographs attached. Everybody having a piece of land in the kebele has a certificate, no one was omitted in the first level certificate and they don't expect the second one to be different in that respect.

Land registration and updating of the register

At kebele level, the kebele manager is responsible for updating the register and documentation. At wereda level, within the Bureau of Agriculture there is a rural land management and use team with officers responsible for documentation and updating.

Changes to the land register made at kebele level are registered by the kebele manager on the rural land administration record book. Similarly, land loss, reallocation and other changes are also recorded and updated at wereda level by the respective officers who follow and supervise all the kebeles in the wereda and they report to the head of the bureau.

Since GIS measurement was conducted recently in the wereda, the measurements made then reflected the present state of landholdings and locations; there were no changes yet.

There were some disputes related to registration in Aze Debo as well as in other kebeles, such as family landholdings registered only in the name of one son who was present at the time of measurement, excluding the other siblings who also had ownership on the land; or people purposefully trying to get someone else's landholdings, especially a relative or a neighbour; or division of eucalyptus trees between landholdings with different right users.

Land used as collateral

The information given was that landholdings could not be used as collateral (for example, for loans from MFIs); however, it was possible to use property on the land for this purpose. No-one mentioned the supposed possibility of using the 2nd level certificate for one's landholding as a collateral.

Land rentals and leasing

According to the LAC leader, there was legal land leasing for 2 years or for 5 years. However, such cases were not registered and it was not the concern of the LAC leader. If the parties had disputes related to such agreements, they would bring the written and signed agreement and witnesses to elders to deal with it. If elders couldn't reconcile the parties, the case might be referred to the kebele and sometimes to the wereda court. However, usually there is no such conflict and they are mostly dealt by elders.

Common land

Every institution has its own certificate. For instance, the church has its own certificate, the kebele has separate certificates for different kinds of land (grazing land, grave land etc). The kebele administers the public land and the LAC is responsible for following up and protecting the public land from abuse and encroachment. Some of the grazing land was given to returnee soldiers, for a kindergarten and for a few cooperatives, but there was no other change in the past five years. As seen above, according to the LAC leader, there were cases of encroachment of common land although in 2010 EC the LAC succeeded in retrieving it all, by persuasion in most cases and calling on the militia, police and even wereda in the case of one farmer.

Young people's economic and other experiences

This chapter is based on interviews with a number of young women and men interviewed in depth about their households, education and work, use of other time, plans for the future, etc. Their personal stories are presented in the *Young women's stories* section below. Other young people in the community also gave views on a number of topics, that are used here too. Part of the data, asking young people about the community in general, was made during focus group discussions. As women in Aze Debo are less exposed to interactions outside their households, they were less well positioned to share perceptions about general life in the community. Also, it was not feasible to find all types of female respondents; for example, no 'successful young woman' could be identified.

Young people's perspectives

Young women's stories

Young woman, age 29, poor

This young woman got married when she was 16 like her two other sisters. She has 5 children. She has separated from her husband almost a year ago due to physical violence issue. He was a drunkard. The young woman lives with her children, two brothers, and one niece in her mother's small hut. She makes and sells handcrafts (clay pots and stoves) and makes an income to cover her children's and mother's food expenses. The two younger brothers also provide support to the family by doing labour work after school. Her husband does not provide any support. He even tries to threaten her by visiting her at her mother's house. Her brothers sometimes manage to plough their very small farm land and sow maize. Their income comes from her work and from the PSNP. She has never gone to school or received any training. She has never migrated and has no plan to migrate so far.

Young woman, age 26, poor

She is married to a young man who is the same as her age. They started living together at her mothers' house since they were in grade 10 because she got pregnant while they were in a relationship in high school. She gave birth at the age of 20 to her daughter. They grow some teff and maize and coffee, enset and vegetable; all farm products are for domestic consumption. They have one hybrid and one local cow given by a relative for shared benefit. Her mother sells butter and cheese in Durame market. Her husband has completed high school at grade 12, but did not get good enough grades to join university. He is gifted in arts and makes a little income by drawing various educational diagrams in schools and other public areas. His parents did not approve his relationship or marriage with a low income family, and he does not have contact with his family members. She has not received any training or support for business. She is a full-time housewife and she takes care of all the domestic work and of her child. She sometimes provides assistance in the farming activity during the sowing season but not always.

Young woman, age 21, poor

She is not married. She lives with her sisters and parents. Her family grows teff, maize, coffee, godere, tomato, avocado, banana and enset. They have one cow and one for share-rearing. In addition to farming, they have a coffee shop and a shop with household items, to generate income. Her older sister opened her own coffee shop in Durame town and she provides financial support to her family on holidays.

She dropped out from school at grade 10. She can do a hairstyle called *shoruba* which she learned on her own. Now she provides service to girls in her neighbourhood. Since 2010 EC, she started to work at a nearby beauty salon twice a week, just to introduce her service to other clients. She charges 20 up to 40 birr per person depending on the hairstyle. Beyond that, she is involved in domestic work to provide assistance to her 3 sisters who are students. Continuing her education is not her plan, she

rather wants to advance her hairstyling skills by taking vocational training. She hopes to open a beauty salon in Durame.

Young woman, age 18, poor

She is not married. She lives with her 4 sisters, a niece and her parents. The family grows teff, maize, coffee, godere, tomato, avocado, banana and enset. They have one cow for themselves and one in share-rearing. Her mother is a housewife, her father used to work as a security person/guard for an organisation but he has quit, and is now jobless. Her sisters are students except one, who has completed grade 10 and did not get good enough grades to continue her education. They have a small shop where she is working since last year where she sells coffee, tea and household items.

She completed grade 8 but failed to pass the examination to proceed. She has no plan of continuing her education, but she wants to work on her own business or migrate. She has not been involved in any youth association in the kebele and has never taken training. She assists her father along with her two other sisters during farming seasons. In addition to working at the shop, she assists her sisters in domestic work. She has been working at her father's shop since the beginning of 2010 EC. The young woman does not like the job she is doing now as it has no benefit for her but only for her family. She wishes to go to other towns like Addis Ababa or Hawassa to get any type of work and make money for herself. She wishes to receive support from someone she knows and who has already started living in town.

Young woman, age 30, middle-wealth

She lives with her mother and one young sister. She is not married. In the household there is teff, wheat, maize, coffee, enset, tomato, cabbage, godere, avocado, and banana. They also have 2 cows and 1 ox. She completed grade 10 and she did not get the grades to continue further education. She has received various trainings (on community health, community education and women's rights issues) through her membership in the kebele women's association 2 years ago. She did not participate in any cooperative, and did not receive any support to start any business. She was involved only in family small business providing assistance to her mother in dairy business. She takes farm outputs and sells them in the market once or twice a week. She has no plan of migration; instead, she is planning to start a coffee trading business in Durame, using family savings as initial capital.

Young woman, age 29, middle-wealth

She is not married and lives with her mother, two younger sisters and one older brother. The family plants teff, maize, wheat, coffee, avocado, enset, banana and vegetables (carrot and tomato, gudure, beet root) in the garden. Her older brother migrated to other urban areas in the country to do business. He tried to go to South Africa to join another brother but his trip failed. He currently runs a small business in the kebele. Her father is too old to work and he just provides guidance on the farm work. Her mother is a housewife and too old to perform all domestic work on her own. She has discontinued education at grade 8 and opened her own business in 2010 EC – a small shop in the kebele centre. She sells small food and household items. She has no plan to continue education, instead, she wants to grow her small shop business.

Before she started working at her small shop, she was fully engaged in domestic work. She did not have any experience of working in any youth cooperative. A year ago she worked at the coffee plant for 3 months. She was paid 24 birr per day. The job opportunities were posted at the gate of the coffee plant and she got registered when the other women in her neighbourhood got registered. She actually knew before that the coffee plant employs workers seasonally. It is her older brother who had been working in other towns in the country and returned back home with some capital who gave her 2,000 birr as start-up money to open the shop. She did not receive any other support from the government, or any NGO. At the time of the interview her business was opened only since 2 months and a half and she did not calculate her income. It was at the initial stage. She managed to

pay her rent (200 birr twice) from her income. She planned to start tea and coffee selling in the future alongside the shop.

She is enjoying the fact that she is spending some time at work outside home and that she was able to make an income from her own business. There is an increasing number of shops, which can create competition and decrease profits. Since her business is located far away from her home, she has to close it when she has to go home and sometimes she has to stay at work when there is no business. In the future, she may consider going to other towns (Hawassa or Addis Ababa) to find a job that enables her to earn a better income once her younger sisters are grown up and are able to take care of their mother. If there is a plan or interest to migrate, the money can be found from somewhere – it is not a problem for local migration.

Young woman, age 23, middle-wealth

She is not married. She lives with her sister and mother. They live from their father's pension and income from selling farm products – they grow teff, wheat, maize, enset, coffee, tomato, potato, godure, cabbage, avocado, banana, and carrot. They have 2 cows and one ox.

She completed grade 10. She has not participated in any training so far, but she is planning to study for an accounting diploma at a private collage. She works at home only; in the future, she wishes to work and live outside the kebele either in Durame town or other towns. Her childhood boyfriend is in South Africa and she expects that he would take her with him soon.

Young woman, age 17-18, middle-wealth

She is not married and lives her parents and with one younger sister. Her two other sisters live somewhere else: one is married and the other is in Sudan. They grow coffee, teff, maize, enset and godere. Only coffee and teff is sold in the market. Her mother also sells dairy products on the market. Her sister who lives in Sudan sends 2000-3000 birr once every 2-3 months. They have a cow, a calf and an ox. She does household works together with her sister, but there is not much burden at home and they are told by their family to study and focus on their education.

She is attending grade 10 in Durame. She has never been involved in any youth association so far. Her plan is to complete her education, graduate from university and become a medical doctor. She has no plan of migration.

Young woman, age 18, rich

She is not married. She lives with her grand-parents and her younger brother. Her father and older uncle are living in South Africa since she was a child. She does not know her mother and grew up with her grand-parents. They have enough farm land and with the support from their children they built a big modern house. They have 2 oxen, 2 cows and grow teff, maize, wheat, coffee, enset, avocado, tomato, potato, godere, cabbage, carrot, beetroot and banana. They produce about 2 sacks of teff and more maize per year. They also produce a good quantity of coffee and avocado. Their relatives from the neighbourhood help them in farming, as both the household's head and his wife are older. Her father and uncle send them remittances once every 1-2 months.

She is a grade 9 student at Durame high school. She provides assistance to her grandmother with the domestic work sometimes, but not on regular basis as there is a woman who assists them. Her main responsibility is her education and providing her family what they ask her to buy and bring from the town. She has never worked and she does not plan to migrate. She would like to go to the university and in the future be an engineer.

Young men's stories

Young man, age 28, very poor

He lives with his parents, 1 sister and 4 brothers. Their main livelihood is farming. He also trades shoats and he loads sand and wood on trucks together with his brothers and friends, to earn an extra income.

He completed grade 10 and tried to teach in Bench Maji Zone, Surma wereda. His friends invited him there, having told him that there was job opportunity as a teacher. The family gave him 1000 birr to fund his migration. The job was good, because he was able to be independent and earn a salary, but there was conflict between Surma and Dizi ethnic groups and it was totally unsafe to stay there, so he left. Now his friends went to South Africa and they gave him hope to invite him. He also wants to go to Addis Abeba if he gets a chance to work there, though he does not know anybody there.

He has never been in any cooperative, and did not access any support from the government or an NGO. He said there was no such support at all. He buys shoats from Shinshicho and feeds them for a week and sells them in Durame. Sometimes he is able to get a profit of 400 birr a month but sometimes he might lose out. He gets 20 birr for a day when he is able to load sand or wood on trucks. This is heavy work which may affect one's health like back pain or pain on the chest etc., but due to poverty they are doing this as there is no other job opportunity here. He said that he helps his family with the small money he gets from both the trade and daily labour.

For his leisure time he plays volleyball in the evening with his friends, gets tea or coffee in Durame town and returns before it gets dark. He listens to songs on the phone. He does not serve in the church but he attends the programmes on Sundays. He is a party member since January 2009 EC and if there is a meeting, he attends. However, he is not a member of the youth association, league and federation. He said that he works in election campaign for the ruling party because he believes that the peace they have was obtained due to this government.

Friendships are made in neighbourhoods, at school, at church. The outcaste clan members are not excluded from friendship, but are not allowed to get married to people from other clans. The parents may have strong objection when boys and girls get closer because they fear that they may fall in love and be tempted to get married.

He said his family is very poor and he is not yet independent, therefore having a girl friend is not fair though he wishes to have one. He has sexual interest, sometimes even high interest, but he is overwhelmed by his difficult economic condition and he prefers to achieve his goal first and to get married at some point in the future. If he gets close to a girl she might force him to marry her, and he does not want this, as it is not a good time to do so. He said *'I will marry when my economy improves whenever it is regardless of age'*. He is worried about the lack of work and he would like to see factories here. Besides, he is concerned about the life of poor people, since there is no programme to improve their situation.

Unemployment is the worst thing in Aze Debo. However, people are gradually improving their houses and their economic status so it seems that the community is getting slightly better with regard to poverty. The area is peaceful in comparison to other places. There is an asphalt road crossing the community, which is a big change.

Only a few youth chew chat and drink alcohol mainly in Durame, since community could see them if they did this here in the village. He did not try any of these things since he is a Church member and his parents mostly advise him to stay away from such habits.

Young man, age 24, poor

His father died in 1996 EC and now he helps his 5 sisters, 1 brother and his mother by taking responsibility of managing the house and doing all farm activities. The family's main livelihood is

farming, and they plant maize, teff, enset, coffee, sugarcane, eucalyptus tree. He works as broker of livestock to earn an additional income.

He dropped out education after grade 8, as after his father died he preferred to focus on supporting his sisters. He feels that he should get married rather than going back school now. He did not get any other skill training yet. In the past 12 months he did farming activities, he fenced the compound, he renovated their house, and he bought clothes and exercise books for his siblings.

He joined the youth league five years ago but his participation was very low due to workload and family responsibility. He did not attend any meeting though nominally he is a member. The youth league leader who was his close friend pushed him to register as member.

He formed a cooperative with his friends and they were able to access a 134,000 birr loan from OMO MFI three months ago. They bought three hybrid cows with different prices (35,000, 27,000 and 29,000 birr, respectively). They rented a house to keep the cows by paying 100 birr a month, and they rented 0.25 ha of land to grow fodder, for 2400 birr annually. He said that one of the three cows is pregnant now. With the remaining money they obtained as loan, they also bought teff straw, hand tools as well as feeding plates for the cows. He said that the kebele rural job creation officer encouraged this group and advised them to engage in dairy farming, and once they were able to save the initial amount he facilitated the loan for them.

He migrated to Gambella region, Dima wereda, for gold mining in 1993 EC and stayed a year there. A friend working there had encouraged him to join him. Within a year he was able to save 19,000 birr, but the work was tough. At the end of that year, about 17 young men from Angecha and Doyogenna area died in the gold mining site where he was working, which made him realize the extent of the risk and he decided to return to Aze Debo. He would like to migrate to South Africa, though his friends living there are not doing anything to help him as he expected. If his plan for international migration doesn't work, he would like to live in Durame town by opening a shop or by trading coffee there, not to migrate to places far away from his family.

He is well known for his broker services, and people from Doyonenna, Angecha or Durame call him whenever they need wood or livestock. He uses his mobile phone to link up with buyers and sellers. Usually he gets up to 1,000 birr in brokering the sale of a hybrid cow, since both parties have to give him 500 birr.

He watches the Champions League in Durame town, but if he had electricity he could have watched at home. He used to be a football player in the kebele, but he left it when he got too much family responsibility. He listens to songs and music as well as radio programmes. He had many girlfriends, but he currently has one special one, whom every family member knows. She comes to his home, and they spend private time in town. He said that they always use 'Sensation' condoms and he himself asks the HEW to give him condoms or he buys them from town. His girlfriend has a beauty salon in the kebele and their plan is to get married in 2011 EC.

There are 3 options for his future: maybe he will live in Durame, maybe in Aze Debo, or he will migrate to South Africa if that is affordable. If he had enough land, he would stay in the community. However even if he decided to continue with farming, he believes that his children should grow up in Durame, as it can guarantee that they would have a better life and education.

In his opinion, people in Aze Debo are not hardworking and they get jealous of others who try hard to change their life. Parents are not supportive of their children's ideas and are reluctant to fund any work/project they come up with, they always suspect young people of being spenders.

With regard to changes in the community, there are new shops, beauty salons, barbers, wood workshops, a mill etc. opened mainly on the main road sides. But the change is very slow. He heard gossip that an industry park is going to be established in the kebele, but he is not sure about this. The area has been peaceful for a long time. His friends were from his church youth group, but some

migrated away and the rest are married and they spend less time with him. He says church and village are the two main reasons for association and friendship.

Young man, age 19, poor

He lives with his mother, 2 sisters and 2 brothers. His father died when he was a child. Farming is the main income source for the family. He has a driving license for motorbikes and he has been hired by a rich man owning a motorbike for a year, which helped him to earn 400 birr in a week. However, the owner took back the bike, so now the only option is working on his family farm.

One friend from Shinshicho convinced him that they could migrate to Addis Abeba to find a job. However when they reached Addis, it was difficult for them to find something. They stayed around Kera area for a while by renting a house for 500 birr in a group, then after a short while they moved to Dukem town hoping to get a job since he has relatives there, but there it was hard to find any work as well. He returned after a month, just three months ago.

He listens to songs on his mobile phone, and like others he also sings at church. However, he is not interested in any sport and has never been part of any youth association or league.

His future plan is to migrate: in the short term, to Hawassa and in the long term, to South Africa. If he gets a motorbike or a bajaj, he will stay in the community and will save money for his migration abroad. However, he doesn't know anyone living in Hawassa or South Africa which can be a barrier to his plans. His role model is BA who is in South Africa and helping a lot his parents in Aze Debo.

The weather and the people are good in Aze Debo. The area is peaceful, contrary to other parts of the country. However, lack of work opportunity and poverty makes it difficult to live here, and the quality of life is affected by these two major problems. There are a lot of 10th grade graduates sitting idle, there is no job opportunity. There is a need for factories to create jobs. His family wishes him to go to South Africa, however they do not have money to support him.

According to this informant, young men start having sex around the age of 25 and women at the age of 22 or so. He believes that the youth not only get into sexual practices with their girlfriends, but causally with anyone when there is the chance. Girls get contraceptives, mostly injections, in Durame town, and there is a trend in using condoms as well. Condoms are available at the health centre and in shops in Durame, in the past they used to be in the HP. Shops in Aze Debo do not sell them because of the religion in the community. When girls get pregnant, they go to private clinics in Durame to abort; some deliver the baby and the young man will marry her as the elders push him to do so. Even the girl's parents may accuse the man in court.

Young man, age 27, middle-wealth

He lives with his parents, 3 sisters and 1 brother. The family mostly rely on farming; they plant maize, beans, potato, tomato, teff, eucalyptus tree, banana, sugarcane, coffee. They have 1 ha of land and they also rent 0.25 ha from the school. They have a ferenji and a habesha cow.

He completed grade 10 in 2005 EC and he went to Durame Technique School to study auto mechanics in 2006-2007 EC, and he graduated with diploma. Later on he couldn't find a job in auto mechanics in the area, and he didn't try to migrate and find jobs related to his profession.

He has not been in any cooperative, and he did not access credit or any other support from NGO or the government. He didn't try any income earning activities other than supporting family on farming, but it is just for the family. He wants to be a trader like his brother. He has a wish to migrate to South Africa, or to go to Addis Ababa or Dire Dawa and find work there. He knows relatives working in these two places, who are employed in factories. He is sure that his parents will fund his migration to these places because his father is interested about his effort to seek work elsewhere. He has no hope of getting land, no plan to study anymore. But he wants to come back and start a kindergarten or buy a bajaj to provide transport services. He has no girlfriend yet, but he wishes to

marry after 10 years when he is 37, because he does not hope that he will improve his living conditions and be independently successful before that. He has no role model to mention.

He likes Tedi Afro and Tamirat Haile, whose songs he listens to on his phone. He plays keyboard/piano at church and follows the religious programmes properly. He used to play volleyball and football but stopped it since 2008 EC because the youth were gambling on games.

He has no interest in politics. He is member of the youth league and paid 10 birr for membership in 2007 EC. He used to attend meeting every 15 days on Mondays; about 30 young men attended the meetings during which they discussed productivity in farming. However, he said that *'they ask us what we want to do as project for personal development, they register it and sent it to the wereda, but no support is provided yet'*. So, he stopped attending these meetings in the past year because it was useless.

Living in Aze Debo is peaceful because people are Protestants. As he explained, *'when we hear the story of other places in the country, it is chaos and conflict. Here weather is good and I think it is better than other places though I visited only Durame, Wolkite, Hosanna, Hawassa and Alaba'*.

Young people make friends at school, church, in their neighbourhood or due to common interests like football and volleyball. Clan is not a basis for friendship, but the lower clans do not make friends with others but among themselves only.

Young man, age 22, middle-wealth

He is 22 years old and lives with his parents, 3 sisters, 3 brothers and a nephew. The main livelihood of the family is farming and they have 0.75 ha of land.

In 2010 EC he attended grade 10. He has never dropped out from school. At home he ploughs, works on sowing, weeding, harvesting, and he also collects firewood, fetches water, washes clothes and kitchen utensils.

He began working with two of his friends on carpentry, mainly building houses, making doors etc. One of his friends, who had the skill of carpentry, trained them through continuous practices while they were assisting him, however the kebele/wereda did not give them training or encourage them to set up a cooperative. He said that neither he nor his friends have any information about support for cooperatives. There was no support from NGOs or government yet. He worked with his friends on the carpentry for the past 12 months. He earns about 1500 birr a month and each of the three earn the same amount. Since they do the work up to people's satisfaction, they are now well known and invited to work whenever there is construction in the community. Sometimes people call them or they come to their home to deal and offer them a contract.

The experienced carpenter is a 45-old man and he invited these two young men to work with him when former assistants left him and began to work independently. The young man's parents were happy when he got the chance to work with a well-known carpenter, because he had the interest to do such work. He saves the money and recently he registered to start the process to get a driving licence. He has to spend 10,000 birr for this. He used to work as daily labourer before, on cutting eucalyptus trees and loading them on trucks, and saved 2500 birr from that. Since he started carpentry he saved 7500 birr. He is going to apply for a driving license for trucks, as he wishes to drive Isuzu trucks.

He spends some time at night to do his homework, and to study hard. But he has no time during the day to study unless there is no work/contract some of the days. He usually stands up to 10th in rank among 54 students, and last semester he stood 7th in the class. He could study economics, otherwise he has a plan to work as a driver. He did not migrate. Some of his friends went to Dukem in September 2017, but returned back in early 2018 when there was conflict between the Wolayita and the Oromo.

When asked what he would do if he had a contract and school at the same time, he laughed and said *'I would go to work because today's income should be given priority'*. He may miss school for three continuous days if he gets a contract with his group.

He plays volleyball, walks and chats with friends in the village and on Sundays sometimes he goes to Durame with friends. In Durame they watch movies or football (European Champions League) while having tea or soft drink. He listens to music and religious songs. He attends church every Sunday but not on other days. He serves the choir group monthly.

He thought of joining the youth league and other youth activities at the kebele, but he said he felt he would be spending his time for nothing. He is not involved in politics either.

He wishes to stay in the community and work as driver, otherwise he said he will migrate away to Dire Dawa if he can't get a job as driver here. He doesn't want to be a farmer at all. He does not want to marry while being still dependent, rather he wishes to accumulate wealth and get mature first, he even said that *'giving birth while being poor is contributing to my country's poverty further'*.

In terms of life in the community, he likes the weather, his friends, the community having a positive spirit. Unemployment and spending time idle are negative sides of living in Aze Debo. He would like to have industries and factories in the area which would bring jobs. He couldn't tell about changes in the past and said he didn't see much change in the kebele. He believes that it is peaceful place to live and there is no conflict. He added that, the family strongly wishes success for him. They are not that much worried as he is working and studying at the same time. He supports the family financially if he sees any gap, but they do not try to control what he does or earns at all.

Young man, age 19, middle-wealth

He lives with 4 sisters, 3 brothers and his parents. The main livelihood of the household is farming. Besides, the family opened a tea shop and a shop attached to it on the main road side, though the income from these activities is less important compared to farming.

He attends grade 9 in Durame. He has never dropped out from school, but sometimes he misses class for a week, mainly due to work load in the teashop especially when his sister was sick and unable to cover him. He has never tried to engage in any cooperative, but he has heard about the youth cooperative activities in the kebele.

He does not give much attention to education because he believes that working on the trade is much better, because he is able to buy clothes, shoes, food. Therefore, he believes that he should continue in this business in the future.

He likes listening to Kambata music, riding a motorbike rented from other young men, watching sport matches between different kebeles in Durame. Every Sunday he goes to church, and once a month he sings in choir. He is not active in politics, and he is not a member of any association or league, or federation.

He wishes to migrate to South Africa, though he feels it may take time until he gets money to cover the cost. His parents know his wish to migrate and they are supportive of the idea. But he is planning to save money and fund his migration himself rather than bothering his parents.

If his wish to migrate to South Africa is not fulfilled, he hopes to get a driving license and wants to drive a new kind of minibus known as 'high roof'. He believes that his second option is easily affordable, as getting a license is not that expensive like migrating to South Africa. He does not want to be a farmer, but even if he wanted it as an option, there is no probability of getting land from the government or from his family. It is not very likely to find land to purchase either.

The young man likes everything in this area. But he said that there was no much change in the community in the past 5 years. He would like to see that poor people have better housing, and young people more job options.

His family worries a lot about his future and they wish him to get a good job. They rented a shop and teashop where he is allowed to work now, though it is owned by the family. A few young men drink and chew chat here, but he said that he has never tried that.

He knows that HIV/AIDS is a disease which comes through sexual intercourse and shared sharp items. He does not know how to prevent this disease in detail. He did not hear that some people in the community are affected by HIV.

Boys at his age and older try to have girlfriends and have sex either with them or any girl found by chance, and mostly they use the situation when parents leave home for market. In the past, small children were sent to the health post to collect condoms, but now these are not available there. He believes that most young men use condoms to avoid the risk of HIV or unwanted pregnancy. However, sometimes pregnancy happens, and the couples get married before it gets visible. There were instances when the man refused to marry and migrated away, but the girl's family brings the baby to the man's family and force them to raise the child or provide help. Such cases are usually resolved by the elders.

Young man, age 29, rich

He got married last year and his baby is 6 months old. They are living with his rich parents. His father promised to share land to build their own house soon. His father is the head of the richest household in the community: he has a big farm land, he is crop and coffee trader, they bought a house in town with 1 million birr, they plant different crops on their farmland and they also rent land from the school and plough for sharecropping. They have hybrid cows and also gave some out for share milk to other farmers. His father collects coffee during summer and supplies it to the coffee processing plant. They are planning to expand the coffee and crop trading.

He studied geography at Hawassa University and graduated with diploma. After graduation he went to 'Mugo' wereda in Gurage zone, to teach in an elementary school. He worked 6 years there, but his father encouraged him to leave that teaching job and join him in his trading activities 2 years ago.

He supports his family in farming and trade activities. He has never been a cooperative member, or did not access any credit, as his family is rich enough. He had a wish to migrate to South Africa when he was a teacher, but now he has decided to settle after he saw that the trade is good. He also feels that his father is getting old and he needs to take care of him.

He listens to songs, watches TV at home, mainly sports news and European Champions League matches. On Sundays he goes to church and in the afternoon he spends good time with his friends in Durame watching DSTV/Sports.

When he is at home he assists his family by doing anything they want him to do including chopping wood, and if there is nothing to be done, he watches TV, and he talks to his dad about the business or anything else.

In the future, he plans to expand their crop and coffee trading, and they are also about to open a cafeteria in Durame. They already bought the materials needed. In addition, they are going to open a grinding mill in the kebele, which he hopes will further boost their grain trading.

Life in the community is good, weather is fine, and Aze Debo is adjacent to a town which is advantageous for the community's economy. However the improvement in people's lives is very gradual and the community is not changing fast. Families having children in South Africa show huge changes and those in Sudan also help a bit. The PSNP appears to be supportive, but it makes people poorer and idle. Among others he mentioned that PSNP beneficiaries are forced to take credit to buy fertilizer, but since they are not ploughing their very small plot, they sell it right away.

Young man, age 17, income status not known

The young man lives with his large family of 12 members. He has 5 sisters and 4 brothers. The youngest boy is 8 years old, and he could not remember the age of the older siblings. Of the 10 children, 6 are now living with parents. One of the four who left is a girl who got married in 2007 EC, and the other three are men and left for jobs. One is a teacher in Adero town, another is also a teacher in Gurage zone, and the last one is a bulldozer operator in Arba Minch area. The family rely on farming, but 2 girls who are currently living with the family opened a shop and a beauty salon in the kebele after completing grade 10. All the children who get an income help their old parents. His father is 67 years old. They have 0.5 ha of land and they plant maize, teff, beans, banana, sugarcane, avocado, tomato, cabbage, coffee, and eucalyptus tree.

He attended grade 8 in 2010 EC. He was the second best out of 80 students. His father and his brothers are serious about his education. Recently classes were merged because of the declining number of students. Many of them want to reach grade 8 or 10 as this is one of the requirements to get a driving license. So many go for driver licenses if they can afford. Others engage in other activities, such as trading farm products or selling sand and stone, through cooperative or even individually.

He has never migrated, and even he knows only Durame. He does not have any wish or plan to migrate, even to South Africa. His brother, who is a teacher in Adero, tried to migrate to South Africa in 2004 EC and was imprisoned in Tanzania, so he sees migration as a risky undertaking.

He sometimes spends time at church on weekends, and he attends the Sunday school. He likes to listen to songs on this phone. There is a radio at home, and one of his brothers promised to buy TV. He reads his books and exercise books whenever he is at home.

He believes that he will be successful in his education. If he fails at the national exam, he hopes that his family will help him join a private college. When asked if he wanted to be a farmer, he said *'I would rather die because it is very tiresome and does not change life. I would rather be a civil servant and earn 500 birr month. Besides there is no chance of getting land for young people here'*. His father even advises him to work hard on his education and to leave the area.

He likes his school, the library, his friends and playing with them. He strongly stated that he wants to live somewhere else, because *'if you migrate away and come back with 'changed' clothes, even if you don't change your life, people respect you and they give you smile and warm greetings. But if you remain unemployed and wander around the reaction of people is like punishment. Even when you are successful here and able to wear nice clothes, they don't respect you as much as those returnees'*.

Friendships are made at school, in the village or on playgrounds. There is no clan-based friendship. Only a few boys of his age tend to have girlfriends. The community tends to say that *'this guy is having affair with girls before his age, what would happen if he is a man'*. School does not intervene in these affairs, but students call a boy having an affair by the girl's name and tease him. None of the boys of his age having girlfriends would have sex in his opinion, but he said *'who knows'*. Condoms are not available at the school compound. He has never heard that 8th grade girls get pregnant. But the tendency to have a girlfriend is increasing, mostly by those who are not focusing on their education.

Perspectives on young people's economic experiences

In 2010 EC, overall the community's respondents seemed to think that young people faced more problems than opportunities, related to education, access to land and work, migration, economic situation and relations with older generation. There were also issues/opportunities related to setting up independent household, family, change of cultural norms/values/community participation, which are discussed in the section **Perspectives on other youth transition experiences**.

Access to land

The government's strong emphasis on rural job creation in the farming sector was not in phase with young people's aspirations, and also with the reality of very limited access to land for them. In general, the youth do not have opportunity to get their own land unless they inherit from their parents or their parents accept to share some land with them, which is more likely in richer families with larger landholdings. In the case of poorer people, parents tend to say their land plots are too small and therefore they cannot give any land to their children. The land available in the kebele for inheritance has decreased over the past years. Families tend to be smaller than in the past but still, most families have 4 and 5 children and even when parents divide the land available among their children, they can't make a living from it. Usually it is men who inherit land from parents because the daughters get married and they start living with their husband and live with him on his land.

Also, the local government officials say that there is no land to distribute to young people. The only case was the land given to a bee-keeping cooperative; although it was located on mountains which was considered to be an unfavourable area. However, one of the young men highlighted that whilst the government says there is no land, the school has a very large landholding, and land was given for a church, and for investors; and that this land and even communal grazing land could have been given to young people. There was a consensus that land shortage is a real problem, but the young people interviewed believe that the older generation and the administration do not want to consider the youth's land needs and are not worried much about their future. One of the young respondents even said *"everyone wants us to migrate away even the administrators, because we are burden to them"*.

When it comes to gender differences in access to land, compared to the past times girls have rights to access land through inheritance from family and also when they lose their husband. Additionally, they have equal ownership rights with their husband in marriage.

Consequences of the lack of land are various: young people decide to migrate, they lose hope in farming and want to move to non-farm works which are limited in the kebele, they are not able to get married and postpone having children, because of the one hand they cannot earn from farming, and if they have a business, it is often fragile.

Work, domestic work and education

Work opportunities are limited in the kebele. Different respondents, both young people and adults, mentioned that there are no factories that could give work places for all jobless people in Aze Debo. Sometimes parents, usually in richer households, funded their children's small businesses, like shops and teashops, or bought them bajajs and motorbikes. Otherwise options like working at wood workshops, bakeries, grinding mills, or the coffee processing plants, do not offer a sufficient number of work places. Carpentry seemed to be an interesting profession for young men, but there is no training on that and only a few people managed to get this skill. In general, there is a serious problem regarding the lack of work opportunity, which contributes to the decision of many young people to migrate anywhere else to seek work.

Options for young women are limited. If not married, they support their family in the farm and in domestic work, and may combine these activities with school. Many of them complete education after grade 10 and consider it as sufficient level of education. Some of them support their mothers in dairy trade, others set up small shops in the kebele centre, or work at the coffee plants seasonally. Young women also migrate, and this has been a rising trend since 2012.

The case below, of a young, 21-years old woman who works at a beauty salon at the kebele centre, illustrates a typical profile of some of the young women in Aze Debo.

She is 21 years old, and dropped from school after grade 10. She has a traditional hair styling skill she developed on her own. She used to provide service to the girls in her neighbourhood

from home. Since this year, she works in the nearby beauty salon twice a week just to introduce her service to other clients. She charges 20 up to 40 birr per person depending on the hairstyle they ask for. They have also one milk cow and one ox and a calf. She is involved in domestic work to provide assistance to her 3 student sisters and do house chores before she leaves for work or after work. She has no plan of continuing her education rather she wants to advance her hairstyling skills by taking vocational training. She hopes to open a beauty salon in Durame town.

The number of young girls who attend school has risen compared to the past. However, their educational achievements are generally low. Reasons for that include the absence of mentors who can be role models for girls and motivate them to learn, the lack of follow-up and interest in education, and their higher responsibility in doing the household's chores. Many girls, after completing grade 8 or 10, get married and busy with domestic work for their own household. Many also are staying at home with their parents and assist their families in domestic work and whatever business they have, but this kind of life does not help them to change themselves economically and prepare a future for themselves. Girls are also involved in farm works with their parents or relatives.

There are many reasons for which young girls stop their education, including: lack of funds in the family, having to take care of sick family members, missing classes and not being able to make up for the missed lessons. However, compared to the past, few families presently prevent their daughters from going to school due to domestic work burden. They do not have to walk far to attend primary school as there are 2 primary schools in the kebele; this has been an advantage for girls specifically, preventing them from dropping out because of the distance to school.

According to young women, young men dream about migrating because they see examples of successful migrants, especially to South Africa or other towns within Ethiopia. This perception affects young men's attitude towards education. In addition to the long history of migration in the kebele, increasing unemployment of university and college graduates from the kebele discourages young people from planning to work hard and join universities. Young men feel discouraged when they see graduates moving around, looking for a job and sitting idle for years. One respondent said that there are about 5 to 7 graduates in the kebele who did not get a job and are living with their parents; the real number might be much higher (see statistics in the section on Households). However, although few, there are young boys who are working hard and have scored high grades at secondary school.

Like young women, young men also are involved in different farm work in their families: they help their parents in ploughing, hoeing, weeding, harvesting, selling agricultural outputs, or supporting small family business. Depending on their personal attitude, they attempt to combine these activities with more or less regularly going to the school.

In the opinion of young men, education does not offer a lot of prospects, as graduates cannot find a job. Some of them complete grade 8/10 because it is a requirement to get a driving license. They pass the driving license exam and start to provide transportation services with a bajaj or motorbike, if they have funds to buy them. Others complete grade 10 and get their driving licence and work for vehicle owners. Like for young women, there are young men who had to leave school because of financial constraints (lack of funds to buy books, clothes, shoes) and of having to engage in work.

Compared to young women, the sense of hopelessness related to the lack of job opportunities seemed to be much higher among young men. It was mentioned by young men during an FGD:

There is no work in the kebele unless parents can fund their children's small businesses, like shops, teashops or buy them bajaj and motorbikes. Otherwise carrying wood, stone or sand to load on trucks is the only labour work. Carpenters earn income and have better jobs, but there is no training on that and only a few late teens have this skill. There are no factories, no

construction sites within the kebele or even in the zone town. In general there is a serious problem regarding work opportunity, which causes decision to migrate anywhere else.

Migrating

Young women mentioned marriage and migration as options which allow them to have an independent life. Young women's migration has become more popular within the past two or three years due to poverty in the community (some respondents talk about this being caused by the smaller amount of farm outputs), the lack of job opportunities, and also the example of successful returnees in Aze Debo.

Unmarried women wish to migrate and come back with some capital to start up a good business in Durame. If they do not get married, most of them wish to leave the kebele in any way and get access to a better work. Unless young women have a family to take care of like a sick parent, and if they do not have a promising educational background (which is the case for most female students), they prefer to migrate within the country. Those who have relatives abroad do not have any other wish than to migrate. Despite the fact that migration can be a difficult undertaking for a woman who has children who will have to stay at home, some women even decide to leave their family in Aze Debo to get a job elsewhere.

The number of young women migrating to urban areas is increasing. Hawassa and Addis Abeba are frequent destinations. Women get jobs in cooking, selling tea/coffee on the street, waitress, or factory work, or as housemaids. They often return to Aze Debo after working for 2-3 years. Some may even manage to accumulate a capital of 25,000 birr, and they open small businesses or shops in Durame, and a few in the kebele. Whilst away they also send money to their families as much as they can, for instance once in two or three months up to 1,000 or 1,500 birr. They also send 10% of their income (*mebba*) to the church.

In terms of international migration, women mainly go to Sudan and more recently to some Gulf countries. Sudan was a common destination some years ago, particularly in 2005 EC when many went there. Migrants travel across countries on foot. In the past few years the number of migrants to Sudan has decreased, as they experienced the reality and returned to the community. Working in Sudan is no longer much profitable as the value of their currency has drastically fallen; usually women are paid 500/600 Sudanese pounds per month for working as a housemaid, and in 2010 EC this was no longer much better than being a housemaid in Hawassa or Addis Ababa.

The community has accepted women's migration as a means ensuring better economy for the family and the women themselves. For instance, a woman who did work in Saudi was able to build a nice, gypsum-decorated house in Aze Debo; she also bought a dairy cow, and sent money to her parents during holidays. Young women believe that although they can start a business in the community – like opening shops and beauty salons - these options do not provide enough income, so they cannot establish an independent life.

Apart from the lack of land and job opportunities, the main reason for male migration is the example set by successful migrants from South Africa. Some people also migrated because of the obligation to join the military – around 10 young men were said to have migrated elsewhere to avoid the military service. In young people's opinion (given in an FGD), education is comparatively less attractive from the point of view of future benefits:

Those who spent their life on education are losers now, they cannot even get jobs after spending more than 15 years [in education], but those who went to South Africa and engaged in trade are able to accumulate capital and help their parents, and live a much better life, so even parents and children now do not value education. The traders and those who able to migrate to South Africa are able to live independent better life.

Young people dream about migration because money opens a lot of opportunities:

- *The 19-year old middle-wealth young man said that if he is able to migrate to South Africa he wants to get back once he has saved enough money to buy his own transport car (high-roof minibus). He would want to return because he wishes to be with his family rather than staying abroad. He gave an example of his model, a man who went to South Africa and returned recently, who bought an Isuzu truck to work in Aze Debo and who supports his family very well.*
- *Similarly, the role model of the 19-year old poor young man is BA, who is in South Africa and helps his parents a lot here. He built them a new house, helps his brothers, and the family says that now he is planning to buy them a car.*

The idea of migrating gets into young people's minds as early as around the age of 10; some drop out after grade 8 and migrate, so when they are 16-17 years old. Even parents would like young people to migrate so as to have better life options, preferably in a place where other people from Aze Debo migrated. The picture of successful migrants who earned money affects young boys' attitude towards and interest in education, in addition to the long history of migration in the kebele and combined with the growing disillusion with the 'education + getting a job' option (see above).

The most desired destination among young men is South Africa. Dukem and Addis Abeba are new destinations for internal migration, as there are jobs on cobblestone work, in factories and in flower farming. Migrants who settled there keep pulling others. Some migrated to Hawassa industrial zone but one respondent explained that priority is given to Sidama people, and some young people from Aze Debo who went there were not able to get jobs and returned to Aze Debo.

Although the perspective of success prevails in the image of migration, young men are also aware of risks associated with it. For example, the 17-year old poor young man never wanted to migrate, even to South Africa, because his brother was imprisoned in Tanzania on his way to South Africa in 2004 EC, so their household realized that such journeys can be very risky. Another 28-year old young man returned to Aze Debo due to ethnic conflict in the place where he migrated:

His friends invited him there telling him as there is job opportunity as a teacher. The family provided him 1,000 birr to fund his migration. He said that the job there was advantageous because he was able to be independent and earn salary, but there was conflict between Surma and Dizi ethnic groups as they kill each other and Surma even just kill anybody and say 'I just liked to kill' when asked why. So it was totally unsafe to stay there.

Another case is that of the 24-year old poor young man who migrated to Gambella for gold mining but decided to come back after several people died at work there (see above).

Married (usually still young) men migrate too. Some might seasonally and come back with some money once or twice in a year. Others are living in town and send money to their household and visit them occasionally. Young men in South Africa seek to marry and some of them may take their wife there, although this is said to be risky for her. In the interview there were a number of young women whose husband was in South Africa and visiting only very occasionally. Other young women were waiting for a fiancé to come back.

Establishing an independent livelihood

As mentioned earlier, many young women see mainly two ways of establishing an independent livelihood: marriage or migration. In general, compared to the past girls have better opportunities to study and work professionally and if they really want to, they also have more other options: among others, they can go wherever they want and work. Indeed, most families do no longer stop their daughters from walking away, except for those from a wealthy background, for whom parents tend to choose the future, pushing them to proceed with their education as they have the capacity to pay and educate them in college if not at the university.

With regard to work opportunities for the young people in general and specifically for young women there is little new, except that a few girls from the community have demonstrated that women can be involved in government administration: the present kebele manager, who managed to complete university and has a small child, is an example. She and her predecessor, who similarly was from the community and university graduate, are role models for young women who wish to proceed with their education and benefit from it in the future. However, most of girls in the community have little interest in education and some of those who are interested fall back due to lack of mentoring. Young women highlight that these days, most young women do not have work, and they also do not get married early as they used to because they are less forced by their family. So, many of them help their families once they have 'completed school', as they and the community say, which means after they drop out after grade 6, 8 and 10.

Some of the girls, mostly from low-income and a few from middle-income families, get involved in seasonal daily work at the coffee plants in Aze Debo and in the neighbouring kebele, Zato Shodera. As said above there are also young women who migrate for work to other towns in the country and to Sudan and to Arab countries for those who have managed to get financial support from relatives or to save to do this. Because of economic problems, young women are also more involved in labour work than in the past.

Young women described in this way the situation of their generation:

Once a young person has found his means of income, he will find a space to build a house on land he inherited from parents. There are some who live with their parents after getting married. The major ways of establishing an independent life is having a source of income outside of farm work – for instance through migration within and outside the country for labour work and semi-skilled work in industry sites. In the past, a boy inherited his parents' farm land and easily established his own family next to his parents' house and lived from his farm income. That has changed now. It's only the rich that can give their boys enough assets to enable them to establish their own family. Young men (e.g. those who work in Durame town as a labourer or in the service sector or businesses), similar to the past, live with their family until they get married. They don't get out and try to live alone.

Young men talked much more than women about landlessness and the lack of job opportunities as major constraints on setting up an independent household, and about migration as a coping strategy.

With regard to work opportunity, as said above unemployment is a major challenge. There are many young people who completed grade 10 or TVET and are not able to find a job (see above, kebele statistics suggest as many as 426). Job opportunities mentioned by young men included cooperatives for sand and stone mining, fattening, poultry, bee keeping and dairy farming; also jobs in coffee processing plants and in wood workshops (10 people are employed at a workshop owned by the church), daily labour, and construction work for skilled people. A few opened shops and teashops with the help of parents and relatives, and some started to provide transport services.

The lack of job opportunities means that young men are not independent enough to have a girlfriend or marry a girl, as illustrated by the cases below:

- The 29-year old very poor young man - his family is very poor and he is not independent, therefore having a girlfriend is not fair though he wishes to have one. He has sexual interest, but he is overwhelmed by his difficult economic condition. He will only marry when he is able to get good financial status and economic independence at any time in the future. He does not hope this to happen shortly.
- The 27-year old middle wealth young man - he has no girlfriend yet, but he would like to get married after 10 years when he is 37, because he does not hope that he will improve his living condition and be independently successful before that.

- During the FGD young men agreed that, those who can build a house and have some sort of income are able to marry and have children, however they will have 2 or 3 children maximum. The other landless, dependent and jobless young men cannot even think of marrying let alone having children, regardless of their age. One of them said that his older brother is 33 and he is still living with the family and supporting the family's farm. In general, young people marry late, as it takes long years for them to build economic independence.

Young people do not have hope in farming due to land shortage, but rather in migrating or developing trade/transport services which are seen as better livelihood options. The option to join cooperatives is not appealing. During the FDG young men explained:

If five people save 5,000 birr they will get 50,000 birr, which does not help much to start business for 5 people. However, when more money is needed for a project the saving requirement goes up which is unaffordable for the youth. Youth targeting in this programme is also limited as there is unfair recruitment based on kebele affiliation and political attitude.

According to these young men, there are only 4 groups who were able to save and access credit to start some businesses, but some of the youth did not even hear about cooperatives and credit. One of them said that *'I could use the money for myself to start petty trade if I was able to save the amount required'*. During the group discussion, respondents said that only youth who have close contact to kebele and party members are given the chance, the rest are excluded.

Perceptions of the economy

Young men perceive that at least half of the community improved their living condition and status in the past 3 years. In the farming sector changes that make some people to be successful are attempts to use irrigation; cabbages and tomato becoming cash crops and; the increased price of eucalyptus trees. However, fluctuations in rainfall remains to a challenge for development. People are hardworking, but there is shortage of land. Households have more hybrid cows, chickens and milk products. Non-farm options which have been expanding recently are motorbikes, bajajs, shops, and teashops, however, not many people can be involved in these activities.

Young women noted that shortage of land, increasing population, weather changes, decreasing farm outputs, and increasing inflation accompanied by increasing life demands, have affected the economy of the poor and middle-income families. The rich households manage to cope without problem due to their stronger financial standing established on trade, livestock production and farming.

Inter-generational relations

The most apparent relation of young people with the older generation is economic dependence. Young people mentioned that they don't have land so they tend to stay in their parents' house for a long time: often even almost 30-year old people do not live separately as they do not have a place to move. Apart from landlessness, even if young people are able to have some source of income, it is not enough to establish independent livelihood.

For young girls, parents tended to be the source of initial funding if they wanted to start a small business. For young men, parents gave them land if they could. Sometimes young women lived with their parents even after getting married, or when they left husbands who were drinking a lot. During the fieldwork, the research officers also met young women (age 21 and 18 respectively) who married older men around 40 (not as second wives): they enjoyed financial security and were not dependent on their parents.

Young women underlined that the relationship of a wife with her husband's parents and the extent of her independence from them depend on in-law's personalities and the family's economic status. There are some who oppress the wife and treat her like a servant, but it is not common across all

poor or middle-income families. Usually the older and younger couple live in two different houses, built side by side; there are also few who share the same house. But it is difficult to generalize for all. Women can maintain contact with their family members as they wish if they are not living very far away. Since the past few years, women deliver in health facilities, and when they are back home, anyone around can take care of them. There are still some women who prefer to go to their parents' house, but this depends on how good (or not) their relationship with their in-laws is.

There are also young women who are not married and do not work, but help in domestic works and in the trade of farm products or dairy. Sometimes families are multigenerational, i.e. young people live with their parents and grandparents. Young women also tended to take care of older parents, if they were in need. Family members, relatives and friends are the main stakeholders considered for advice before women decide to migrate.

There are mixed views on parents' authority. Young women mentioned that it is not good and not bad. There are daughters who listen to their parents and there are some who do not. However, parents' authority is not as it was in the past. Children have become more powerful and influential these days and families worry about losing their children, so they tend to simply accept their children's way. This aspect of child-parent interaction is observed across all economic backgrounds in the kebele. Compared to the past, parents intervene less these days and in fact young people have taken their power away from them except for clan-related issues. It is not clear if parents are less interested in their children's education: some strong families who have not given up on education push their children to pursue and finish it, but the others do not even follow their children and they let them decide themselves, as young men mentioned during the FGD. Parents were also said to be less influential with regard to a girl's choice of a husband (see below).

There are also generational differences in terms of receptivity to new ideas. For example, older people and the churches do not like the new spiritual channels on TV, by which young people are interested; they believe that the preachers on these channels might be 'false prophets' and they even say to the youth that "*they [false prophets] may bring down fire from sky*". Adults try to advise the youth and say "*you are young and can be easily convinced or tricked*". Young people said that parents are conservative in keeping the old dress and haircut styles, old opinions with regard to interactions between boys and girls, and conservative religious practices; yet as time passes, the new generation may have different tastes and like different styles, and even about church rules and regulations, some young men confront and ask if something is vague or unacceptable for them.

During the group discussion, young people explained that generally, teenagers between 14 and 17-year old are less obedient to their parents and respond to them disrespectfully, but two of the younger participants argued that it is rather the older youth, above 25, who are challenging their parents and do not accept their advice. Despite these divergent views they agreed that except a few, most parents worry about their children's future, but they are also rigid and want things to go their way. At the same time, parents are said to sometime not be supportive of their children's ideas: they often refuse to fund any work idea which young people come up with, suspecting that they will only spend money.

Perspectives on other youth transition experiences

Women's issues

The information below on FGM, menstruation, rape and abduction, was gathered from young women.

FGM

Although in 2012 the commitment to abandon FGM seemed to be very strong, in 2010 EC respondents said that it is widely practiced. Female circumcision is tradition in Kambata culture and as such it is practiced by most girls and families in the community. In the past it used to be well

celebrated, which stopped since the government with KMG (a local NGO active in the Kambata zone) introduced a ban and there is the threat that the person who is caught practicing such thing will be imprisoned. Moreover, anyone reporting on FGM will be rewarded with 1,000 birr. However, the community strongly respects its culture and nobody reveals anything to the officials. Now it is therefore male circumcision which is celebrated, not female. However, whilst there is no longer a celebration for this, young girls under 20 said that all girls ask for being circumcised, and boys do not get married to un-circumcised women because they believe that it has something to do with a woman's discipline – how well she will respect her husband and listen to his decisions once married. Reportedly, there are three people who perform circumcision in the kebele; and only two families (of civil servants) known to not have circumcised their daughters.

Menstruation

During menstruating, it is very difficult to do the normal daily activities for most unmarried women, as they experience pain. Mothers experience less pain than younger women. But it is difficult for young women to tell their family members about it unless it is to a younger or peer sibling; so, they don't take rest and try to keep doing their regular activity.

The young women at school indicated that they save to buy sanitary pads and they can also buy them at a lower price from female teachers. A full pack for immediate use costs 18 birr and 2 pieces are sold for 6 birr in the school. Sanitary pads are also available in most shops, mainly in those located on the main road side. Some students in the kebele have access to pads and many of them use other things/alternatives as a pad. Among the young women interviewed, the two of them who already have children use other materials/towels. The others said that they purchase sanitary pads from the shops located in the kebele.

Rape, abduction, harassment and assault

These days, reportedly there are no forced abductions any longer; abduction is based on willingness and practised by couples who wish to get married and who fear that they won't get family approval.

Harassment and assault are common. It is usual for a girl/woman walking alone in the late evening or at night or during weekends when many young men hang out on the main road side, to be insulted and threatened if she doesn't comply to what they ask (if she doesn't stop and talk to them). However, this is not as frequent as in the past. The student interviewees explained that when it happens, they inform their uncle or father or an older brother, and they handle the situation by talking to the families of those young men who harassed them. Once one of the interviewees' relative was going back from their house to her's at 6pm and four young men insulted her when she refused to respond; she told her father who sued the boys; they got imprisoned for 2 or 3 days and they got released.

Pre-marital pregnancy, abortion and reproductive services

Pre-marital pregnancy is said to have become more frequent in recent years. The community is quiet about it out of fear of losing their children because running-away is widely practiced among young people these days. Families fear that they would experience more serious problems if they run away and start living somewhere else they don't know. Therefore they choose to accept even though their economy doesn't allow to support an additional family member. The interviewees did not have friends who got pregnant but they knew some young women from the community who did because they didn't use contraceptives. There is not much change in the status of women who give birth out of wedlock, and they suffer a lot because they do not go to health facilities, to hide the pregnancy before they give birth. Unlike married women who deliver, they also do not want to be visited by many people when they give birth.

Two interviewees indicated that there are cases of traditional abortions in the community. However, like pre-marital pregnancy and birth delivery this is not widely discussed. The community seems to just get on with such situations.

Contraception

Young people tend to feel ashamed to ask the HEW for condoms, but they do it and use them. Condoms can be taken from a box hung on the health post's wall, and the HEW explain that youth take them there if they are ashamed to ask her. Sometimes contraceptive issues are discussed with students before the beginning of class in the morning. Even there is a spot where condoms is put for students at school.

The attitude of married men reportedly has improved towards the use of contraceptives. However, they do not like it when their wives have some side effects. For some women it can result in body weight loss, fluctuations in their menstrual cycle and/or over bleeding during menstruation. The husbands mainly don't like when their wives get sick from it.

There are no simple ways for unmarried girls/young women to get contraceptives without the community at large to observe or know about it. The health post is located in the kebele centre and it is unusual for young women to go there as they have not much to do there unless they go for a health issue. Most unmarried young women are afraid of that and they try to get contraception from Benara health centre but still they meet other community members there and they don't like that. There are a few (above 25 age) who get contraceptives from private pharmacies in the town.

Marriage

As reported by young women, recently the age at which girls get married has increased for many reasons. The kebele has indicated that under 18 marriage is not legally allowed. However, if the girl wants to get married, no one stops her. Also, it is not always easy for a girl to know her age, due to parents' low educational status and vital event registration has started only recently in the kebele (it also helps that more women deliver in health facilities). However, the older generation has become more aware that girls under 18 should not get married. Other reasons why young people get married later than in the past include increased girls' participation in school and economic problems. In the past, girls used to get married from the age of 14 to 16; whereas now, they marry starting from 17/18 up to 25 and 26. However, girls from very poor households might agree to get married early (at the age of 15) if they are asked for marriage.

In the community, getting married is seen as blessing and being lucky, even if the community does not stigmatize those who remain unmarried. Women who got married get a sense of security and completeness especially when they have children. No woman wishes to stay unmarried and called *komo ker* (name given to a woman who never got married). Establishing a family is seen as the main goal of women, they have no other life other than that. Getting married is seen as the only way of establishing an independent household, apart from migration.

The disadvantages of getting married for women are possible economic problems especially if she got married to a man who does not have enough income or farm land. They also have high susceptibility to health problems as they get many children.

The unmarried young women (18-19) who are still in school, from a rich and middle-wealth household, respectively, said that they wish to get married after completing university degree studies. The girl from a rich household wishes to get married around the age of 21 and to have two boys and one girl; the other one wishes to get married around the age of 26 or 27 and have two boys and two girls, and she wants to live in Wolayta town after graduation. The rich girl explained that last year she dated a good person, a teacher in the kebele who moved out and lives in another wereda currently. Her grandparents insisted on her education and don't appreciate such things so she keeps in touch with him (he sometimes calls) but they are not in a formal relationship. Both girls said that they have relatives whom

they take as role models - they have finished university and become professionals (a medical doctor and a teacher) serving the community. They wish to be like them. These girls' worries were similar – revolving around what would happen if they don't score enough grades to join university; just becoming a house wife...

The other unmarried young women among those interviewed said that they will get married and/or have children depending on God's will, someday. They haven't planned it. One in her early 20s and from a middle-wealth household said she has a boyfriend who lives abroad in South Africa and she expects that she will get married with him soon – hopefully next year. She has waited him for 2 years.

In addition to the two students above, only one girl said she has planned to continue her education and acquire her diploma; and she believes that her would-be husband will support her in this. Based on the kebele manager's example, she thinks that it is possible to complete university education after getting married. If she has the interest, and her husband also shares her interest, families will provide support in taking care of her children and marriage.

Box 26 Plans for marriage – examples of young girls

Generally, the influence of parents on the choice of a husband was said to have decreased in the recent past, unless if a girl decided to marry a man from a lower clan such as the 'fuga' (crafts workers and 'slaves'). Parents only make sure that they don't have blood relations with the person to be married. Most young people who start a relationship at an early age and are not approved by the family, run away somewhere and return when their families cool down and accept the relation.

Unwanted pregnancy before marriage is said to be a problem among young girls. Finding a husband is not an issue. The most beautiful girls in the community are recommended to families who have a son in South Africa, as a way to secure a safe future, although some young women highlighted that living in South Africa was risky for married young women and some of them would not want that. More generally, these days, girls want to marry men who have a better economic status, and those young men win over the girls they want. Reportedly, there are also young women, who don't care about marriage but are concerned about money and financial security, who target rich young men and manage to get pregnant from them and give birth as a way of securing an economically promising future.

From young men's perspective, getting married is strictly related to having the appropriate financial background. Poorer young men explained that they only will marry when their economic situation improves, regardless of age. On the other hand, sometimes marriage is forced or they have to get married earlier than they planned because of premarital pregnancy. During the FGD one young man said that there are plenty of beautiful girls in the kebele, but young men did not have their own home, farm and job and not even the hope of getting these things in the near future. The others agreed and said that young men remain dependent for long due to lack of access to land, so they can't engage in farming or other non-farm activities due to financial constraints. One of them added that sometimes their family don't even expect them to marry, because they are aware that they cannot afford it.

Interactions with girls take place at school or during church activities. Only a few boys below 20 tend to have girlfriends. People say that *'this guy is having affair with girls before his age, what would happen when he becomes a man?'*. The school does not intervene in opposite sex affairs, but students call a boy having an affair by the girl's name and tease him. Churches have at times tried to intervene, when reportedly, prayer or choir sessions became more like dating sessions.

Life in the community

Young people noted both positive and negative sides to life in Aze Debo. Among the positives they appreciate the weather, the peace in the area, as well as the fact that they have family and friends.

Poverty and unemployment were negative sides which were mentioned by people of different ages and wealth statuses. For example, a young middle-wealth man (19) said that *„there is no much*

change in the community in the past five years. I would like to see that poor people have access to better housing, young people have access to employment, and look good; now poverty is taking away their youth and beauty. If factories are opened and create jobs, that could have helped“.

Regarding relations with peers, there was a consensus that friendships are made at school or church, through sharing a hobby (e.g. volleyball), and also in the villages. It was not clear how/if the attitude to lower clans has changed. The 28-year old poor young man said that there is no discrimination against people from lower clans, except for marriage, but the 27-year old middle-wealth young man said that whilst clan is not a basis for friendship, the outcast clans don't make friends with others, only among themselves. Parents will strongly oppose friendship between outcasts and the so-called higher/chewa clans.

Young men also talked a lot about relations with girls. The 19-year old middle-wealth young man said that older boys want to have girlfriends and have sex either with them or any young girl found by chance, and mostly they use the situation when parents leave the home for market, funerals or weddings. In the past small children were sent to the kebele office to collect condoms but these days a box has been hung up on the wall, which makes it easier. Young men said that most young men use condoms to avoid the risk of HIV, which was said to be on the rise recently, and unwanted pregnancy.

Leisure

Young girls, if they are not married and do not have children, rest if they have time remaining from doing household activities. They participate in church programmes, during which they meet with friends. They tend to also have friends from school or from the neighbourhood. There is a summer football programme in the community for young girls and boys. The kebele youth officer provides training three times in a week during the summer, and about 30 students participate.

Married young women said that as they have children, most of their time they take care of them and they do not have spare time.

Young women explained that the main 'bad habits' in the community are low involvement in religious programmes and chat chewing. Drinking is mostly a male problem, but it concerns girls in the sense that some of the girls tend to hang out with these boys. As the community does not approve of these activities, young people leave the community and go to Durame. Areke drinking is common but people do not want to talk about it.

Young men/boys play volleyball, visit the teashops where their friends are, sometimes go to Durame to watch movies or European champions league matches. Some young boys do not want to play volleyball as it has become an opportunity for young people to 'gamble'. A 17-years old boy said that everyone who wants to play should have 5 birr for a round and if the group wins, pay 5 birr for the person who owns the ball and the net. There is not much support for leisure or sport. In addition to the summer football training programme mentioned above, World Vision provided sport outfits for 24 people in 2010 EC, but the kebele gives them out only for competitions. In 2006 EC the wereda promised to build a youth centre, but nothing has been done yet.

Young men regardless of age or wealth status like listening to music (for example, Kambata music) and watching TV. Songs, funny movies, music, even pornographic movies are saved on phones. The main source are the mobile shops in Durame. Young people also spend time with their friends in the area near the grazing land, or on Sundays, when they go to the church.

Religion

Young women said that young people's involvement in religious activities has increased over the past 4-5 years. Some of them go to church because they really want, others, because they do not want to be discriminated by the community. Missing church programmes can have serious consequences, such as refusal of cemetery service.

Protestant churches organize different religious programmes, such as choir and prayer groups, and strongly encourage young to participate in them (in public) at least once a month. Some girls/ young women attend these activities to spend more time with friends and also establish some contacts with boys outside their homes. As said above, in 2009 EC it turned out that the church programmes were becoming *“dating sessions”* and the church ceased night prayer programmes.

There is one new church opened in Durame by a young man considered as a prophet known as Worku. He is believed to have spiritual gifts (*tsega*) and to heal people. Some young people from Aze Debo go to attend his events. According to some of the young men, Worku focuses more on fundraising, rather than on the religious aspects of this work: they compared this with the practices of old churches in Aze Debo, whose income is audited by a special committee. The new prophet does not have any committee, and he does not report his church's income to anyone. However, young people are being attracted to this church, because he gives prophetic messages like *“you will go to South Africa soon, you will have a driving licence, you will soon buy a car”*. Some of the young men said that none of them got what they were told, but one of them argued that a few had the chance to see what they heard realised in their life.

The new prophets are not accepted by the older generation in Aze Debo. Young men thought that as this new religious trend is likely to attract the youth, this might aggravate the tension and contribute to the gap between the older and the new generations in the community.

Government, development, and politics

Relations between the youth and the government are rather antagonistic. Young people do not want to attend the meetings they are called on, and often they attend only because they are convinced by close friends who are youth organizers. When they attend, often their questions are difficult for the administrators and even the wereda people do not give them satisfactory answers. Some young men ask many confrontational questions, such as *“What is the government doing for us; why are the graduates sitting without a job?”*. Such serious questions are forwarded to the administrators, but the wereda just keeps saying *“we will write your questions and the zone will deal with your issues, since it is beyond our capacity”*. Sometimes those who ask these kinds of question are no longer invited for meetings. Young men also suspected that wereda officials do not raise their questions at zonal level, instead they keep quiet or even pretend to zonal officials that they have ‘convinced’ the young people. Some young men explained that kebele and wereda officials also try to put pressure on those ‘difficult’ young people by getting the *iddirs* to threaten their parents of being excluded, which is a reason why they trust *iddirs* less than clans.

There has been two recent messages from the government to the youth, concerning creating cooperatives and joining the military service. The youth and communication officer of the kebele was invited to the wereda to receive training on that; later he returned with a letter/notice to inform the youth. Every development group leader was also told to pass on the information. For the cooperatives another meeting was held, but young men raised the issue of the saving requirement acting as a barrier, and delays in the provision of loans for those who were able to save.

There is no training or advice to the youth. About four cooperatives received seed money for fattening and dairy farming. The initial saving requirement was about 20%; then it was reduced to 10% after complaints (the kebele rural job creation officer explained that this was done at the same time as other changes, such as a higher amount as maximum loan). These cooperatives (which do not include the bee-keeping cooperative as it didn't need credit) did not receive any land.

As per young women's opinion, there are various associations, but most of them do not have a real role. Young people do not see any benefit coming from participation in these groups, so they are not interested in actively participating. They added that party membership is kind of mandatory for married women in the community, as it is said to have to do with access to different services.

Ideas coming into the community

Mobile phones

Mobile phones started to be used in the community around 2001 EC. In 2010 EC reportedly there are more than 3,000 mobile phones in Aze Debo. Most young females have brick phones, but there are also some with intel and smartphones and using android. Phones are used to communicate with friends, listen to the music, watch movies, and use internet.

Online social media, information websites

Due to limited internet connection, people gather videos from internet cafes and video and music shops. However, a few young men use Facebook from internet cafes in Durame. There are a few young women who do the same, but fewer than young men. Young men said that Facebook, WhatsApp, Facebook messenger, IMO, Viber, and Opera Mini browser are used by the youth in the community, with Facebook the most widely used. The church has been trying to advise young followers to focus on their education instead of sitting on social media for long hours. Apps like IMO, WhatsApp and Viber are said to be used to send girls' picture to South Africa by relatives of young men who live there. In this way the diaspora chose their wives from the community.

TV and satellite TV channels

Most families watch the regional TV channel 'Southern TV'. More and more tea shops have TV sets to attract customers. A few young women manage to watch Kana and other movies on satellite TV once or twice a week in the kebele. Whenever they go to the town, they have free and better access to watch the movies.

Young men said that there is limited access to TV for young men in the village, but some come to town on Sunday afternoon and watch entertainment programmes on EBC like the 'Zenek' programme. JTV and EBS are also watched whenever available at teashops in Durame.

Presence TV, 'Prophet Eyu Chufa's TV' and other spiritual channels, broadcasting healing and worship and gospel preaching sessions are also watched in Durame although as mentioned earlier, the older generation and the long-established churches try to discourage young people from engaging with these new churches and pastors, suspecting them to be 'false prophets'.

Regarding radio, young men said that Dehub/South FM and Durmea Mahibereseb radio in Kambata language are broadcasted, and listened by the youth because they play a lot of music. Young people switch across channels looking for music when other programmes are running, because they are less interested in any speech or other programmes that these radios try to disseminate. The national radio programmes are often available at home and in shops. Young people also listen to the programmes they prefer (often leisure programmes) on their mobile phones.

Clothing styles and music

Young women wear torn skinny trousers and short, tight tops. Also men started to wear more tight, Chinese-made trousers and t-shirts. Migrants and young people from Durame are taken as models with regard to clothing. Young men watch European champions league football matches so especially since about three years they try to imitate haircuts from European football players.

Young men watch music videos on their mobile phones. They are more affected by foreign culture than women. Men watch videos with their girlfriends when they spend time together. FM radio expansion, and the possibility of storing music on phones is facilitating interest in music. Amharic and Kambata music is very popular. Tedi Afro is well known.

Food

Bread, doughnuts and sambusa are gaining popularity in the kebele. There is a bakery, and samosas are sold on the main road side. Young men mentioned that some people drink beer, but only in

Durame. Besides, chewing *chat* is also becoming a new habit, but because the community does not approve of it, they go to Durame for this. However, there are also people who are not afraid of being criticized and they drink and chew *chat* in *areke* houses in the kebele.

Women do not chew *chat*, but married women above 30 are known for enjoying drinking *areke*.

Adult perspectives on young people

Female farmers stressed that young men are not committed to their education, and usually they want to complete grade 10 just to get a driving license, or to migrate elsewhere. Male farmers highlighted the lack of access to land and of job opportunities as major problems for young men and women in Aze Debo. They thought that these issues were more of a challenge for young men, as in the Kambata culture they are seen as the breadwinners. As farmers have children attending high school they fear and worry about their future. Even the richest person in Aze Debo had problems with sending his children to school: he wished to send his daughter to private college in Durame and hoped to buy a motorbike to his son but this became unaffordable due the much lower coffee production in the past few years. Therefore he was helping his son to get a driver's licence for truck and he gave his daughter 1,500 birr to engage in trading banana.

Apart from landlessness and lack job opportunities, worries expressed by adults included:

- the lack of hope and 'bad habits' (chewing chat and drinking): in farmers' opinion, at least 20% of the community's young people chew chat and drink alcohol, but only in Durame - they believed that young people do not drink areke in the community.
- migration without a plan: some young people migrate anywhere desperately in search of jobs, and then return if they find life difficult.
- girls not getting married on time which puts them under stress to try and get a job. This happens because most young men do not have their own house and lack an income. Some few lucky girls are getting married to a few successful young men and men from rich families, whilst a few others might even decide to marry older men because they have enough land and a house which those girls consider as a security for their household.

Farmers also said that when the rich young men, or families having children in South Africa can buy a motorbike or a bajaj to their children, the other young men from poor or middle-income families feel hopeless. If relatives do not support young people in the purchase of a vehicle, sometimes they do not even have a chance to use their driving license.

Female farmers believed that there is almost zero government activity aimed to improve life skills of young people in the community. Young people are highly influenced by peer pressure, modern movies and 'modern practices' they observe on media, including music videos. These bad habits are said to contribute to the increase in HIV and pre-marital pregnancy among girls.

Youth policies and programmes

Wereda level

Wereda structures to support rural youth

The wereda Youth and Sport Office is responsible for engaging rural youth in income generating activities. Before its establishment in 2005 EC, the office was under the wereda Agricultural Office. The main objectives of the Office are about creating job opportunities for young people and enabling them to engage in productive work. It is also about encouraging young people to not migrate in search of job and building their awareness and positive attitudes with a focus on economic and social affairs. Shaping the political consciousness of the youth is an additional objective.

Wereda data on youth unemployment

There are a total of 3,800 unemployed youth in the wereda and about 2,680 of them are rural youth. The data on youth and employment status disaggregated by age and gender is kept at the socio-economic political and geographical information department in the wereda office. There are officers who are responsible for documentation which is updated periodically. The data is used whenever necessary and when such studies are conducted.

Interventions and beneficiaries

The main tasks of the Youth and Sport Office are to assess, identify and maintain information on the number of young people who have and don't have a job in all the kebeles. The office has 18 rural job promotion officers assigned to each of the 18 rural kebeles in the wereda. After creating the necessary awareness and supportive attitudes, these officers assess and get the list of jobless youth from these kebeles. Once the jobless youth are identified and awareness is created, they organize them in groups to run businesses. There are different job opportunity creation packages, and the youth are organized to run these packages, as follow: (a) farming, which has to do with cultivating the land and harvesting the produce; (b) farming-related, which has to do with livestock rearing and fattening, like chicken production and bee-keeping; (c) non-farming, which is about trading, like trading in tea and coffee and mining sands and stones.

People who finished education and do not have jobs, if they have less than 0.2 ha of land and are living with their parents whilst being between 18 and 34-year old and not going to school, are considered as unemployed. If they are running things like consumers' shops, barber shops/beauty salons, cottage wood workshops and the like, they are considered to be having jobs. In early 2018 the total number of young people who are participating in job packages in the wereda was 1,428.

As explained by the head of the office, budget is a serious constraint in their activities:

The needs of the young people are not limited, what is limited is the budget we have. It takes up to 600,000 birr for bull fattening. The youth need a substantial amount of money. For instance, 62,000 birr is not sufficient to purchase and fatten four bulls. When we see the budget available and the needs of the young people and when we ask whether the young people are involved in the jobs they prefer, we have gaps in these areas.

Kebele level

Kebele structures to support rural youth

From 2005 EC onwards, rural youth were supported by one officer serving three kebeles. This was changed in 2009 EC, when one job creation officer was assigned to each kebele. Although it has budget implications, it strengthens the kebele level work done in supporting the youth and enables close follow-up and guidance. All these officers are based at the kebele offices. They are responsible for many aspects of the government activity, starting from identification of unemployed youth and identifying youth's specific interest for certain income-generating activities (IGA), organizing them in groups, and allocating them various IGA. They get technical assistance by the wereda office and other officers at the kebele level.

Youth unemployment data in the kebele

The number of jobless youth identified in the kebele in 2010 EC was said to be 122 (77 men and 45 female). The kebele officials made a distinction between jobless (*siraat*) and idler (*sirafet*). A jobless means someone who is interested but who is not working because of lack of money and non-fulfilment of other conditions. The office does not count the idlers i.e. those who have the capacity, but do nothing, or have no interest, or who decline job offers. This distinction may explain the difference between the identified 122 unemployed youth, and the 426 young people recorded in the kebele statistics who completed grade 10 or TVET at least, and are still depending on their parents.

Interventions and beneficiaries

The Rural Job Opportunity Creation Officer's responsibility starts by identifying young people who are jobless based on the checklist prepared by the wereda. All the DTs identify the jobless youth in their teams, list their names in the format developed by the wereda, which includes their level of education, and then submit the list to the officer. Before names are put in the official registry, the list is re-assessed in a public conference. Once this is done, it means their joblessness is ratified and they will be allowed to take loans based on the priority set and the amount of loan made available by government. The loans are delivered through OMO MFI, including for the Youth Revolving Fund which started recently, once youth have been identified.

When the Youth Revolving Fund started operating a number of bottlenecks believed to be preventing the youth from participating and performing on the basis of their interest were addressed. In the old regulations, it was not allowed for more than two persons from the same family to be organized in a group; now this restriction is lifted. The allowed age bracket, which was 18-29, has been extended to 34. The advance saving requirement which was 20% of the loan is reduced now to 10%. The interest rate which was 10% is reduced to 8%. Also, the size of the maximum loan allowed has been increased, provided the group can save enough.

The trajectory of creation of cooperatives since 2005 EC is outlined below.

The program started in 2005 EC. That year it was started by bull fattening when a group of five young people were given a loan of 28,000 birr to be fully paid back in two years. The group (including one young woman) fully paid back the loan together with the interests. At first, they had saved with Omo MFI 20% of the loan (7,000 birr). The 28,000 birr they took was 80% of the loan. They were first given 15,000 birr and after assessing their performance with this amount within one week, the rest was released for them, including the 7,000 birr they had saved. This means they were operating with 35,000 birr. They are still working on bull fattening. At that time, for the first loan, the youth were required to save 20% of their profit; 30% for the second loan; and 50% for the third loan. The government assumption is that after that the young people have become self-sufficient and they will not be eligible for further government loans. This was the regulation until before Megabit 2009.

In 2006 EC three groups were formed: two in chicken raising and the other in bull fattening. In total, there were 15 members out of which nine were women. Each of the two chicken raising groups took a loan of 48,000 birr. The bull fattening group took a loan of 28,000 birr. This is because chicken production needs a lot of investment, including a house with cement floor, ventilation, wire-mesh, and electricity to keep the chickens warm. In one of the groups, some of the members got jobs in government and other fields of business after completing the group's work. The other group is still in the business and have applied for an additional loan. When the groups bought the pullets the cost of one pullet was 43 birr including their vaccination, feed and veterinary service. They become ready for sale within 48 days at which time they are sold for 50 birr each. The buyers are those who want to raise the chicken further to resell them, whereas the groups were not allowed to grow the birds for more than 48 days, which was specified in the agreement when they started the business.

In 2007 EC five groups of 25 members in total were organized in the kebele. Two of the groups were for sheep fattening. Each took a loan of 20,000 birr. The time officially set for sheep fattening is three months after which they should repay. The groups repaid the loans. One of the groups reorganized itself in bull fattening. The other did not survive.

In 2008 EC, seven groups were organized in the kebele, with a total of 35 members, including five women. All the groups were organized for bull fattening. Each group got a loan of 20,000 birr; hence a total of 140,000 birr was disbursed. There are supposed to be three rounds of bull fattening in one year. One of the groups failed to go for six rounds as they should have. Since the time limit has passed they are having to repay the loan in full. The other six groups performed all the six rounds within the time limit but they have not yet fully paid back their loans.

In 2009 EC, 10 groups were organized under the old modality (52 members including 11 women) and

eight groups were organized under the new modality (40 members including 6 women). For the first 10 groups a total of 208,000 birr was disbursed as lending capital. For the eight groups organized under the new modality a total of 736,768 birr was disbursed. The 10 groups under the old modality are on bull fattening and they are still running as their operating time has not yet expired. The other eight groups are also performing. In total, 92 jobless youth were organized in economic groups in the kebele in 2009 EC.

In 2010 EC, there was one group organized in raising one-day roosters. The office transferred the money to the organization supplying the little birds in Wolkite.

Other groups are organized in sand, stone and gravel production which are activities that do not need advance savings and loans. They just take out the available resources to earn an income. In 2010 EC, three such groups were organized with a total membership of 48 out of which 12 are women. They retrieve the sand and stone from the course of a river. Five other quarrying groups were organized earlier, with a total membership of 86 including 28 women. They are currently operating as well. Sino and N3 trucks come to transport their produce. The office provides them with follow up and support so that they grow and become able to get loans. Part of this is having them save 30% of their net income while they share the 70% among the members as their dividends. The groups are organised for two years. They pay tax to government on the basis of the truck loads they have extracted. They also pay annual tax to the government. If not they would lose their licenses. They run in coordination and under the follow up of the water, energy and mines office.

Box 27 History of cooperatives in Aze Debo

The officer said that there are some challenges, including that: not all jobless youths want to work in groups. Most of the graduates also prefer to be employed as civil servants. Out of the jobless youth those who want to organize and work in groups are less than 50%. The main reason is the fear that some members may run away or misuse the money. Getting on with one another is also mentioned as a challenge.

Perceptions of the interventions

The first things mentioned by people in Aze Debo in relation to government efforts of job creation for young people are the inadequacy of interventions focusing on the farming sector, failing to meet young people's aspirations; the lack of sufficient resources which could encourage them to join these interventions, especially land and capital; and migration emerging as the only way out for those who do not have any job. The kebele chairman added delays in loan provision, and that saving requirements were a big issue:

Credit is delayed for a long time even though these poor youth groups are able to save the big amount loaded on them. Without parent's help most of these young people would not be able to save this matching fund.

With regard to the fit between government focus and young people's aspirations one female farmer said that:

There are no government interventions that helps young people to involve in the fields of work they prefer to make a living like technical trainings for woodwork, electricity and the like. Young people today are less interested in participating on agriculture related activities.

This view was confirmed by a young man involved in bee-keeping, who also pointed at the small amount of capital made available and highlighted an additional problem as usually the wereda does not agree to release the full amount of capital at once:

The wereda is trying to bring the youth into cooperatives, and most of the activities are farming like bull fattening, irrigation, beekeeping etc, but the problem is the kebele has no land to give to these cooperatives and the youth are expected to work on their parents' farm which made the cooperatives activity difficult. Besides seed money is not available on time and usually only half of it is available, which makes the beginning of the business difficult

until the second half of the budget is made available, since the capital is already small (100,000 birr for 5 young people).

Young men in the FDG also identified these issues. They said that the government is trying very hard to bring youth into cooperatives, but there are many obstacles that discourage them:

- recruitment is not fair – some of them believed that not all youth have equal chance to be recruited and to get loan;
- all activities “*must be on farming, which requires youth to have land, but that is not the reality*”;
- the requirement with regard to pre-requisite savings does not take the situation of the youth in consideration, as parents do not have enough money to give their children to start businesses or to save for their children in order to access credit;
- the money is not available on time.

There was inconsistent information on the amount of loans that cooperatives could obtain. A young man member of a cooperative which recently accessed a loan to engage in dairy farming said that cooperatives used to get 50,000 birr if they were able to save enough, but now if they are able to save 13,000 birr, they can get about 150,000 birr. But one rich farmer said that the government gives 100,000 birr for five people in one cooperative, which means 20,000 birr per person; he claimed that “*it doesn’t help much to create a business*”. This may reflect the fact that the new modalities under which bigger loans are possible, are not yet much known. In the same way most respondents from the community did not seem to know that saving requirements had been decreased from 20 to 10%.

Young women explained that there are job opportunities provided by the government through the rural youth package, but they too raised the difficulty of being able to meet the saving requirements; and that whereas job opportunities eligible to get loans are mostly about livestock production such as fattening and breeding, young men are less interested in these. So, they prefer to go to other towns and engage in labour work in industry sites or other businesses.

Other respondents like the rich farmer above, talked about “*partners in a cooperative (being) not equally committed*”. This means that some young people can run away with their share or spend the money as soon as they get it, as in the case of this family which wanted to find a solution to keep their son who was about to join the military:

He took a 20,000 birr loan from the government youth revolving fund to fatten oxen with four other group members. However, none of them has started fattening; instead, they used it on other business plans and some just spent the money. This young man didn’t repay back the loan he took and he ran away from the government. However, his close relatives work in government and they were discussing with his family how they could pay back and free him from being accountable whilst also avoiding him to join the military.

The same farmer added, in relation to the effectiveness of the cooperatives, that:

It does not help stop migration. I don’t believe that the youth could improve their life with this money. Plus, the money doesn’t come on time for the youth to start the work right away after orientation. The wereda gives 50,000 birr, that is, half, and the remaining half is delayed for a long time. I know a cooperative whose members already spent the first round of the seed money before the second round of capital was released by the wereda.

Young men, in turn, mentioned that if there is no intervention to satisfy and make the youth to be self-sufficient and get busy in doing something, the relation of the young people with both the older generation and the government will get even worse. One of them said that, the conflict and riots seen elsewhere in the country might start here too.