

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

COMMUNITY SITUATION END 2011

AZE DEBO'A, SNNP

STAGE 2 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 2

Catherine Dom

Researched by Dename Eyoel and Mulugeta Eyoel



February 2013

This report is one of eight Community Situation 2012 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage 2 of the 'Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia' research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Aze Debo'a in the Kembata zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples (SNNP) Region at the end of 2011 using a number of different perspectives. The fieldwork which produced the database from which the report was written was undertaken in late 2011 and early 2012. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Stage 2 Final Report Methodology Annex. Our methodology ensures that all statements in the Report are connected to interviews in the database so that in case of queries we can go back to the sources of the statements. These sources are a multitude of interviews with *wereda* officials, *kebele* officials, other community leaders and notables, rich-to-poor farmers and their wives, young-to-old dependent adults, and young people between the ages of 11 and 29. (Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs). The Community Situation reports are also informed by earlier research in the sites in 1995 when village studies were produced (WIDE I), and during the Wellbeing in Developing Countries research in 2003 (WIDE 2). Comparisons of the trajectories of change are addressed in separate parts of the Stage 2 Final Report documentation. Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on www.ethiopiawide.net.

Community as a whole	1
Community parts making the whole in 2012.....	1
Terrain	1
Climate and weather	1
Environment	1
Spatial patterns.....	1
Internal roads, paths and bridges	2
Community land use	2
Public buildings.....	3
Modern infrastructure.....	3
Community whole in context in 2012	3
The <i>wereda</i>	3
Main linkages	5
Markets.....	5
Market linkages	5
Public services outside <i>kebele</i>	5
Migration linkages	6
Marriage linkages	6
External roads and bridges	6
Comparison with other <i>kebele</i> in <i>wereda</i>	7
Plans for new interventions by <i>wereda</i>	7
Important events/changes affecting the community	7
Crises since 2005.....	7
Other important events and changes since 2005	7
Development progress	8
<i>Wereda</i> plans for the future	8
Community opinions about plans for the future	8
Key sub-system: households in 2012.....	8
Household structures.....	8
Households in Aze Debo'a: some examples	9
Important political leader's household.....	9
Economically successful man's household	12
Household of farmer of middle wealth	16
Household of poor farmer	19
Household of successful woman head	21
Household of poor – middle-wealth woman.....	22
Structures of inequality in 2012	23
Wealth, poverty and class and household composition differences.....	23

Overall community wealth	23
Spatial poverty	23
Household wealth/poverty and class and household composition differences.....	23
Inequality within households.....	25
Problems poor people face.....	25
Social identity	25
Ethnicity	25
Clan / lineage / family	26
Religion	26
Native/immigrant	27
Vulnerability and social exclusion	27
Disabled and chronically ill people	27
Residents in remote parts of the <i>kebele</i>	28
Immigrants.....	29
Landless/non-taxpayers.....	29
Destitute people	30
Craftworkers	30
‘Slaves’	30
Non-members of the EPRDF	30
Unmarried mothers, widows, divorcées, wives abandoned by polygynous husbands	31
PLWHAs	32
Orphans/ stepchildren	32
Elderly people without relatives to help them	33
Genderage	33
Growing up in Aze Debo’a – boys and girls	33
Growing up male in Aze Debo’a	34
Growing up female in Aze Debo’a	37
Gender inequities	42
Age inequities	42
Social equity interventions	42
Assistance to poor people	42
Interventions to help vulnerable people	43
Promoting equity for women	45
Youth policies and programmes	47
Fields of action /domains of power in 2012.....	49
Cross-cutting.....	49
Climate change	49
Environment	49
Infrastructure.....	51
Urban development.....	52
Livelihoods and recent events/changes	53
Generally.....	53
Smallholder Agriculture	54
Non-farm occupations	66
Marketing	70
PSNP and other food-for-work	71
Savings, credit and debt.....	78
Co-operatives.....	82
Migration	82
Theft and burglary	88
Human re/production.....	88
Houses and household assets.....	88
Domestic technologies	88
Fuel and light	88
Drinking water	88
Domestic work.....	89
Leisure and play.....	89
Preventive health services	90
Food security, diet and malnutrition	97
Reproductive health and services.....	101
Curative health services.....	103
Child-rearing practices and changes	105
Education	105
Community management	115
<i>Wereda</i> structure.....	115
<i>Kebele</i> and party structures.....	115

NGOs.....	128
Community structures involved in implementation of government policies	130
Social re/production	132
Social institutions and organisations	132
Key social actors and their networks	143
Social interactions within the community	150
External relations.....	153
Social cohesion in the community and beyond	153
Ideas in the community	154
Local customary repertoire.....	154
Local modern repertoire.....	154
Government ideology and interventions.....	155
Radio and television.....	155
Ethnic ideologies.....	156
Religious ideologies	156
Urban connections and ideas	156
Diaspora connections and ideas	156
Globalisation	156

Maps, boxes and tables

Map 1: Aze Debo'a kebele and its parts (2012).....	2
Map 2: Kedida Gambela wereda in Kembata zone	4
Box 1: Child-headed household in Aze Debo'a	33
Box 2: History of female circumcision in Aze Debo'a	38
Box 3: Youth aspirations in Aze Debo'a	47
Box 4: Crop production strategies of different farmers in Aze Debo'a in 2012	57
Box 5: Work opportunities at the coffee washing plant in Aze Debo'a (2012)	66
Box 6: The self-made stone crusher in Aze Debo'a	69
Box 7: Microfinance institutions in the wereda and credit in Aze Debo'a	78
Box 8: Diet in Aze Debo'a (2012): differences between households.....	97
Box 9: The story of KMG and the fight against female circumcision in Aze Debo'a	99
Box 10: Young men: tax payment and contributions	120
Box 11: KMG activities in the Kembata zone	129
Box 12: Meskel in Aze Debo'a	133
Table 1: Land use in Aze Debo'a (2012).....	54
Table 2: Number of households and people benefiting from the PSNP in 2005 and in 2011	72
Table 3: Poverty and PSNP selection in Aze Debo'a	72
Table 4: Plan & Achievement in health activities in Aze Debo'a in 2003 EC (Sep 2010 to Aug 2011)	91
Table 5: Pupil per classroom and pupil per teacher in Aze Debo'a Grade 1-8 school.....	108

Community as a whole

Community parts making the whole in 2012

Aze Debo'a is one of 18 (17 rural and 1 urban) *kebele* of the Kedida-Gamela *wereda* in the Kembata-Tembaro zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region. The *kebele* boundaries did not change since 1995 GC. The *kebele* shares borders with two other *weredas* of the same zone (westward and northward), and one *wereda* of the Hadiya zone (southward). The total population at the time of the fieldwork was reported to be 3,589 men and 3,735 women (7,324 in total).

Terrain

There was no change in the physical terrain since 1995 GC. The *kebele* lies between 1,800 and 2,995 masl. Much of it is *woinedega* (midland and moderately warm) flat land. Less than a fourth of the *kebele*, on its northern part, is considered as *dega* (highland and colder). That 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 (3,058 masl).

Climate and weather

There should be rain twice a year, with a short dry season between mid-February and April and the main rainy season from June to September. The average temperature varies from 12 to 26°C over the year.

A number of community respondents said that the weather was changing and rain was more erratic, which was making agricultural undertakings more challenging even though the market price for cash crop like coffee was rising. There had been three drought years out of the last five. In 2008 the drought was very severe and lasted long, and there had been total failure of crops except *enset* and a few fruit trees. People explained that the groundwater potential, which is better in the *kebele* than on average in the *wereda*, is decreasing as well.

Environment

The hillsides used to be affected by flooding and erosion. However in the past decade a lot of activities were undertaken to mitigate this, with government (including PSNP public works) and NGO support. Terracing, tree planting in annual campaigns, grass planting, area enclosures and stone and soil bund construction, carried out on the hillsides, begin to have an impact. Two hundred thousand tree seedlings have been planted on communal land in the *kebele* (it is not clear over what period); private woodlots have been developed. One challenge is that people do not want to build soil and water conservation structures on their land as it encroaches on often already very small holdings.

Spatial patterns

The main road to the *wereda* capital splits the *kebele* into two parts. The public buildings and the main primary school are concentrated in the same area of flat land alongside the main road. The second primary school is also found in the flat land. A coffee washing plant was established three years ago on private land in one of the villages (also in the flat land and not far from the main road).

The *kebele* is also crossed by the Markosa River and there are other smaller rivers. Availability of water was indeed one of the reasons which pushed the investor to want to establish the coffee washing plant in the *kebele*.

have been enclosed. Very little land is irrigated in the *kebele* (2 ha), although respondents at all levels (*wereda*, *kebele* and community) highlighted that there was good potential in Aze Debo'a compared to other *kebele* of the *wereda*.

Some land was allocated to an investor from Durame who established the coffee washing plant (0.5 ha) and to construct the Millennium primary school (10 ha). There is also someone who has a license from the *wereda* to exploit some land and provide sand and stone for construction. There is a regional ban preventing any land to be given for external investment in agriculture in the Kembata zone, as the zone is known for its scarcity of farmland.

Public buildings

There are two primary schools in the *kebele*. The Aze Debo'a Primary School established under the Derg is found near the *kebele* administration compound. The second school was built with Japanese funding and opened for the Ethiopian Millennium. The *kebele* administration, health post and FTC buildings and land are all found in the same fenced and guarded compound. The first buildings were also built under the Derg. New buildings were constructed in the past five years including the health post, the FTC, and offices for the DAs. They are well built and enjoy electricity, water from the protected well just outside of the compound, and a model latrine constructed for the health post.

Drinking water coverage is good in the *kebele* compared to the rest of the *wereda*. *Kebele* officials explained that no one from the community is drinking water from rivers or ponds any longer. However, as in the rest of the *wereda* maintenance is an issue. Of the 18 water points in Aze Debo'a, six (one third) were not functional at the time of the research (compared to roughly half for the *wereda* as a whole) – according to *wereda* officials. Much of the water infrastructure development was financed by various NGOs and churches over the years (UNICEF, World Vision, Save the Children USA, and a big push by Kalehiwot church).

Modern infrastructure

The mobile network reached the *kebele* in 2010 and it is estimated that 250 people from the *kebele* have their own mobile. A wireless phone installed in 2009 continues to function in the *kebele* office. Phone helps families to stay in touch with relatives including migrants. Many also mentioned that they could call the vet or the ambulance when necessary.

Electricity reached the *kebele* some two years ago, which some respondents linked to a post-2005 and pre-2010 electoral measure as the *kebele* had voted for the opposition in 2005. Electricity is available in most of the churches, in the main primary school, the health post, the FTC and *kebele* offices, and at private houses of people who afforded the meter (1,500 birrs). By end October 2011 there were 15 people connected. Other people extend lines from a richer neighbour and pay 15 birr for one bulb for one month. Community respondents explained that people who cannot afford but also those living on the hillsides do not benefit from electricity and there is no plan to extend lines there as it is very expensive.

Community whole in context in 2012

The *wereda*

Kedida -Gamela *wereda* is one of the seven *weredas* in the Kembata-Tembaro zone of the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). Durame, the capital of both the zone and Kedida-Gamela *wereda* is located at a distance of 290 km from Addis Ababa through the Hosanna road in the South-West direction; and 130 km away from the Region's capital, Hawassa. The main road connecting it to these places is being asphalted with among others locally raised funds. Apart from this the *wereda* has poor internal communication and a lack of roads linking the *kebele* to each other and to Durame. In 2010 there was only 33 km of all-weather road in the *wereda* as a whole.

Excluding the town of Durame which has its own separate administration, Kedida-Gamela is the

second most densely populated *wereda* in the zone. Moreover, a comparatively large proportion of the population is food insecure due mainly to land shortage. The pressure on land has been very high because in addition to population growth, many settlers returned to their home area after ethnic clashes in the settlement areas linked to the EPRDF regionalisation policy. As a result, the average landholding in the *wereda* is small (less than 0.34 ha for 40% of the households).

As explained by *wereda* officials the very small landholdings, environmental degradation which has just begun to be reversed, lack or inadequate use of modern farming technologies and lack of attention and of means to develop irrigation all combine to explain the *wereda* low productivity and production, in spite of its relatively high potential and good market access.

Map 2: Kedida Gambela wereda in Kembata zone

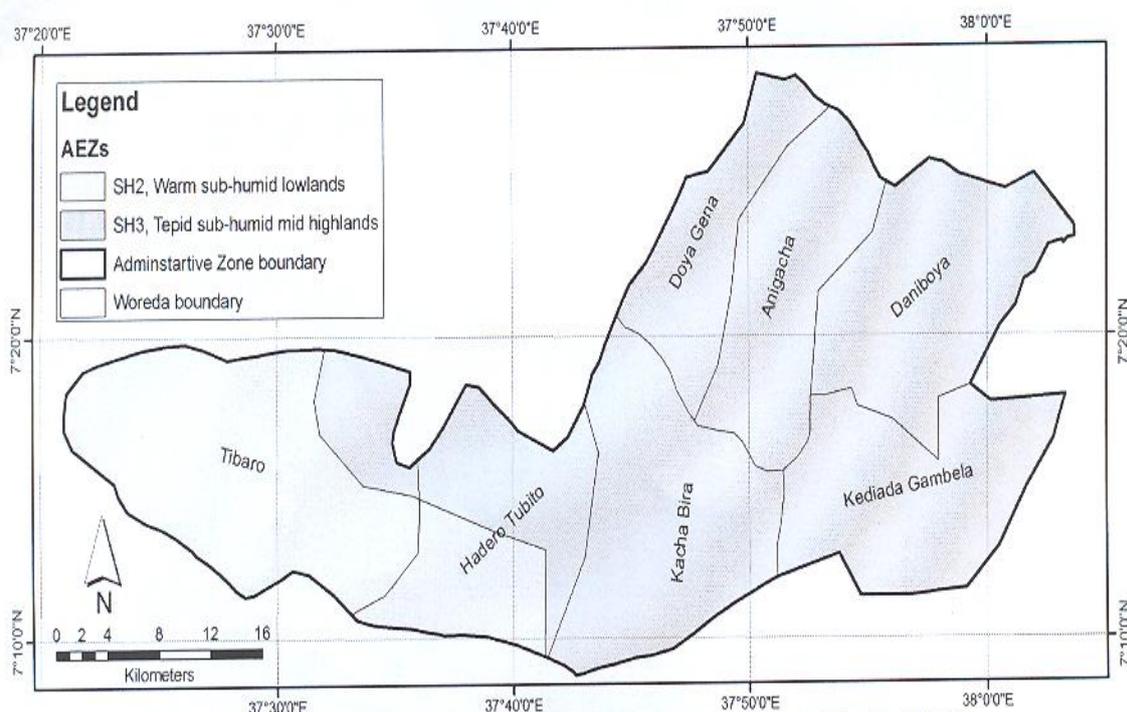


Figure 2: AEZs of Kembata & Tembaro zone by woredas (MoARD & EARI, 2008)

The *wereda* is also characterised by high unemployment rate. According to data from the zonal administration, in 2010 there were 5,235 (3,804 male and 1,431 female) and 176 (157 male and 19 female) unemployed grade 10 and grade 12 graduates in the *wereda*. *Wereda* officials stressed the need to strongly work on developing the small and micro enterprise sector, that this was a new policy of the government and the *wereda* Trade & Industry office was ‘working on this’.

The *wereda* is known for its high achievements with regard to hygiene and sanitation, disease prevention and maternal and child health services. Eight *kebele* have been declared open defecation free; 80% of the married women use contraceptives; under-five mortality has become very rare. In terms of nutrition there are activities by the government and several NGOs, and during the drought of 2008 Samaritan Purse was a major support with regard to nutritional supplements for needy people. There is an adequate number of health centres but they lack drugs and trained professionals in adequate number, like in the zone as a whole.

The *wereda* is average with regard to educational achievements. There are one to two schools in each *kebele*, though they face shortages of textbooks, desks, classrooms and trained teachers. There are no tertiary education institutions in the Kembata zone as a whole. The community perceives this as a big constraint even though as the students from a particular Region have equal access to all

universities across the country. *Wereda* officials stressed that the *wereda* was working aggressively to strengthen education quality and train and upgrade teachers. They said that dropout had decreased compared to eight to ten years ago. But there is no consensus on this as other respondents explained that the increasing migration meant that youth were dropping out or losing interest in education even if they would have been capable of continuing.

There are many non-government actors working in the *wereda* and contributing to developmental activities in a big way. Protestant churches are among them with activities in many different fields.

The zone is well known for its strong women self-help organisation KMG (*Kembata Mentti Gezzima*), founded in 1997 by Bogaletch and Fikirte Gebre, sisters born in a rural Kembata family, and with its HQ in Durame. KMG has been very strong in promoting women's rights in the much conservative Kembata society. It has been very instrumental in initiating awareness-raising and other activities against Female Genital Mutilation (FGM), well before the EPRDF government in turn took up the issue. A number of respondents highlighted that the recent NGO law had led to a decrease in the strength with which these types of activities were pursued.

Main linkages

The community is connected to the outside world through clan, marriage, religion, migration/resettlement, job and market links, as well as for education, health and administrative services.

Every clan member in Aze Debo'a is linked with his clan member in other *kebele*. Most clans hold one or two meetings in a year which are attended by all clan members found in different *kebele*. Clan members are also expected to attend the funeral of their clan members in the community or elsewhere and if not, to send some money to the family of the deceased person.

There are also strong ties among members of the same Christian denomination in different *kebele*. They help each other and organise spiritual conferences together. People have relatives by marriages etc. in other rural and urban communities.

In some families which were forcibly resettled under the Derg and returned, some members stayed in the resettlement area and may be in contact with their families in Aze Debo'a. Less than ten households in the *kebele* have resettled through the recent government resettlement programme – the community has terrible memories of the Derg resettlement.

Markets

There are many local markets around Aze Debo'a but no market in the *kebele* itself. Most commonly people go to the markets of Durame and Shinshisho. Both are on the main road passing by Aze Debo'a (gravel all weather, being asphalted) and are accessible by public transport. Since a few years it is also possible to hire transport like carts and motorbikes. People can also walk to Durame.

Market linkages

There are dense linkages with local markets for most people in the community. Many households sell fruits, coffee, grain or livestock there, either directly or through intermediaries. The community is also buying household goods on those markets. Recently a shop has opened in Aze Debo'a and the woman running the shop buys her goods in Durame. Aze Debo'a is also linked to markets farther away in the Kembata zone, and in Addis Ababa, mainly through the coffee trade. There are some people engaged in quite large-scale trade but on the whole it seems that – apart from coffee - product marketing is not very developed and market integration is weak (e.g. fruits seem to be sold in small-scale operations run by young women collecting fruits from a few households).

Public services outside *kebele*

As a result of geographical proximity, there are strong linkages between Aze Debo'a and the Durame urban community. Rich households from Aze Debo'a build houses in Durame and their children

attending school in the town live there; or open shops or have children who moved there and opened shops; or have children living with relatives and attending school in Durame. People go to Durame for administrative and business matters, banking, education and health services, and market and shopping. Especially on market days in Durame town, people from Aze Debo'a visit the house of their relatives after they finished their business in the market.

In Durame town there is a health centre, a hospital and two private clinics, a government secondary and preparatory school and a government TVET institution, and one private college providing diplomas and degrees in certain fields like nursing and others. Two micro-finance institutions, the government-initiated OMO and the World Vision-established Wisdom, have offices in town, though they are currently not working in Aze Debo'a. There is another general secondary school in Adilo, the second smaller town in the *wereda*, but most people send their children to Durame.

The community has also links with other towns in Ethiopia: youth pursuing their education at university, people seeking health services elsewhere - including PLWHA not wanting to disclose their status, and people having jobs elsewhere in a few cases.

Migration linkages

Migration patterns have changed. In the past, outmigration was seasonal, to other parts of the country, and concerning almost exclusively young men and boys. Nowadays seasonal outmigration has significantly decreased while longer term migration abroad has significantly increased. Young men and boys migrate in large numbers in South Africa (more than 20 from the community in a year). Young women and girls have started moving to big cities like Addis Ababa and Hawassa to work as housemaids, or as daily labourers in flower and other private farms of the country. Since a couple of years they have also started to move to the Gulf countries to work as housemaids and a few migrate to South Africa through marriages with Kembata men who live there for several years.

Thus currently, a significant number of households in the *kebele* have international linkages with family members and relatives living in other countries. The highest number of migrants is found in South Africa, followed by the Gulf countries, USA and Europe. This is discussed in detail later in the report.

Marriage linkages

Marriage linkages are regulated through the Kembata clan and lineage system, even though rules are less strictly adhered to than in the past (see section 4.5 on marriage). This means that community people may have relatives all over the Kembata zone.

External roads and bridges

There is one main gravel road built under the Derg and crossing the *kebele* east-westward. It goes on the one hand to Durame, the *wereda* centre and also zonal capital, and on the other to Hossana. It has started to be asphalted in October 2011 which community respondents appreciate as it will further facilitate transportation of goods to the market and cut costs. The works are apparently paid out of money contributed by the communities living in the *weredas* located along the road.

There is public transport to and from Durame although people are unhappy as they are asked to pay the full Durame-Shinshicho tariff (7 birr) whereas the distance to Aze Debo'a is much less (4 kms). Since a few years there are also motorbikes, transporting passengers on a contract basis to and from Durame and between villages. They tend to have no fixed price (from 2-3 birr to 10 birr) and prices go up on market days. There are a few donkey- or horse-drawn carriages for people and goods. They work mainly on market days and as they are less expensive they are used by poorer people.

Private trucks can also be hired, for instance by traders collecting and reselling coffee or people exploiting the stone and gravel quarries found in the *kebele*. And thanks to the road the community also has access to ambulance services.

Comparison with other *kebele* in *wereda*

Aze Debo'a, the most densely populated *kebele*, also has the smallest average landholding in the *wereda*. It is very close to Durame and on the main road, and is therefore comparatively much more easily reached than many other *kebele* in the *wereda*. It has better underground water potential than many other *kebele*. It also has better drinking water coverage than the *wereda* average (in Aze Debo'a the coverage is at least 85% according to *wereda* officials, 100% according to *kebele* officials, against 48% on average for the *wereda*).

Plans for new interventions by *wereda*

Wereda officials mentioned road asphaltting and that this would strengthen market access. They talked about the necessity of developing the SME sector and 'moving people out of agriculture' towards trade and livestock production (from poultry to cattle) but specific plans for doing this were only being developed. There were plans to develop ponds to breed fish. They explained that resettlement should remain an option as good land was available elsewhere. Expanding access to credit was indispensable and they had high expectations linked to the upcoming start of the Household Asset Building programme – as the World Bank scheme that had been active in the *wereda* was provided loans too small to be meaningful.

Important events/changes affecting the community

Crises since 2005

The main crisis faced by the *kebele* was the severe drought of 2008. The years 2010 and 2011 were drought years too but less severe. In 2008, crop failure was generalised except *enset* and a few fruit trees. Several NGOs 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. 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 2008 sweet potatoes had totally disappeared from the area and farmers were unable to replant it. It had to be brought from Arba Minch in 2009.

Other important events and changes since 2005

The coffee washing plant is offering some job opportunities though mostly on a seasonal basis and mainly for young women and adolescent girls. There is a snowballing effect with migration, with both the 'push' and 'pull' factors becoming ever stronger. Many respondents highlighted that there was no other option for the youth, educated or uneducated, as they had no access to land, or jobs, or credit. The amount of remittances injected in the community has increased and this has multiplier effects, though not all in the community as much investment takes place in the town of Durame.

There were changes in land use with a strong emphasis on conservation activities; and there seemed to be some change in planting patterns – several respondents highlighted that the area covered with *enset* (subsistence crop) was decreasing as people were investing in cash crops (coffee) and woodlots – also for cash.

There are several changes linked to the decade-long trend of strengthening of Protestantism in the area. The Meskel celebration (finding of the true cross), a festival celebrated as the biggest event in the year for centuries in Kembata tradition, is still held. However, the cultural singing and dancing which used to be performed in this and other occasions have been replaced by huge spiritual conferences and prayer days. Protestant followers also intermarry only with members of their faith – as their leaders forbid marriage with Orthodox Christians who drink alcohol, and with followers of traditional religions who worship 'evil spirits'.

Clans remain a strong organising institution, but the tradition that people would trace up to the seventh generation to marry outside of the clan is no longer enforced. Young people do not marry in their father's or mother's clan.

There also are changes arising in perceptions about women and women's rights generally, and in the way these rights are enforced. Young women and girls move more freely and there are many more opportunities for youth of both sexes to meet, including at school, at the market and at the church. FGM which used to be a prerequisite for any young woman to marry is said to have almost disappeared, although the real test is yet to come when the cohorts of young uncircumcised girls will reach the age of getting married.

Traditionally marriage was not performed early in Kembata society (at or after 20 for the girls). Several trends affect this. On the one hand, girls go to school more and longer; and youth generally find it difficult to establish an independent household due to lack of livelihood options. On the other hand, under influence of the urban areas according to some respondents, there are cases of marriages well before twenty which used to be the 'right age'. In the same way, marriage was traditionally arranged by the families. This has started to change, although arranged marriages happen again when families of girls want to send them to South Africa.

Development progress

Community respondents generally appreciated the developments of infrastructure and services although one household head explained that

To improve its works the government should hold continuous discussions and meetings with the wider community members at least once in a semester instead of consulting only its party members for every issue.

Some people expressed discomfort with the pressure on everyone to become a party member (EPRDF); one successful farmer explained that most party activities and meetings in particular were irrelevant to improving people's livelihoods. There was no sense that most people's livelihoods had improved. There was consensus that women's situation had improved, but in contrast the situation was worse for youth of both sexes as they were facing land scarcity and unemployment even if they were better educated.

Wereda plans for the future

Community respondents did not mention any plan of the *wereda* for the *kebele*.

Community opinions about plans for the future

Community respondents all highlighted the plight of the youth and many said that the government needed to do something about this – by creating jobs, or giving them access to credit. Several women stressed that the government should give access to credit to women in particular. The asphaltting of the main road was widely held as a good thing as it would further cut costs of marketing one's produces.

Key sub-system: households in 2012

Household structures

The data on the number of households in Aze Debo'a is contradictory. It is said that there are 725 tax-paying households. But the chair of the local political party structure (the 'basic structure') said that there are 547 household heads and all are EPRDF members – which itself is contradicted by heads of households from the community who say that that they are not members. Elsewhere, still other statistics are mentioned.

There is a strong normative trend underpinning the household structure in the community and in the area in general, linked to the strengthening of Protestantism in the Kembata society. Inheritance

of widows is not allowed among Protestant followers hence, polygyny has disappeared. Divorce is strongly condemned, to the point that a divorcee would generally not stay in the community after a divorce. Some of the clan-related customs like taking care of the children of one's brother are still very strong.

As it is difficult for young households to have access to land, they often share the land of the husband's parents – though they may have their own house. The young generation may also tend to marry later, due to education, lack of means to set up an independent household, migration etc. However, marriage has never been performed early in Kembata society, and some community respondents mention influences in the other direction – like earlier marriages for girls due to more frequent contacts between male and female children and youth and connections with urban areas and non-Kembata groups with other traditions.

Households in Aze Debo'a: some examples

Important political leader's household

This is the household of the chairman of Aze Debo'a *kebele*. He is from the Galla clan. His wife does not have any role or position in the community. All his children live with him. [In some instances he says he is 45-50 and has 7 children from 5 to 20 years old; in this interview he says he is 38 and has 6 children from 4 to 14 years old.].

He explains that he was productive in the past five years despite erratic rainfall: 2007 and 2009 were good harvesting years, but 2008 was worst. He planted Enset and the family uses milk and milk products for consumption. He finds himself in a good position in terms of livelihood and his wife agrees, though she explains that in the past one year all goods and services have become very expensive, so the past five years were better than nowadays.

The family has welcomed the changes in infrastructure such as internal road, electricity, drinking water, telephone, radio, TV. The family have benefited from all those except TV.

There is a change in the climate, resulting in shortage of rainfall. Land fertility is also declining over time, as is ground water flow, and this causes declining productivity.

In the *kebele* a number of environmental rehabilitation activities have been undertaken in the last few years (terracing in sloping areas, planting grass and forest trees on mountainous places and protecting certain areas from the contact of human beings and animals).

He plant enset, cabbage and maize mainly for consumption and coffee, avocado, banana and teff mostly for sale. They get extension advice (how to farm, groundwater harvesting, use of inputs etc.), but she explains that yields have declined. Five years ago he planted tomato and beetroot but he stopped because they were not trained on how to use them. He planted more avocado, coffee and banana trees last year because the demand is high and the market price is good. So there is high demand and market price for some agricultural outputs (and this is driven by population pressure) but the change in weather condition adversely affects crop productivity.

With regard to livestock, the household currently owns two hybrid cows, two goats and one farm ox. Five years ago, they had only local cows. He took the decision of buying hybrids by himself, but he got DAs' advice on improved fodder and grass varieties. There is no vet in the *kebele* but the vet in the neighbouring *kebele* provides outreach services. There is no serious cattle disease in the area. So, on one hand livestock and livestock products sell well on the market. On the other hand, the reduction of grazing land over time and drought adversely affect livestock productivity in the area. Artificial insemination is providing good results. However, high prices for veterinary drugs limits the way farmers use this technology. NGOs are active in the livestock production area. World Vision is purchasing hybrid cows, farm oxen and goats for five or six households per year. Three years ago, KMG purchased and distributed three sheep for each of 80 households in the *kebele*. It also provided 800 birr to each household.

There is no one from the household involved in non-/off-farm work or FFW, and no government intervention. They buy fertiliser cash and the household did not take credit and does not have debt.

Their house and its surrounding is clean and fenced. It is a medium house. Livestock and people are living together. They bought a new bed, table and chair and have a kitchen cupboard. They use drinking water from a protected shallow well built by Kalehiwot church and 15 min walk distance, and river water for other household activities. There is no payment. They have a well-protected latrine that they use and did not experience cases of diarrhoea. She uses wood for cooking and electricity for light. Their regular diet is based on enset; occasionally they consume maize, wheat, barley, peas and beans and fruits and vegetables as well as milk and milk products. There was no significant change in their diet in the recent past.

She does not use contraception; she used to visit the health post for antenatal care and went to hospital or the health centre for childbirth. Child immunisation and nutrition have become widely available. The household's older daughters were circumcised when they were not aware of the adverse effect of FGM. But their younger daughters are not circumcised. They implement the different sanitation and hygiene advice (latrine, washing hands etc.). They use a bed net to control malaria, and are aware about HIV/AIDS and TB. She knows the prevention methods of HIV/AIDS. The family members go to the health centre when they get sick because they know that there is no good health treatment in the health post.

Last year three of their children were at primary school, and one of their daughters was in secondary school. There is no other experience of the education system in the household.

The head of household explains that co-operation and relations with neighbours, friends, relatives and the whole community is good (farm work, house building, domestic work, sharing of farm implements, help in times of crisis, celebration in festivals and funeral ceremonies). But his wife says that as everyone is busy on his/her own affairs and struggling to improve his/her life, co-operation especially with people outside of the *kebele* is decreasing over time. She says that she meets friends and relatives from other communities mainly in times of crisis, wedding and funeral ceremonies, or at the market in Durame. The household did not experience any crisis, or wedding or burial or any other ceremonies in the past five years.

In the *kebele* there is no service co-operative, no credit association – although the government gave credit to some people some years ago but this has now stopped - and no water association. Very few people belong to an *equb* because most people do not have cash. Those who have *equb* are business people and merchants. The wife explains that one year ago the government formed a women's association and gave credit to its members, which is a good opportunity for women to improve their living condition. However, the government stopped providing additional credit after the first round.

Both the head and his wife are members of two *iddir*, a smaller one and a larger one. The smaller *iddir* has 45 members and a 5 birr contribution. The bigger *iddir*'s contribution is 10 birr. Members borrow money from the *iddir* during crisis and they pay it back with its interest. The *iddir* supports its members when there is a death. Each member participates in the funeral ceremony and gives money to the family who lost a member. Also, when one of the *iddir* members is seriously sick the other members carry him on a stretcher and take him to the health centre.

The family attends the Kalehiwot church. There is no financial aid for being a member of the church. But, the wife says, "Attending church is very essential for human beings, because the Bible teaches us how we work and live. In addition to this, it creates a strong relationship with God".

The head explains that the community is peaceful and safe to live in. There are no violent fights among men and there are no robberies, theft or burglary or sexual attacks on women and girls. There is no community police but two policemen assigned by the government to work in the *kebele*. The head knows the role and responsibilities of the *wereda* police and he believes that they serve

people effectively.

Elders are very important in dispute resolution. They make peace and punish the wrongdoer for any problem or grievance among family members. They handle not only simple crimes, but also serious cases like homicide cases that law enforcement bodies find complex to investigate. They are respected by the community more than government officials, because they can bless or curse anyone and a whole generation. They also tell different stories and share their experience with the community. Most conflicts are resolved by elders except human killings. There is a peace committee but its authority and responsibility is not clearly known.

The head explains that in the community there is no resistance towards the government interventions, and that all action taken by government for change is good.

He is an active party member, participates in different meetings and believes they are all useful. Party meetings include only party members; government meetings include everyone. As the chairman of the *kebele* he performs governmental accountability such as *Gimgema* for all governmental works. He mentions '*citizens' report, budget monitoring and follow-up and land taxes collection system and so on*'.

The household pays 20 birr for land taxes, 5 birr for Red Cross, 5 birr for sport, 6 birr for party, 10 birr for 'Kembata' Development Association and 7 birr for different compulsory annual payments. He leads people for all government developmental works that are essential for the community such as terracing, watershed and reforestation.

As the community is mostly Protestant believers, they do not work on Sundays but there is no other holy day and so no effect on the community's work.

Government gave several rounds of training about HTP, and as a result people's awareness has increased. Currently, circumcision is highly reduced. Rape, violence to wives, early marriage, feeding babies with solid food when they are too young, removal of milk teeth, cutting of uvula and tonsils, burning with hot iron and bleeding, were never practised in the community and so they are no issues.

All rapid changes under way in the *kebele* in terms of infrastructure such as electricity, road, livelihood changes, health service, water and education are good.

The head and his wife explain that they have no problem to take up new ideas. These come from *wereda* officials and from towns and cities including new religious ideas. Ideas also come with the radio and TV, and from international migrants. Six family members can read which is useful to understand and know new ideas. The children read books such as the Bible, textbooks, newspapers and letters, but not regularly. People want to have more access to reading materials. The head always listens to the radio to get information and ideas - Ethiopia radio programme and FM, especially in Kembattisa and Amharic languages. They have no TV.

Women in the community have begun to understand that they are not weak. They have better awareness concerning HTPs, access to land, their rights following divorce, the rights of widows and access to economic opportunities. If somebody's husband died, the wife has a right to take land and to convert the land certificate to her name and use it. The community's perception about women (that they are weak and not able to make decision and so on) has changed and they are aware of women's equality.

With regard to youth, the government gave them access to education but after graduation there are no opportunities to get jobs. They have no access to credit. As a result, setting up an independent household is a problem for the young generation. There is also no recreation place for the youth in the *kebele*. All these things lead the youth to bad habits and enhance the risk that they become infected with HIV/AIDS. Young women equally participate with young men in development programme of the community in economic, political, and social aspects.

Economically successful man's household

The head is a highly respected and influential person in the *kebele*. He is one of the elders in the community and a person consulted for legal advice when someone faces serious problems. He is from the Nurto clan. He is one of the richest households in the *kebele*, a model farmer, a member of the ruling party, an elder in Mekaneyesus Church and in the *wereda* council. He is very busy due to these multiple roles and responsibilities but he is happy to serve his community and has no plan to withdraw from any of the positions he has. His wife is from the Gala clan.

Two children live with them. One is grade 12 and would like to join university. One was grade 7 last year. Six are away from the households. One son attended government TVET in natural sciences and passed the exam with a good result. He now lives in Durame town, is married and rich. Another son passed the ESLCE exam with enough points and joined Hawassa university and his costs are shared between the family and the government. He is an outstanding student and he has been scoring a good result every semester. Four older daughters graduated from different universities. Three of them have been working in different organisations and are married. Two live in Addis Ababa and Hawassa, and one of them went to America by getting her chance through the DV lottery. All of them are helping the family by sending remittances especially for the religious holidays and buying all the necessary for the family. They are in contact with all of them by phone once or twice a week except once a quarter for the one in the US.

The fact that some of the children were successful in their education and are employed is a major reason for the household to have improved. This has reduced expenses. Moreover, the children have started to assist one another and send remittances. The family also has a good relationship with their neighbours and no conflict with anyone in the community. He produces more than what is necessary for consumption for his family and is able to sell products on the market. One big difference in the last five years is that he started to plough more land by crop sharing and by renting the school's land. In addition, his family is obtaining and consuming more milk than five years ago because two of his cows are giving milk at this time.

The household benefits from the infrastructural facilities that became recently available in the *kebele*. He was the first person to buy his own meter (1,500 birr) and to use electricity. He has a personal radio and TV with international channels. He mostly watches spiritual programmes broadcasted from abroad through God's/spiritual channels in Amharic and English, but sometime he watches Aljazeera and BBC. As a result of attending his primary education in Durame Missionary School, he has a better command of English than the current high school graduates. In addition, as there is network coverage he and members of the family have their personal mobiles. They use drinking water from a protected shallow well-constructed by Kalehiwot church at a distance of 2 minutes from his house. The health post is also only three minutes. The main gravel road crossing the *kebele* passes near his house – and so they have easy access to public transport and market outlets. In December 2011 the road has started to be asphalted, which he expects will bring better opportunities for transportation and cut marketing costs.

He explains that the weather is changing and in the past five years there was erratic rainfall and drought. The soil fertility is decreasing over time due to continuous cultivation, flooding and soil erosion especially on hillsides. However, his land is not exposed to soil erosion because it is located in a flat area and most of it is well protected by vegetation cover like perennial crops (enset, coffee, and fruit trees). Also, they were not seriously affected even in drought years because he has adequate assets and cash at the bank.

The *kebele* has high potential compared to others in the *wereda* in terms of groundwater. Thanks to the government, degraded land is being rehabilitated through constructing terraces (soil and stone bunds), planting forest and grass strips and gully rehabilitation. This activity has picked up

mainly during the last five years. More than 200 thousand seedlings of various forest trees were planted on communal lands, and seedlings were distributed to individual households and planted on their private holdings. Moreover, a large area of communal land was enclosed to be protected from human and animal contact.

Enset, maize, teff, potato, sweet potato and vegetables are the main crops grown by the household for consumption. The wife explains that yields have been maintained because the land is well prepared since the past five years they are using improved seeds of various crops (e.g. maize and teff) and commercial fertiliser (DAP and Urea) that they obtain from the DAs. He has also used improved seeds of root crops like potato and sweet potato, and vegetables such as cabbage, beetroot and onion; and he planted improved varieties of fruits such as mangoes, avocados, papayas and oranges mainly for market.

The main cash crop for his household is coffee and different varieties of fruits. He has coffee trees that he planted five years ago. In addition, every year he buys up to 100 quintal of fresh coffee from farmers during the harvesting season and sells it back when the price increases. He also obtains an income from the sale of fruits. In addition he trades grain (buying on the market at low price during harvesting and selling at higher price during the rainy season). The market price of cash crops is increasing, so that he and many households in the *kebele* plant additional coffee seedlings on their land, and the area covered by enset is rapidly decreasing. The installation of a coffee washing plant in the *kebele* creates an opportunity to sell the fresh coffee at good price and cuts transportation costs.

DAs are providing extension service by visiting their farm lands and by training them in the farmers' training centre. As a result, he totally stopped using local seeds and planting crops without fertiliser or compost - except for enset because there is no improved variety so far. He also uses compost and manure, not chemical fertiliser for coffee. He does not have access to much water, but he started to plant and to grow vegetables by using the water he obtains from the hand dug well that he constructed in his compound last year. He is also planning to expand his irrigated area of land in the coming years. All this expansion is with his own capital. He does and did not get any credit.

He is not affected by any watershed, environmental or other SWC interventions because his land is located in a flat area.

There was a serious drought in the *kebele* in 2008. Some households were assisted through the provision of improved seeds of grains, vegetables and fruits, and were able to plant these improved varieties in their farmlands. He was not and did not need this because there is no food shortage in his family.. Yet, several households were exposed to food shortages and starved. The NGOs like World Vision and Samaritan's Purse were the first to save the lives of the needy people. There was a problem in reporting the number of children and households needing assistance. As a result, some children passed away through the negligence of government officials in the *wereda*.

He believes that there are too many political meetings at *kebele* and *wereda* level, that adversely affect working hours and productivity, and that this should be reversed in the coming years.

The main challenges to agricultural production in the area are the ever increasing price of fertiliser, which makes it unaffordable by poor households; and the weather change that results in erratic and late rainfall. As a result, crop failure and low productivity are common phenomena in the area. For him this does not affect his household consumption because he has enough income from trade and other sources.

He has two oxen, three dairy cattle of improved breed of Holstein Friesian, four sheep, and more than ten chickens (including high laying species: Rhode Island Red, White Leghorn). Their main challenge is shortage of fodder and pasture especially during the drought years. But the wife explains that both the number and quality of their livestock have improved. Government interventions contribute in providing new varieties of grass and fodder which increases milk

production, and through the provision of veterinary services through an outreach programme. Many households have the mobile phone number of the veterinarian and give him a call when they need his assistance. He gives a good service but he believes that they need to have a veterinarian in their *kebele* and the government should pay attention to this issue.

His wife has a shop and beauty salon by the roadside, and she is earning a good income. She opened the shop and the beauty salon with the household's money without any assistance. It is found near the main road. She started three years ago. She is selling different kinds of goods; over time she increases the amount of goods in the shop and the profit is increasing as well. The location of the shop near the *kebele* office has played an important role in its success; especially when people get their PSNP transfers at the *kebele* office, they buy whatever they want from the shop.

The house is tin roofed, the ground is made of concrete and separate from the livestock house. They recently bought a new sofa, various dishes to prepare food and eat, and drinking materials. They bought a TV. The family has a latrine: it is well covered and made of concrete. No one is affected by acute watery diarrhoea. She uses firewood and charcoal for cooking food and electricity for light. They have a varied diet including different grains, enset, vegetables, fruits, milk and milk products and meat.

They use drinking water from a pump/well 50 metres from the house. The wife says that there is no payment, but her husband explains that although there is no organised water association he contributes two birr per month which is used for the salary of the guard. There has not been any maintenance problem so far.

Their older daughters were circumcised, but their granddaughters are not circumcised, and the wife explains that she intends not to circumcise them.

They have separate solid and liquid waste. She handles food and drinking water in a hygienic way. Generally they keep the sanitation of the house and personal hygiene and use household pest control. The wife explains that she is aware about HIV/AIDS, TB and malaria, does not practise unsafe sex, and uses a bed net for malaria prevention.

One of their sons attended grade 7 last year at a private school – there is a monthly contribution. He likes going to school and has never been absent from the class. As this is a private school the teaching learning process is very good. There are well educated teachers and no problem.

The relations between the household and his neighbours are reciprocal. The household is assisted by his neighbours in farm work, weeding and harvesting. He also shares his farm equipment with his neighbours and assists his neighbours by lending money in times of crisis. They attend church together and help each other during wedding and funeral ceremonies.

He is a member of one *iddir* and the wife is member of two (one larger and one smaller one). There are many *iddir* in the *kebele*. He contributes 30 birr when a death occurs in any of the households in their *iddir*. In her *iddir* the wife contributes 5 and 10 birrs respectively, and there is no payment for cases of illnesses, only for deaths. The *iddir* lends money if any member of their *iddir* gets sick and he is expected to pay it back within three months. Members of the *iddir* are expected to participate in all activities related to funerals.

The family attends the Mekaneyesus church. He is an elder of the church. The benefit is that by studying the Bible they are able to differentiate good and bad things. They receive things that we want from God, and share peace and all blessings of God.

There is no security problem or crimes like fighting between men, theft, sexual attacks on women and others. The *kebele* is safe to live in. He is one of the elders and a highly respected person in the *kebele*. He also assists community members by providing legal advice when they have a case in court. Most dispute cases are handled and resolved by elders except homicide cases. Elders are respected persons who know many things due to their age. They are not biased against women. The

role of the social court is very minimal compared to the role of elders in the *kebele*. The peace committee is not effective so far.

The head explains that he was at the *wereda* court many times in the past one year in relation to the court case between Orthodox and Protestant Christians over land. In his opinion, the *wereda* court is not effective in making decisions and in investigating the case. No decision has been made after a year.

He explains that the main resistance against the government is coming from the youth because many of them have no job opportunity and nothing has been done to address this situation. So he believes that the government should create job opportunities or give access to credit for youth. The wife believes that the government should give credit to women individually or in a group because they may improve their own and family living standard.

The head is the only one to be a party member, which has no benefit and causes no problem. He attends meetings if he is available. But if he is not in the *kebele*, nobody asks him. There are many meetings, mostly once in a month – which he thinks should be reduced to three times in a year. Most of the issues raised in the party meetings are not relevant in changing people's livelihoods. He adds that he has not seen when government officials are worried about their accountability.

He pays 50 birr for land use tax, 12 birr for party membership, 5 birr for Red Cross, 5 birr for sport, 10 birr for Kembata Development Association, 1 birr for the *kebele* and 7 birr for the court case with the Orthodox Church.

The only holiday is Sunday as the community is predominantly Protestant Christians. So they work all days and they support the position of the government in this regard. Some of the elders support the government because it starts to recognise the role of elders and is participating in all affairs in the *kebele*.

Government and NGOs gave different trainings to the community about the effects of HTPs. Some years ago, the effort of the government against HTPs was very strong and serious legal measures were taken against offenders. After the 2005 election, however, the government suspected some NGOs that have been actively working against HTPs (like KMG and others) of supporting the opposition party. They abruptly abandoned taking legal measures against offenders. This created a loophole and adversely affected the momentum against HTPs for two years. Nowadays the government and NGOs are working together again and one can hope that all HTPs would be eradicated once and for all in the coming few years.

There are concrete changes in terms of electricity, telephone, health services, education, water and other social services. There are also significant changes in livelihoods among some households. Changes like roads, electricity, livelihoods, health service, education and social organisations are very important for the development of any community.

The head explains that the community easily accept a new idea and change as far as it is helpful. The wife also says that she is happy with new ideas, which come from *wereda* officials, towns and cities, new religious ideas, the radio and TV, and international migrants. The head explains that there is no strong reading culture among the society. However, he often reads the Bible and sometime the newspapers in Amharic when he goes to town. One thing is that any new information is rapidly disseminated throughout the community within a few hours. He often listens to the radio (Voice of America, German, and sometimes Ethiopian radio) because he has his own radio. She too listens to the radio to get new information and ideas from the Ethiopia radio program, VOA, FM and spiritual programmes transmitted from in country and abroad in Amharic and Kembattisa languages. They both mostly watch spiritual channels broadcasted in Amharic from abroad.

There is a big change in the situation of women. People became aware that they have right to share land and other household properties. There is awareness of women's rights to land, rights following

divorce, rights of widows, and access to economic opportunities and people recognise that women are not weak. A widow has the right to take land and change the land certificate to her name and use it. The major problem of youth is lack of jobs and credit access.

Household of farmer of middle wealth

Neither the head nor his wife has a position in the community. They have eight children and four are still with them. Their two oldest sons live in Gambella since 1985 EC, and are middle-wealth. The two older daughters are married and live elsewhere. One of them is poor and they travel once a year to go and see her. The other is middle-wealth and she comes twice a year. There was no economic problem in the family for the last five years. They did not need and did not get support from anyone.

In the past five years there was construction of roads in the *kebele*, linking villages one to another. Since three years there is electricity and many households have got access which is a good thing, though their family did not get access yet. There is also access to a health post, protected water points and schools in the *kebele*; all at close distance – less than half an hour on average. The main road has started to be asphalted since December 2011.

The fertility of the land is decreasing due to continuous farming. The weather is changing and there is frequent drought in the area. The groundwater potential is decreasing over time and some shallow wells have started to dry up. The issue of erosion has improved as the hills have been rehabilitated in the past five years, by constructing terraces, planting forest trees and varieties of grass, enclosing areas etc.

He plants enset, maize, potato, cabbage, and other vegetables. Since a few years he is using improved maize seed because its productivity is better than the local variety, and he has started using commercial fertiliser. This is the only consumption crop for which he uses fertiliser. He never uses fertiliser for root crops or vegetables. The wife explains that the yields are declining.

There was drought in the years of 2008, 2010 and 2011. The years 2007 and 2009 were good with adequate rainfall and good production. 2008 was the worst year and they faced food shortage as the drought was both severe and lasting for a longer time. They got relief from World Vision. In 2010 and 2011 drought was not as severe and the family was not exposed to serious shortage of food and did not need relief as they had adequate enset. Nevertheless, there were a number of households who have no enset or other assets and received relief assistance from various organisations. They did not help anyone in 2008, 2010 and 2011 because they were themselves faced with food shortages.

The major cash crops that they plant are coffee (a small plot) and teff. Like most farmers in the *kebele* he does not use fertiliser for coffee and enset. He uses fertiliser for teff but he does not use the improved variety of teff that the DAs advise. He gets at least 1,500 birr from the sale of coffee every year in addition to the coffee that they consume. They consume about one-fourth of their teff production for their own consumption. The remaining three-fourths are sold on the market. The price of coffee and teff is attractive and increasing every year, which led him to plant 25 additional seedlings of coffee this year. He wishes to plant even more seedlings of coffee but does not have enough land.

DAs provide extension services and teach farmers to protect farm lands from soil erosion by constructing terraces or by planting forest trees and grass strips especially on lands on hillsides. His land is in a flat area so he is not concerned. The household did not get any other support from government or NGOs so far, or any access to credit – even though it would be much needed. They buy fertiliser and improved seeds cash, and also local seeds from the market.

They have one farm ox, two cows, three sheep, one donkey and four chickens and the wife explains that there was no change in the past five years. Grazing land is shrinking over time – so they feed their animals by cutting and carrying the grass and other animal feed from their own land. There is

no veterinarian in the *kebele*, but one vet provides service through an outreach programme. The head planted fodder which he got from the DAs and found that it is very nutritious and important to increase the productivity of milk cows. The price of livestock and livestock products has been skyrocketing since the last few years. This is promising for farmers, but they have no adequate grazing land to rear more livestock and boost their production.

The wife explains that she could not involve in non-farm business even though she would be interested and has some experience in fattening shoats, because she does not have the seed money or the starting capital.

Their house is old and deteriorated, and human beings and animals live in the same house. The wife said that she bought one chair and three coffee cups, but that there was no other change regarding household equipment and furniture in the past five years. They have access to safe water from a recently protected shallow well near the house, so far without payment. If it is damaged, all members of the village may be requested to contribute for its maintenance.

The family has a latrine and they are using it regularly although it is not well protected because of their laziness. All family members abstain from defecating in open places and no one was affected by acute watery diarrhoea. She uses firewood for cooking, and a kerosene lamp for light. Their diet is mainly enset and grains (maize, wheat and barley), and to a lesser extent some vegetables, fruit, milk and milk products. They rarely eat meat outside the main holidays such as Meskel, Easter and Christmas.

Generally they keep their hygiene but they do not use water safety tablets or chemical pest control. The wife explains that she is aware of how to prevent different diseases. She knows it is impossible to cure HIV/AIDS once a person has contracted the virus, and that unprotected sex is the major means of HIV transmission. They are taught on HIV/AIDS even on Sundays after the church programme. They use a bed net for prevention of malaria. When someone gets sick, they first visit the health post. If they do not recover they go to the health centre by taking a referral from the health post.

The head explains that they cooperate with neighbours in everything: farming, sharing oxen and farm equipment, house building, weddings, funerals, in times of crisis and others. However, he believes that the cooperation is gradually decreasing and households are becoming more individualistic than before.

Two of their daughters married in the last five years - by elopement without wedding ceremony so that they did not have any cost.

The head is a member of an *iddir*. He contributes 10 birr when there is a death among *iddir* members. Money is given only for the funeral ceremony. The wife is a member of two *iddir* (smaller and larger). She pays 3 and 4 birr respectively when death occurs in the families of *iddir* members. There is no payment for illness. Money is provided only at the time of death. Members of the *iddir* are expected to participate in the funeral ceremony by entertaining the attendants at the funeral up to one to two weeks of mourning.

The family are members of the Kalehiwot church. The wife explains that there is no conflict over religion at this time but they will never forget the past experience. Their parents were persecuted and even died for their faith in the Asella prison. Currently, all Protestants have monthly fellowship conferences gathering all denominations. They have a good relationship with members of the Orthodox Church except for a recent disagreement on a land issue. The benefit of studying the Bible is to be able to differentiate good and bad things, and they receive the things they want from God. Church members also support and help people who are hungry or sick or lack clothes, helpless elders, widows, and orphans by sharing food, milk, clothes and money as advised in the Bible.

As far as they know there is no crime problem in the community and it is a safe area. There are two

policemen daily patrolling the *kebele* and keeping peace. There is no robbery, theft, sexual attacks on women and girls, or threats of violence from other communities. There are several militia men who serve the *kebele* during the election time. But they do not know their role outside this.

Elders are highly respected and play a great role in resolving the disputes in the community. They do not charge anything for their service and make peace between the conflict groups. They also provide advice which is '*very essential in shaping the individuals*'. They bless and advise. They are not biased against women and they serve equally. The wife has heard that the *wereda* court takes and checks the documents of people in conflict, listens to witnesses (in most cases three people) then it makes a decision. The family has never been at the *wereda* court. They prefer their cases to be handled and resolved by elders according to the "*Serra*" traditional administrative system.

The head is a party member and pays 12 birr. They meet more than four times a year and discuss the government plan and members' role in implementing the government policy. There is no benefit in this and no problem so far. He does not know whether there are projects of the government which were refused. For the time being the relations with the government are good and some of the development issues raised by the community have been responded to since the 2005 election. However, to improve its works the government should hold continuous discussions and meetings with the wider community at least once in a semester instead of consulting only its party members for every issue.

The head explains that nowadays it is feasible to appeal and present the community's grievances to the government officials. There are also changes in making government officials to be accountable, which is a good move by itself. He pays 40 birr for land use tax, 12 birr for party membership, 5 birr for Red Cross, 5 birr for sport, 10 birr for Kembata Development Association, 1 birr for the *kebele* and 7 birr for the court case with Orthodox Church.

There is a government ban on FGM and other HTPs but some families seem to continue circumcising their daughters because of the tradition. All their daughters were also circumcised when their awareness was very low. But they have decided not to circumcise their granddaughter because they became aware of its adverse effects. The government raises the awareness of the community by using health extension workers. KMG is also working by forming different age groups; they give training and hold continuous community conversation sessions. As a result, there is no female circumcision, rape or abduction. Thanks to the work of the government and KMG the practise of cutting of uvula and tonsils has declined sharply.

Both the head and his wife explained that they appreciate the rapid changes that have been taking place in the community in terms of infrastructure and social services (electricity, roads, livelihood changes, health service, and education and social organisation), and the asphaltting of the road.

They accept any idea if it is relevant to them. The community has changed and does no longer look at new ideas as evil. New ideas come from higher officials, towns, religious people, the radio or TV or international migrants and they are easily accepted by the community as far as the idea is relevant. The head reads the Bible on Sunday and often listens to Amharic and Kembatissa programmes on the radio but his wife says she has no radio. They do not have a TV.

The outlook of women and men on women has changed in the past few years thanks to awareness raising: everyone knows that women have equals right to land and other household property equally with their husbands. People have better awareness regarding HTPs, access to land, rights following divorce, rights of widows and rights to access economic opportunities of women equally with men. Women have been made aware of how to claim and demand their rights and know where to go. This is thanks to KMG which educated for many years about human rights and property rights. But it is not working on such things at this time.

In contrast, young men and women are disadvantaged and are forced to migrate to other areas in the country and abroad. They have no land. Government facilitates their education but there is no

opportunity to get jobs after completing school and college. So, setting up an independent household is a major challenge. There are many high school and college graduates who have no job in the *kebele*. Some of them left for South Africa and others migrate to different areas to look for temporary jobs. The same is true for women who as a result have started to migrate to Arab countries.

Household of poor farmer

The head is a guard for the *kebele*. They have six children, all with them at this time, three of whom going to school.

The head notes that many changes have taken place in terms of infrastructure (health post, electricity, wireless telephone, access to drinking water sources, main road and internal roads linking the *kebele* with the zonal, regional and national cities), which the family benefits from. There is also mobile network coverage and many people have phones, but they cannot afford the cost of the apparatus and of the cards. Similarly they cannot afford the cost of an electric meter (1,500 birr at current price) and as a result they have no access to TV or radio.

There is a big change concerning the environment in the last ten years, with activities to protect from flooding, massive erosion and further land degradation, such as soil and stone bunds, tree planting, gully rehabilitation, area enclosures and others. As a result, land degradation and soil erosion which were serious problems in the *kebele* have been mitigated. The *kebele* is considered to be food insecure: more than 260 households are PSNP beneficiaries and most of them participate in public works targeting environmental rehabilitation in both public and private landholdings.

He plants only enset and maize for consumption because he does not have enough farm land to plant other crops. He does not produce enough for his household. However, in the past five years they have started planting different varieties of vegetables for consumption. They planted a few coffee trees which should yield their first production in two years. The government is making efforts through deploying the DAs. They also bring improved maize seeds, which are better than the local variety in terms of productivity but are very expensive and unaffordable for poor households. Inputs are more available but not affordable. The DAs also train farmers about how to prepare compost and how to prepare the land before planting the crops, but land shortage and frequent drought has limited the success of these efforts.

They have only one cow and one goat. This is a change as they used to have no livestock. The cow is shared with the neighbour. There is no veterinarian assigned to work in the *kebele* but there is a person who provides good veterinary service by coming from the neighbouring *kebele*. Sometimes they take their animals to a place near to the *kebele* office for vaccination. The price of livestock has become very high. The head has some experience of running petty trade and fattening animals. But due to lack of access to credit or starting capital he could not involve in any off-farm activities.

Last year he did not get a chance to participate in food-for-work or cash-for-work. In 2008 there was drought and failure of all crops except a few fruits. He participated in food-for-work for six months and he also got some maize from World Vision. Otherwise, the wife says that as the price of foodstuff is increasing they eat less. Their diet is not rich, but she says there is no malnutrition in the household.

Their daughters are very young and they are not circumcised. They do not intend to circumcise them because they are aware of its negative effect as a result of education given by government and KMG.

The family has a latrine and they use it. They keep their and the environment hygiene, but they do not use water purifying tablets or chemical pest control. The wife explains that she is aware of the transmission and prevention of different diseases. She knows that most diseases are preventable by personal hygiene and environmental sanitation. She knows how HIV is transmitted. She did not take a test but she takes care of herself. They use a bed net for malaria and children's vaccination for TB.

She uses bandage with a piece of cloth to prevent bleeding when someone is injured. She is aware of maternal and child health, family planning and nutrition issues but she cannot practice all of them. She is trying to improve their nutrition.

One of her daughters was last year in Grade 4 in Aze Debo'a primary school. She likes going to school and she is good in her education. The teaching and learning process is good, and there is no cost.

The family have good relations with neighbours, friends and relatives. They help each other in time of crisis, and in weddings and funeral ceremonies. They have relatives living in other areas and they meet at weddings and funeral places.

The head is member of two *iddir* (one smaller and one larger). Members of the smaller *iddir* are 84. He contributes 3 birr and 4 birrs for the smaller and larger *iddir* each time there is death in an *iddir* member's family. There is no payment for sickness or serious illness. They take the sick person to the health post or health centre for treatment by carrying him on a stretcher. The wife is member of the same *iddir*. It is possible to borrow from the *iddir*, paying 10% interest. All *iddir* members are expected to attend the funeral and treat the attendants at the funeral who are not *iddir* members.

The family are active members of Mekaneyesus church and regularly attend the church every Sunday. There is no conflict over religion.

There is no crime in the community. People live peacefully with each other. So there are no robberies, thefts or violent fights among men in the community, or sexual attacks on women and girls. There is a militia, and no community police but the *wereda* police make close follow up and check the peace in the community.

Elders are respected by the community, and try first to resolve any conflict the community before any governmental bodies. They tell different stories and share their good experience with people. They bless and advise. There is a social court and some cases related to land are reported to them. Nevertheless, most of the conflicts are primarily reported to and managed by elders. Women are treated equally with men before the social court and elders. There is a peace committee, but it is not as such operational. The *wereda* court has higher authority than the social court and conflicts that cannot get resolution in social courts are transferred to it.

He is not a party member. However, the cadres insist on making him a member of EPRDF. He pays the lowest price for land use tax and other contributions, because they have small land.

In the community there are no religious rules forbidding work on certain days like in other communities, except Sunday which is their worshipping day. Currently, most of the HTPs are totally abandoned including FGM.

All rapid changes in terms of infrastructures such as electricity, roads, health, water, education and livelihood changes are essential. The family benefits from education, telephone, roads and drinking water.

They are ready to accept new ideas whether they come from *wereda* officials, towns and cities, different religious groups, the radio and TV, international migrants or developed areas, if they lead to improving the living condition of the community. The wife explains that it may take some time to adapt to new ideas but with time it becomes easier to accept them. The head and the two older children read regularly, to know and to understand the new ideas and information. They mostly read tracts and brochures of the Bible and sometimes newspapers and any reading materials written in Kembatissa and Amharic languages.

There is change in perceptions towards women in the community. People are aware regarding HTPs, access to land, rights following divorce, not looking at women as weak and powerless, rights of widows and access to economic opportunities and participation to political affairs. Women can share land and other property after divorce. Divorce is not accepted and rarely occurs because the community is Protestant. The main problem of women is lack of credit and income source.

Government facilitates education for young men but after school there is no job opportunity. Setting up an independent household is a problem for youth, also because there is no land. There is no recreation centre. All these problems lead to bad habits and make the youth hopeless. As a result, dozens of youths have taken to moving to other areas in the country and to different countries. The perception of young women is similar to that of young men. Many of them do not live a good life.

Household of successful woman head

The woman is 40 [and has 12 children? Among whom 8 would be with her]. Five years ago, she was in a good situation because her husband was working a lot and there was no problem in getting enough food stuffs from the market with a little money even though they were a large family. They did not need any support.

There are roads including internal roads in the community. She is using electricity and safe drinking water, but no telephone, radio or TV.

Government made the community aware to protect land from erosion, build terraces, plant trees and grass on sloping land.

She plants teff, wheat, maize for consumption and enset, coffee and avocado, the latter two for both consumption and generating income. The government interventions are extension service, advice, irrigation, water harvesting, provision of credit, fertiliser and improved seeds. The change is that there is increased demand for some products and high price of outputs.

She has one ox, one sheep, one chicken and one cow, which was given by Holt international to her son.

Three years ago she borrowed 500 birr from the *kebele* women's association. She paid it back and she is saving 5 birr per month.

She built a new tin roofed house, bought a chair and coffee cups, uses safe drinking water and fetches it with jerry cans without any payment. All family members use latrine and wash their hands carefully before and after preparing food and after using the toilet. There is no diarrhoea problem in the household. She uses firewood for cooking and electricity for light. They eat enset and grains, sometimes drink milk, and eat meat on holy days. One of the children received 50 kilos of maize from World Vision. She does not participate in any food-for-work.

Circumcision was culturally accepted because of ignorance. Her older daughters were circumcised. But she does not circumcise her younger daughter because she is aware.

She knows about hygiene and environmental sanitation. She is aware of many disease prevention and controlling methods - such as HIV/AIDS. To prevent malaria she uses a bed net, and she knows that every sickness needs care. The HEWs gave her training on family planning. Her child was not vaccinated last year because he was over aged. One of her sons was chronically ill and was treated in the hospital, but he has not yet recovered.

She co-operates with other households that live nearby, in *iddir*, during funerals and weddings, and also with friends and relatives during weddings and funerals.

When her husband and a daughter died five years ago the *iddir* helped by giving money to invite guests and buried the dead body. She does not know how much the *iddir* contributed and how much she contributed. After that World Vision gave clothes for three of her children and now regularly buys clothes for one of her sons who is chronically ill. Also, two of her daughters got married in the past five years – with no costs. She is a member of two *iddir*, a smaller and bigger *iddir*. The smaller *iddir* has 45 members and the bigger includes ten of the smaller *iddir* members. When there is a funeral, the *iddir* takes every responsibility.

She pays 20 birr for land tax, 5 birr for Red Cross, 5 birr for sport, 12 birr for government party, 10 birr for "Gogotta" (Kembata People's Association).

She accepts the changes that government brings like electricity, improved seed distribution and the HEW training about personal hygiene and environmental sanitation. Nine members of the household can read but some of them dropped out for different reasons.

Women enjoy freedom to speak, participate in different local and governmental meetings, access to land, sharing household properties during divorce and equal participation with men in every aspect of the community. Young men participate in development programmes of the community in economic, political, and social aspects. And so do young women.

Household of poor – middle-wealth woman

She is 60 and has eight children – of whom one daughter of 18 now lives with her, and a granddaughter who is 7. She says that life was good before the death of her husband but is very hard now.

There is no problem in transportation. There is a gravel road, electricity, access to safe water, a wireless phone at the *kebele* office. Her son has a mobile and she uses it when she needs to communicate with her children.

She has a good plot of land, fertile and free of erosion, but no one to plough, sow and collect the harvest. The weather is changing and adversely affecting their life. Three of the past five years were drought years with shortage of rain.

She has enset, maize, avocado and coffee. She does not have enough land to plant vegetables, except cabbage for consumption and for sale. When he was alive five years ago her husband was contracting in land from other people and planting maize and teff. But this is no longer the case. The avocado and coffee trees are her only income source. There is no support from the government except the DA extension service. Her land is very small and it is cultivated in sharecropping. The sharecropper uses fertiliser bought from the market, but he does not use improved seeds. The market for agricultural crops is encouraging, but there is not anyone who assists her, and the change in weather is also challenging work in agriculture.

She only has one cow and one calf. When her husband was alive they had ploughing oxen and cows. He fattened the oxen and sold them. But now she no longer has even one ox and she is forced to sharecrop out her land. She also does not have the capital to buy a cow or bull and increase her livestock.

Three years ago she was given one hundred and fifty birr by an unknown NGO, without food-for-work or cash-for-work. One of her sons migrated for a job to Adola Shakiso (a gold mining centre) together with his friends, last year. He did not return so far. But he does not send anything, not even a message.

She has good relations with neighbours, friends and relatives in the community and with friends and relatives in other communities. The worst crisis she faced was the death of her husband. She received assistance from the *iddir* but not enough to cover the expenses. She is a member of two *iddir*. If a person dies, it is mandatory for *iddir* members to bury him/her and to give money and to entertain the guests who come to the funeral. There are forty two members in the smaller *iddir*; ten smaller *iddir* members formed the bigger *iddir*. She pays 5 birr for the smaller and 10 birr for the bigger. There is no payment during illness. If any of the members gets seriously sick, they carry him by stretcher up to the health centre or hospital, or up to the main road to take him by public transport.

She and her children attend Mekaneyesus church. Five years ago she and her husband were members of the Orthodox Church while her children were members of Mekaneyesus church.

The community is the safest place to live. As far as she knows there are no serious crimes like sexual attacks on women and girls, violent crimes, robbery, homicide and threats of violence. Occasionally

there are a few cases of crop theft in drought years. But it is not that serious. She knows that there is a militia but she has never dealt with them and does not know whether they are effective or not.

In the community, there are elders. If there is dispute they reconcile and create peace. If there is a criminal, the elders punish him mostly by ostracising him from the community. She does not know about community or *wereda* police, social court or the peace committee. In her view the *wereda* court has more authority and responsibility to punish and judge.

She pays twenty birr for land tax, 5 birr for Red cross, 10 birr for "Gogota" (Kembata People's Association) five birr for sport.

Women enjoy freedom to speak, participate in different local and governmental meetings, access to land, sharing household properties during divorce and equal participation with men in every aspect of the community. Young men participate in development programmes of the community like economic, political, and social. But they have no access to job and credit. The same is true for young women.

Structures of inequality in 2012

Wealth, poverty and class and household composition differences

Overall community wealth

The researchers observed a trend towards higher living standards, for instance with tin roofed houses more widespread and greater use of household goods, and the use of electricity and mobile phones. Several respondents mentioned that there was change in the livelihoods of a number of households in the community.

But it is unclear whether on the whole the community has become wealthier. The increase in market prices of agricultural products like coffee, wood, livestock and livestock products was mentioned as a positive factor by several respondents. But they recognised that this does not benefit everyone in the community and indeed, a number of poorer respondents stressed that skyrocketing prices of foodstuff and other items was negatively affecting their households.

Remittance flows have increased and it is likely that on the whole they increased the community's overall wealth but this is again concentrated on the households that have successful migrants sending remittances.

Spatial poverty

Households living on the hillsides are not necessarily poorer. They tend to have larger landholdings, though less fertile and prone to erosion. But they have less access to services and development activities. DAs and HEWs visit them less often. Schools and water points are more distant. There is no hope for them to get access to electricity.

Household wealth/poverty and class and household composition differences

In the past, wealth was measured in the size of land planted with enset ready for harvesting. Nowadays, additional wealth differentiating factors include the number of cattle a farmer has, having cash at hand, and being able to lend money to neighbours to be repaid in crop production.

In the *kebele*, the proportion of very rich, rich, middle, poor, very poor and destitute people was estimated to be 0.3, 6.7, 33, 39, 17, and 4% respectively. For the purpose of the land tax use households are categorised in poor, medium and rich and pay 20, 30 and 50 birr annually, respectively. But all other contributions, amounting to at least 20 birr, are uniformly paid by all.

Household wealth inequality is high and clearly visible by looking at the house and observing the compound of different households. The very rich and rich households have good houses, well fenced large compounds and household goods like sofa, TV and dish channels, buffet and guest rooms in

their houses.

Very rich people are business people who have one or two vehicles, coffee washing plants and living houses in town. In general, business people, families having children abroad and educated children are better-off than the others with respect to income and living conditions. Rich people are well-established farmers who produce surpluses, have children studying in town and get remittances from children or relatives living abroad. The main sources of wealth for these categories have been trade and remittances. Those returned from South Africa are also very rich. They constructed their own well-furnished corrugated iron roof houses and own Isuzu and motorbikes. The living standards of their families have also improved.

Middle wealth people are self-sufficient. The roughly 60% of poor, very poor and destitute are PSNP beneficiaries. There continues to be a direct correlation between land size and the economic status of households, except for a few who entered into medium economic status by reaching a very high productivity on a small area of land.

Many of the rich and middle wealth households show improvement in their living standards and are using agricultural inputs and adapting new technologies more effectively than households in the other categories. In this way the gap between rich and poor is becoming wider and wider.

There are many clans in the *kebele*, some much larger than others in terms of number of clan members living in the community but there is no longer any status difference among them. There is intermarriage among all clans except with potters and craft makers. Even the descendants of war captives started to intermarry with members of other clans although elderly people and clan leaders still show some resistance to this. As church leaders encourage the young generation to intermarry irrespective of clan background or ethnic origin, the youth seem to pay more attention to economic achievement (achieved status) than in the past.

There was no discussion about whether female-headed households tend to be poorer or not. However, a number of interviews highlight that relatively young widows with many young children usually eat the household's capital within a few years after their husband's death then find it very hard to maintain the household.

Large families can be a burden when the children are young, like the middle wealth farmer interviewed explained. But they can be a blessing when children have succeeded in their education and found employment, or successfully migrated and help the family. The middle wealth farmer himself was acknowledging that he might be better-off in a few years' time when his children currently studying in preparatory school and at university would have completed their studies and hopefully found gainful employment. The box below illustrates the different points made above and gives a sense of the order of magnitude involved.

Different wealth levels in Aze Debo'a

One poor man, 45-year old and with four children, has less than 0.1 ha of land.

One 59-year old middle wealth man is spending annually more than 6,000 birr to educate his children, three of them at high school in Durame and two older ones (daughter and son) at university (in management and civil engineering respectively).

One of the model farmers of the *kebele* explained that he is earning at least 10,000 birr annually from his coffee trees. He has a living house in Durame where two of his studying children live and he rents two rooms for 200 birr/month. Two of his children have graduated from university and are employed and although he does not need it they send some money for Meskel.

People sacrifice a lot to send their children to South Africa, like a primary school teacher from the Aze Debo'a school who gave 33,000 birr which he had saved at the bank, or this couple which sold their two oxen and all their woodlot trees for 23,000 birr for the same purpose.

But this can generate substantial wealth. One man returning from South Africa (and who had been

robbed more than 100,000 birr while there) explained that he had been able to send 30,000 birr in 2008 and 25,000 birr in 2011 – and to come back with 1.4 million birr. He had bought a house to live in Durame and was building a hotel there. He had an Isuzu for transporting goods and was earning a minimum of 10,000 birr/month with it.

There is a sense that some of the households in the *kebele* are 'non-deserving' poor – a sense linked to people's perception that the PSNP developed a tendency of dependency. Several respondents, officials but also community members, noted that the households benefiting from PSNP transfers tended to take this as a salary and stopped exerting effort to improve their lives by themselves.

Inequality within households

There is little information about inequality within households. Goods like mobile phones tend to be mentioned as belonging to the head of male-headed households or to children. As noted earlier many in young generation do not have access to their own land and if they stay with their parents may be in a position of lack of power. Young girls working on the coffee plant and other representatives of the younger generation living with their parents all mentioned that they were working to support the family or they were passing some of their earnings to their parents, but seemed to keep some of it for themselves – about which they could decide what to do with it.

Wereda officials noted that while there is no longer any serious gender-based discrimination against women in relation to access to social services and other benefits like FFW, there is still a gap with regard to over the household's resources and property: women still have less power than men in this respect. They also work more hours than men (as is common in other areas of the country). Community respondents did not comment on this.

Problems poor people face

Poorer households do not use public transport or motorbikes to go to town, do not afford the electric meter and a mobile phone, and do not afford improved seeds and fertiliser. They cannot afford sending their children to study at private colleges or universities like more fortunate ones do when their children fail to score enough points to get access to a government university. Poorer households also have a less diversified diet (see section on nutrition) and face longer or more frequent food shortage.

Social identity

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is said not to be a discriminating factor in the community. Several respondents recalled the troubles that erupted with the regionalisation policy, which still today people do not appreciate.

Almost everyone in the community is Kembata. There are eight or nine 'Amhara households' in the community. They have come more than fifty years ago. They have their own land, married Kembata women, speak the language. Most of them are Orthodox Christians though some have converted. They are considered and consider themselves as Kembata. As one 52-years old man explained:

My grand-father was a migrant who came to Kembata from Amhara roughly about 1922 EC. He obtained land in Aze Debo'a and moved there with his wife, an Amhara woman from Hossana. My father married to a woman from Kembata and he was born in 1952 in Aze Debo'a kebele. He himself married a Kembata woman. Most of my father's land was confiscated and given away to landless people after the collapse of the Haile Selassie regime and the proclamation of land for tillers in 1976. However, I still have about 1.5 hectare of land which is large enough compared to other households in the kebele. I am of middle wealth. I involve in all activities of the kebele; I am a party member and a member of a 1 to 5 group, and a member of my village's iddir. I am Orthodox Christian, but I do not celebrate holidays except Meskel, Christmas and Easter, unlike other Orthodox Christians. I perceive myself to be Kembata because I have Kembata blood through my mother, and I am native speaker of Kambatissa language as I grew up here in Aze Debo'a. My older daughter married a man from

Kembata who is a civil servant working in Durame town. My son also married a girl from Kembata and started his life in Durame town.

Clan / lineage / family

In Aze Debo'a forty seven (47) clans are represented, but some of them have very few members (e.g. one clan has just one representative).

As said earlier all clans have equal status, but three clans are largest and most powerful. They are the Galla (descendants from Oromo), the Dubbo and the Nurto. Together they represent 65% of the population of the community. Political power somewhat rotates between these three clans. There usually is no conflict about this. The Galla are politically dominant (the current *kebele* chairman is Galla), even though they are late-comers compared to others and there still are some Oromo links (e.g. with the names of some villages etc.), just because they have the largest number of people. The Dubbo are the most powerful economically, and the most educated. They were the first to convert to Protestantism and so had the first schools built on their land.

Clans are important in mutual solidarity and in regulating conflicts together with elders. There is some overlap between elders and clan leaders.

Each clan has its own rules and regulations, and an organisation with a chairman, a secretary, a cashier, an assistant and one normal member. If somebody dies or there is a grief in a family, the clan leader collects money from clan members and gives it to that household. If there is quarrel between clan members, the clan leader is responsible to reconcile them. There are five individuals elected to serve the clan members; chairman, secretary, cashier, assistant and one member. Clan members meet regularly, for instance once a month in some clans. They may have meetings when there is a case of death among the clan members.

The clan leader interviewed said that clans were independent from the government. He explained that he had been appointed in that position because he was leading a good Christian life, was economically better-off and was seen as an influential person. If he wants any advice or something is beyond the capacity of the clan organisation, the clan members of Aze Debo'a make an appointment and meet clan members living in other places to discuss the problem. Sometimes also they get an advice from other clan leaders.

Religion

In the area as a whole there has been a decade-long trend towards Protestantism. The Kembata zone is known to have the highest proportion of Protestant followers. Community respondents regularly recalled that the first Protestant converts (who converted from traditional religions and Orthodox Christianity) were from the area and were imprisoned to death in Asella, under Haile Selassie. Nowadays, in Aze Debo'a there remain only a few Orthodox Christian households (eight according to some, six according to one of them) and only one Muslim family. (The neighbouring Halaba *wereda* has a large Muslim population). In contrast, there are eleven different Protestant churches. Migrants in South Africa send remittances to the churches and some of the churches have been able to build huge halls that can contain several hundreds of people.

People usually say that there is no religious conflict in the community, although there is a conflict over land between one of the Protestant churches and the Orthodox Christian. The Orthodox Church, which had already a large land given to it under Haile Selassie, grabbed a large flat piece of land that used to be a burial ground for one Protestant congregation, which had stopped using it as such but were planning to start using it again because of population pressure. Recalling the earlier oppression against them, all Protestant followers have pulled together. Every Protestant follower from all Churches contributed 5 ETB to help pushing the case through the justice system.

This illustrates a broader trend whereby the different Protestant denominations help each other and generally collaborate – e.g. holding large spiritual conferences and prayer days together. There are differences between them in the rituals and also in how strict they are. For instance, the Kalehiwot church is very strict concerning alcohol. Mekane Yesus will advise and try to convince but not expel people who drink. However generally, all the churches have the same broad messages aimed to 'moralise' society. They strongly frown upon divorce, ban polygyny hence the widow inheritance tradition, and very strongly support the government messages against marginalisation e.g. of craft workers or 'slaves'. As one woman potter explained:

In the past it was very difficult for us to sit together and share food with other people; we were discriminated and perceived as inferior by many people because of making pottery. Since the last few years, however, there is a big change among the community in relation to us. Thanks to God, currently we can attend any meeting and sit with other members of the community whether it is a kebele or other meetings. We started to sit near other people after we converted to Protestant Christianity and started attending church on Sundays. I am permanent member of the church and attend all spiritual conferences conducted by my church and other protestant churches. Moreover, we became a member of Iddir in our village and the big Herra in our Kebele. Thanks to God once again, we presently worship together and eat food from the same plate especially with Christians in our kebele without any discrimination, which was unthinkable some years ago.

Protestant religious leaders (mainly Kalehiwot and Mekane Yesus) and missionaries are influential and highly regarded by the community. This is because people are thankful for the role in converting them from traditional religions to Protestant Christianity. Secondly, they are the first to have opened schools and built health institutions on Kembata soil, since the 1920s; in this way they highly contributed to the success of many individuals from the area. Church leaders together with elders and clan leaders will usually resolve all disputes in the community.

Churches also have a strong role in social protection – which is further described in section 3.5 below. The role of the Protestant churches in unifying the community also extends to youth. Most young people interviewed noted the importance of their church membership and of the support from fellow members. A number of respondents from the older generations highlighted that whereas youth had little involvement in the community's political and economic life, they fully involved in church activities.

Native/immigrant

There are no recent immigrants. There are a few descendants from Amhara who came several decades ago and consider themselves as Kembata.

Vulnerability and social exclusion

Disabled and chronically ill people

The research team interviewed one 18-year old girl who had polio, a blind elderly widow, a deaf man, and the mother of a mentally ill 37-year old man. The blind woman, who lost her sight when she was 12, said that she is the only blind person in the *kebele* but this is because her siblings and her husband all passed away. In her family all her siblings lost their sight like she had – and it is believed that this is because their parents did not present the required sacrifice to the family's spirit. The deaf man said that there were four other adult deaf people in the *kebele* but he does not know how many (if any) deaf children there can be.

There is no systematic government support for disabled people. However, the people interviewed did not seem to face social exclusion or any purposeful exclusion from government programmes.

The 35-year old deaf man had not been to school because there is no school for deaf people in the area. Now he has difficulties because he cannot be understood by *kebele* officials and others in the community. He explained that he is not included in the PSNP, but there is no indication of his wealth

status. He said he is interacting regularly with youth of his age in the *kebele* though not attending the Youth Association (YA) meetings.

The girl with polio had some assistance by World Vision and by the school itself. She is in pain at times due to the daily travel to school with crutches, but added that her family and she have no problem. Her family is not wealthy but also not among the poorest. She mentioned that both she and her father have mobile phones and her parents use commercial farming inputs – although they had to sell their hybrid cow and replace it by a cheaper local breed, to cover her schooling costs.

The elderly blind women seemed relatively well-off. She explained:

In terms of livelihood, we have no serious problem. I have one cow and I am a PSNP direct support beneficiary. With what I get from safety net I buy food stuffs to my household. I lead my life by what I earn from my plot of land, a monthly transfer of PSNP for four family members, and what I earn from begging. Currently, I have an area of my land covered by enset and a few coffee trees, and I split the rest into two and gave it for two people who plant annual crops like maize, wheat and teff by share-cropping. We mostly use enset and maize for our own consumption, whereas coffee, wheat and teff are for sale as source of income... Most of the time I go to Durame town on market days for begging. The money I obtain from begging is used to pay various expenses. It covers my weekly Equb contribution of 100 Birr and my Iddir contribution of 10 Birr per month. I also lend money for those who trade and share the profit equally.

She said that she does not have a lot of contact with the *kebele* administration and does not know much about the various programmes implemented by the government but she has direct support from the PSNP. She is an active member of her church and her school age children and grandchildren go to school and do well. She was assisted by World Vision when her house burned down six years ago, and with this assistance and support from her church members she was able to build a corrugated iron sheet roofed house where she now lives. She pays her taxes like everyone else.

The situation of the family of the mentally ill man is less good. His mother, a 70-year old widow with seven children, explained that her son has been ill since 17 years. He was a farmer and coffee trader before. He did not get any health treatment even though one of his younger brothers is a professional working in the *wereda* health office and two others are working in other government offices at zonal level. Fortunately he is not dangerous and can go and come back by himself to Durame and get some entertainment there, but he does not contribute anything to the family. She said that she had not been selected to benefit from the PSNP because the *kebele* administration assumed that she is obtaining remittances from her children. Yet she seemed to struggle in terms of livelihood, and that her adult and employed children were not helping her.

Residents in remote parts of the *kebele*

Residents in the hilly parts of the *kebele* have less access to all services and infrastructure developments. There is a big gap between for instance the (not poor) woman living on the way to the Hambaricho Mountain and the successful household living in the flat part, and very near all services. As each of them explained:

Woman living in the remote part of the kebele - Her children spend 30 minutes to go to school and more than an hour to return from school. Her house is far from all health facilities including the health post. Her household and their entire village have no access to electricity; roads are inaccessible by vehicles even in the dry season let alone in the rainy season. Fetching water from the sources is not an easy task and it takes more time than in the villages in flat areas and lower altitudes. Her household is rarely visited by DAs and *kebele* administrators due to its distance from the centre of the *kebele*. Likewise, she rarely visits the *kebele* office or attends the *kebele* meeting.

Successful household head and his wife - There is a great change in his household thanks to the infrastructural facilities made available in the *kebele*. He has access to electricity with his own meter, and therefore he has a personal radio and a TV with international channels. He watches spiritual

programmes and sometimes Aljazeera and BBC. As the mobile network has become available in this part of the kebele he and others in his family have their own mobiles. They have access to safe drinking water from a protected shallow well-constructed by Kalehiwot at a distance of 2 minutes from his house. The health post is 3 minutes in round travel. The main gravel road crossing the kebele passes near to his house so they have easy access to public transport and market outlets. The road has started to be asphalted since December 2011 and is expected to create further and better opportunities for transportation and marketing of various crops in the future.

The wife in the successful household summed it up when she said: *'we are benefited more than other community members'*. This is in part linked to their proximity to various services and facilities.

One advantage of living in the more remote part of the *kebele* is that landholdings are generally larger, as the DA NRM said. Indeed the woman living in that remoter part explained that she has a comparatively large plot of land. But her land is less fertile than land in the flat part of the *kebele* and moreover, her land and that of the village as a whole regularly gets washed away by flooding. Progress is being made to reduce this with the soil and water conservation activities. But she refused to construct terraces on her private land as she already has too little land.

Immigrants

As noted earlier there are no immigrants. There are a few descendants from Amhara who came several decades ago and consider themselves as Kembata. The interview of one of them suggests that they do not face any exclusion indeed (see section 3.2 above). He also is comparatively better off and seemed well integrated in the community - as he explains:

I lead my life in agriculture. I perceive myself to be of medium wealth. Most of my father's land was confiscated and given away to other landless people in the kebele after the collapse of the Haile Selassie regime and the proclamation of land for tillers in 1976. Nevertheless, I have about 1.5 hectare of land which is large enough compared to other households. I have enset and a number of coffee trees and I obtain a minimum of 5,000 Birr from the sale of coffee every year. I also planted avocado and mango and obtain about 2,000 Birr on average every year. I involve in all activities in the kebele and I am a member of EPRDF and in a group of 1 to 5. I have two Holstein breed dairy milking cows and one ox. I also plant maize and teff every year. I always produce enough for my family and never suffered serious food shortages except in 1984.

He regularly gets (and uses) advice from the DAs, calls the vet, got his children at school etc.

Landless/non-taxpayers

There are a significant number of households who returned from resettlement and are vulnerable as they do not have land except very small plots given by the *kebele* administration for them to be able to construct a house. However, some of them pay taxes – for instance, the potters who own 0.1 ha land do pay 58 birr taxes.

Landless people or non-taxpayers include many of the younger households. They do not face purposeful exclusion but from the data one gets a sense of a broader type of exclusion faced by the youth – because they cannot establish themselves independently due to lack of land and job opportunities. This is further discussed in section 3.4 and 3.5 below.

One man, landless but sharecropper of four plots of land, seemed to lead an absolutely normal farming life with no sense of exclusion from any service or discrimination against him or his family. He said that the landowners whose land he is farming are happy with him as he is a hard worker – but he deplores his lack of land. He became landless as he tried to resettle but came back after three years and having lost his three children there and almost not survived himself – his land had been given away. His experience of resettlement is described in the relevant section. He explained that

In my opinion, all packages of the government are relevant and beneficial to community members, but I cannot utilise them due to lack of land. However, I and those returned from resettlement areas

extremely hate the recent propaganda of the government to resettle us as if we were not aware of the problems and consequences resulting from resettlement.

He is nonetheless a party member and included in a 1-5 group, and he continues to be able to rely on the support of his clan members and the elders if he faces any challenge.

Destitute people

There are no homeless people. The worst cases are people who resettled and came back and found their land had been taken away. But if this was by someone from the same clan, clan leaders and elders would have some land returned to them. Or they would get some land from their brothers. If their land had been taken by people not from the same clan, clan institutions would be powerless but churches could intervene and convince people to hand over some land. So everyone has at least some piece of land and is able to build a house.

Agricultural laborer, child herder and domestic servant also could not be found. Working for others for a wage is looked down and people would not do this in the community. If they had to do it they would go away and do this in another community. (However, the kebele leader gave statistics about dozens of adult men involved in local daily labour so it seems that while the perception may still be strong that this is not a desirable option, it has become an important one).

There are children living with relatives who are not their parents, for instance, the brother of their father when the father died – the father's brother is considered as a second father and these children are like his children so they cannot be considered as domestic servants. The clan would control this i.e. prevent any abuse.

Craftworkers

Craftworkers used to be very strongly discriminated in Aze Debo'a and in Kembata generally. This included potters and smiths. Other people would not marry them and not share food let alone visit them. Their children would be harassed in school and in the former time would not be accepted in school. This discrimination has been strongly combated by the Protestant churches first, together with NGOs, and the government. There remains some discrimination – for instance there continues to be no intermarriage as opposed to the evolution with regard to 'slaves' (see below) and also in the meantime, some of them stopped practising their craft.

However, respondents of all groups agreed to say that discrimination had been significantly reduced. The woman potter interviewed confirmed this and explained the strong role of the churches in reducing discrimination (see above). Moreover, she explained:

In addition, we obtain a lot of assistance from our church and are happy of the mutual assistance among the Christians. For instance, the church gave me 200 Birr for the medication of my older daughter because she was seriously sick in 2010. In addition, the women prayer group gave me 40 Birr for my health treatment.

'Slaves'

'Slaves' in Kembata society were the descendants of war captives. Following the strong campaign against discrimination by the churches, the government and NGOs, nowadays it is impossible to talk about 'slaves' in Aze Debo'a. Nobody could be found who would identify someone else as a 'slave' or a person belonging to one of those lineages. Key informants said that (in contrast with craft workers) the descendants of war captives started to intermarry with members of other clans, although there is a resistance from aged people and clan leaders.

Non-members of the EPRDF

There is no social exclusion because people would not be members of EPRDF. Rather, it looks like if non-members are people who are less well integrated in the local community (like ex-Derg soldiers), who are no longer strongly integrated (elderly people), or who may be seen as not having much to

bring (e.g. blind or deaf people).

There is no evidence that not being a member of EPRDF leads to active exclusion from services or the benefits of particular programmes like the PSNP.

In relation to the PSNP, *kebele* officials explained that the question of party membership status of the beneficiaries is not quite relevant as according to them all household heads are party members. This is denied by some community members - as explained in the section on the 'local party'. When community respondents expressed doubt or grievance with regard to the fairness of the PSNP selection processes (including in relation to graduation) it was not related to EPRDF membership – but possibly to personal relationship with the *kebele* officials.

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

There is no polygynous household in Aze Debo'a, probably few if any unmarried mothers given the very strong influence of the strict Protestant doctrine, and also no divorcée could be found – for the same reason (see sections on religion and on marriage practice). The researchers explained that a woman divorcee would not stay in the community as divorce is very strongly frowned upon in the Protestant congregations. The ex-wife of the male divorcé had left the *kebele*.

Widows are not victims of purposeful social exclusion or exclusion from government programmes or services. But they face particular difficulties and have little specific support to overcome them – beyond the possible assistance of relatives or their late husband's relatives. Widow inheritance has disappeared (see section on marriage). However, remarrying is very difficult for a widow, because as per the Protestant doctrine she can remarry only widowers or possibly divorcés in cases of divorce where the ex-wife is culprit of promiscuity.

Most of the widows interviewed are not rich and find it difficult especially when their children are young/at school – because of the costs of raising the children combined with the fact that they cannot farm their land with profit (when they have land). This leads them to 'eat' whatever assets the household might have accumulated when the husband was alive and farming. The story of this now middle wealth and well established man seemed illustrates a situation which seems to still apply to many of the widows/female-headed households.

I faced a lot of problems during my younger age because of my father's death when I was 15 years old due to malaria case. I am the older son of my parents and I was in grade 7 when my father passed away. My father was a good farmer and we had enough production when he was alive. After his death, we gradually started to be starved as a result of my mother's weakness to make our land to be cultivated either by requesting our relatives/clan members or our church people for assistance. Therefore, I decided to drop out from my studies in grade 10 and I became a farmer.

Kebele officials explained that in case they have difficulties in distinguishing between households on the basis of the main PSNP criteria they give priority to women-headed households. However one relatively young widow (interviewed as poor female-headed household) explained that PSNP was helping but was insufficient. The cost of health treatment and/or the funeral ceremony was also mentioned as a common factor dragging the household down. In one case the widow had to borrow and she was still repaying several years after the death of her husband.

Moreover, additional shocks may severely undermine whatever slight improvements some widow-headed household can show thanks to the government programmes like PSNP and access to credit. For instance an older widow (75), whose husband passed away twelve years ago, explained that

I and my eight children survived because of the PSNP transfers for the last few years. Before this for the first years after the death of my husband and before PSNP came in, I and my children survived by eating up the assets the household had built when he was alive. Three years ago, we were able to purchase two cows by saving some money from our PSNP transfer and with a loan of 1,080 birr. Unfortunately, six months ago we suddenly lost them at the same time, to an unknown disease even

though the veterinarian diagnosed and gave them various drugs. Since then our life has been totally jeopardised.

The exception was the elderly blind woman, whose husband had died 12 years ago, and who was living quite well – as explained above.

Divorced men

Divorce is generally regarded as seriously wrong, but men divorcing are not expected to leave the community. One of their challenges may be the care of children in case children stay with them as in the case of the divorced man interviewed (see section on marriage). However, in his case his mother was staying with him and taking care of the children. There was no suggestion that he or his children might face exclusion.

Outcasts

This was not mentioned.

PLWHAs

There is a strong push to address the issues of stigma and discrimination against PLWHA, as part of the overall efforts in relation to HIV/AIDS, in the zone and *wereda* as whole. *Wereda* officials explained that there is an association of 23 PLWHA in Durame.

In Aze Debo'a 6 (7 according to some) PLWHA have disclosed their status. Two of them (one man with his wife who is alive and has HIV/AIDS as well, and one woman whose spouse died from the illness after having infected her), interviewed by the researchers, said that there used to be stigma and discrimination but it was now better. The woman who is alone explained:

When I disclosed my sero-positive status to the community in 2009, there was stigma and discrimination like gossip, pointing finger and not willing to share food especially from women. Currently, however, this is no longer as serious a problem as it used to be some years ago. Regarding my children, there is no stigma and discrimination because everyone in the kebele knows that they are HIV-negative.

They do not seem to face exclusion from services – they both explained that they contact the *kebele* administrators and HEWs when they need some support. The widow explained that she is getting advice from the HEWs and the DAs, and she has children at school. Her older son has been able to obtain a diploma from a private college although unfortunately he is not yet employed.

In fact, according to *kebele* officials PLWHA are targeted by programmes like training on income-generating activities (IGA) and the provision of credit by NGOs. The two interviewees did not mention this. The woman, in particular, seemed to struggle, from a combination of being relatively weak although she takes ART, and being single and responsible for children not yet independent. So she also explained that the support she gets is not enough and she is not in a position of supporting her children. Her second son and his younger sister who were attending their second class in private college were forced to drop out because she could not afford their school fees.

Orphans/ stepchildren

Key informants explained that according to Kembata culture, close relatives (mainly the father's brother) are responsible to take care of his brother's children. If no brother is alive, other relatives like the mother's brother or one of the aunts are expected to assist the children. In Aze Debo'a there was no evidence of these mechanisms in the information collected by the research team.

There was evidence of the fact that orphans get support through NGO programmes which make sure that they go to school and may provide livelihood-related support to the children's guardians. The government support as well through the provision of stationeries (see the section on achievements as reported by the HEWs). Moreover, orphans and child-headed households are also among those

to which *kebele* officials give preference in targeting PSNP.

However, some situations are pretty terrible – as the story of this child-headed household shows – and basically very little is/can be done with the existing government support programmes.

Box 1: Child-headed household in Aze Debo'a

She is single, but living with her 5 siblings after the death of her parents. Her parents died after they returned from the resettlement area. Three of them are in school at this time and but she is responsible to take care of them. They are very poor and living by PSNP support. They have only 0.2 hectare of land which is very small. Thus, she and her younger brother cultivate it.

They became the beneficiary of PSNP since 2006 and the payment is transferred for all six of them. Since one year the transfer is 75 Birr for one household member so she receives a total amount of 450 Birr per month for six months on average. Some years ago the payment was in terms of food stuffs like maize, wheat and food oil. The community insisted for the payment to be transferred in cash instead of being in kind. Since then, the payment is in cash. However, they would be happy if it was in both food crops and cash. They would be happy to receive local maize and edible oil because their price is very high in the market. She does not receive any assistance either from government or NGO or from any relative. Sometimes, the payment delays more than a month and they suffer a lot because they don't have anything.

Regarding the impact, the support provided through PSNP cannot fill the food gap at the present time. They fill the gap by getting some income in selling fruits like banana and avocado on market days. She sometimes leaves going to school on Tuesdays if her shift is in the afternoon, to go to the market. In addition, the Aze Debo'a Primary School assists them in school materials like uniform and stationeries. World vision covers their medical expenses.

Elderly people without relatives to help them

In the Kembata tradition, aged people are assisted by their own children and sometimes by their younger brothers, and even by other close relatives. The evidence from the research data shows that in Aze Debo'a in early 2012 children's assistance was forthcoming in many cases, but not always. There also seems to be a quite strong system in place of church members helping the most vulnerable people including elderly who would not have support from relatives. Again, elderly support-less people are among those given priority in targeting the PSNP. However, there may be cases in which the assumptions made by *kebele* officials are wrong – e.g. as explained above the elderly mother of a mentally ill 37-year old man, who has educated children working as government employees, explained that she was not a PSNP beneficiary because officials thought she had some support from them – but they had not even tried to help with taking their brother to seek treatment.

Genderage

Growing up in Aze Debo'a – boys and girls

Birth and infancy

Kebele officials and health workers stated that parents became better aware of taking care of their children like breast feeding only for the first six months, starting supplementary food after this, and the importance of taking children for vaccination and other health treatment as well as keeping their hygiene. At the household level, the wife of the *kebele* chairman (politically important household) mentioned the greater availability of child immunisation and nutrition intervention as changes compared to the past. The other wives and women heads of households said that there had been no change in rearing children. They added that in their household there were no differences between boys and girls in child-rearing.

Growing up – work and play

There is no information on work and play in children's life in Aze Debo'a.

Completing education

In the area there is a longstanding tradition of valuing education. Sending one's children to school has been further encouraged by the government policies. People of all ages and backgrounds stated that the main issue nowadays is not about completing education – this is much easier than in the past. The main issue is the lack of opportunity for children completing various education levels. Even with a diploma one may not get a job. As a result there is discouragement among children and parents alike. Some people say that this is likely to change the trend and that fewer children will bother to complete education.

Adolescence and youth

Compared to the past, adolescents and young people in Aze Debo'a engage in various income generating activities as access to farm land is extremely limited. Several respondents among the young people explained that land scarcity was not a new issue but it had become worse and worse. Adolescent and young people also move to other places in the country and have started to migrate abroad in increasingly large numbers.

Growing up male in Aze Debo'a

Circumcision

Boys' circumcision is not much talked about in Aze Debo'a, compared to girls'. In the households interviewed, some of the wives and women heads of household said that their sons had been circumcised at the health centre. The wife in the middle wealth household said that her sons had been circumcised at home.

Boys' work

A few women noted that both boys and girls help their parents after school. There is no information on the type of work that is expected from boys except helping their parents with farming.

When they get in their mid/late teen, alongside agricultural activities for their parents boys engage in petty trade and service activities to get an income. Some of the respondents mentioned that children could assist with the PSNP public works when they were busy or sick. This seems to be the case for both boys and girls but there is no information on how widespread this may be. Boys may also help their parents in other activities. For instance, one man who established himself as a stone crusher has a son helping him (he said, after school or during holidays).

Some boys work at the coffee washing plant on the heavier jobs (loading and unloading coffee from and on trucks etc.) but this is also once they have reached a certain age and are strong enough. There are fewer of these heavier jobs than there are jobs for adolescent girls and women (hired to dry the beans and pick out the bad ones).

Completing education

There are more education opportunities in general. The stories of the young men interviewed suggest that these opportunities are seized. However, young men from poorer families may face difficulties to pay school fees, get enough clothes and school materials, and this may force them to drop out of school.

Among the young men interviewed, both the richer and the poorer men in their early 30s reached grade 12 then stopped. The richer one has some land which he is farming while the poorer one is involved in farming for his parents, and they both are trading. They did not comment as to whether their education was useful to them and how. The middle wealth man of the same age group stopped before completing grade 10. The richer man in his mid-20s also stopped at grade nine because he quarrelled with a teacher, then he joined the military and when he returned from the army he had

lost interest. The middle wealth man in his mid-20s has a diploma but no job. The poor man in his mid-20s is grade 10. The late teens were still studying in grade 7 and grade 8 respectively. The poorer one combined this with farming (sharecropping land) and selling clothes to make an income.

Thus generally, young men have relatively high level of education but there is a sense of disillusion in the late teens' generation as this does not get them anywhere; whereas their education did not seem to be something particularly important for the 20- and 30-year old men.

Sexual initiation

Community informants indicated that nowadays there are more opportunities for young people of both sexes to meet openly, notably as young girls can move around which was uncommon in the past. Young people meet on market places, at school, during youth meetings, funeral and mourning ceremonies, at spiritual conferences and at Sunday church programmes. At the same time, the Protestant churches' influence seem to be at play too with a strong message against sex outside of wedlock.

Four of the young men interviewed were married, two in their early 30s, one in his mid-20s and one in his late teens. The one in his mid-20s explained that he had no girlfriend and no sex before getting married as he is a committed Protestant Christian. Among the others who were single those who mentioned this topic said that they did not have a girlfriend. They related this to the fact that they had nothing allowing them to marry and establish a household. One of them added that he was an active follower of the Christian faith and therefore would not have sex before marrying.

Leisure activities and bad habits

One young man mentioned that the many challenges faced by young men lead to risks that they would engage in criminal behaviour. The *kebele* chairman also said that lack of opportunities combined with lack of a recreation centre lead the youth to bad habits, and it enhances the risk that they would get infected with HIV/AIDS. These were the only two comments on this topic.

Several community respondents of different ages and backgrounds noted the absence of recreational facilities for young people in the *kebele*.

Finding work – economic independence

All young men highlighted that lack of access to farmland, credit and job is a major challenge for the youth of Aze Debo'a nowadays. Several added that as a consequence, young people remained dependent of their parents for longer. They said that there is no opportunity to lead a good life for youth, and this pushes them to migrate to South Africa and elsewhere. However one of them (rich in his mid-20s) had a less one-sided view. He too stressed the difficulties faced by young men in finding a way to become economically independent; but at the same time, he said

... boys in their late teens in the community... are not willing to work hard and educate themselves. They rather want to wear good clothes, eat good food and enjoy their life. They always complain about land shortage as if it is the only reason that hinders them from changing their life. Frankly speaking, even their parents do not have enough land...

The heads of households of older generations and their wives all mentioned the same issues and that this was affecting equally young men and young women. As youth cannot establish themselves locally they are '*forced to migrate to other areas of the country or abroad*'. In the past young boys and adult men from Aze Debo'a and the whole Kembata zone migrated for seasonal employment on the state farms in the Rift Valley. In the past two decades this has become a lot less common. Instead, young boys and men move to look for more permanent jobs. In the past ten years increasingly large numbers of young men have migrated to South Africa illegally.

People from the older generations highlighted particularly the lack of jobs for educated youth – and that there are many high school and college graduates who have no job in the *kebele*, a situation

which was unheard of some years ago.

Among the young men interviewed, only one was economically independent. He inherited his parents' land when his father died, which also led him to stop school (he is grade 12) and to get married. His land is very small but he engaged in coffee and grain trade since 2006, which got him in a better position than many. He has a house which he rents in Durame and his household was able to cope with the 2008 drought thanks to his trade income.

All other young men interviewed were economically dependent at the same time as they helped their parents with farming. They complemented this with one or more activities such as transportation between Aze Debo'a and Durame on a rented motorbike, coffee trade, selling clothes, trading oxen, sheep and chicken for holidays, and sharecropping land. The young man in his mid-20s who has a diploma did not find a job and is 'back at home'. He explained that he and his friend got a machine from World Vision (which had also assisted him in his studies) to produce house blockets and the *kebele* gave them a working place, but the *wereda* officials failed to give them credit in spite of promising and so he and his friends returned the machine to World Vision as they could not use it.

Getting married

Community respondents explained that in the past marriages were arranged through mutual agreement of the families. In particular, the parents of a boy were responsible to choose a girl for their son and to send elders to the girl's house. Nowadays, marriages have started to happen by agreement between the partners themselves. Accordingly, a boy has the right to choose a girl for himself, but his decision must be supported by his parents because the bride price is still paid by them. The bride price has also tremendously increased and this makes it more difficult for young men to marry.

Most respondents among the young men and the heads of households explained that the difficulties in becoming independent (due to lack of farm land, no access to credit and jobs) lead the youth to marry later. They cannot marry at the right age because they have nothing. Those who can be supported by their parents can possibly marry but they remain dependent on their parents.

Among the young men interviewed four were married. The richer young man in his early 30s said that he had to marry as no one could support him after his father died. He already has three children. The middle wealth one got married by his own choice and his parents accepted his marriage. He and his wife were engaged for six months and then they married. The rich young man in his mid-20s married when he wanted and chose his partner, and his choice was approved by his parents. The married young man in his late teens explained that his parents insisted for him to get married as he is their only son and they wanted him to assist them in farming. He knew his wife since childhood. Because they both were from poor families he insisted that she would marry him without a wedding ceremony and so, they married by elopement. But, he said, his situation is not typical and most of the youth have problems in getting a marriage partner.

This difficulty was confirmed by the other, non-married young men.

Establishing an independent household

In the same way, establishing one's independent household has become very difficult. Of the married young men only one can be said to have an independent household. All the young men interviewed said that it was difficult. One of them, in his late teens, explained that someone from a poor family may spend even spend his entire life without being married at all and remain dependent on their parents for a very long time. The heads of households from older generations also mentioned the greater difficulty for young men (and women) to establish independent livelihoods and their own household.

Of those married young men, the rich in his early 30s has an independent household: he has no

parent left and inherited their land. The richer one in his mid-20s explained that he has built his own house for him and his wife in the compound of his parents; his mother is still alive and she is considered to be the head of household. The other two married young men (middle wealth in his early 30s and late teens) live with their parents. The late teens' man said that although he is married he depends on his parents for many things as he does not have land and could not establish his independent household.

Having children

In the same way as for marriage and the establishment of one's independent household and for the same reason (difficulties in getting economically independent), young men and people from older generations said that young men had children later than before. Some explained that young people might possibly marry without being independent but they would not have children. Among the young men interviewed, only one in his early 30s had children. The other two who were married did not have children. The young man in his late teens, married but living with his mother and who is still at school said that his wife was taking contraceptives.

Community participation

Young men mention their friends, the church and their parents as being important in their life. In contrast government interventions were seldom mentioned as important, apart from schooling but with the downside of joblessness even for the educated ones.

The young man in his early 30s with his own land mentioned that he had some advice from the DAs on terracing; a few of the young men noted that they had advice from the health extension workers on various issues (for instance on HTPs, use of latrine and avoiding malaria). As explained above sometimes government officials promise things that they do not fulfil like when they failed to provide credit to the group of young men who had received from World Vision a machine to produce blockets. The middle wealth, early 30s man living with his wife and his mother and ploughing her land explained that he did not get fertiliser because government officials give priority to model farmers. The richer young man in his mid-20s and some others noted that the government contributed nothing to their lives.

The young men in their early 30s said that they are members of the youth association. In this age group, the poorer young man who lives with his mother is also a health army member and teaches the community about HTPs and the prevention method against HIV/AIDS. But the middle wealth one said that apart from being a member of a cell, a 1-5 group and the youth association, he had no participation in the *kebele*. The richer young man in his mid-20s also stated that he has no participation in the community; he does not know anything about the *kebele* and *sub-kebele* and about politics, he is not a member of anything like a development team or a 1-5 group and he is not a member of the youth association. Instead, he participates in an *equb* with 20 members and which rotates 2,000 birr: his main activity is coffee trade and *equb* are important for traders.

People from the older generations did not dwell much on the participation of young people in community activities. Their main concern was the difficulties faced by young men in establishing themselves independently.

The youth association does not seem to be very strong. Two of the young men mentioned that they were members and one that he was not. The poorer young man in his late teen said that he used to be a member but had stopped because there was no benefit.

Growing up female in Aze Debo'a

Circumcision

In Kembata society, customarily girls are circumcised before they marry. It is a quite severe form of circumcision and is referred to as female genital mutilation (FGM) in the local discourse by local

government officials and NGO staff as well as people from the community. The research team in Aze Debo'a spent some time enquiring about FGM, the causes for it and recent trends – through interviews with key informants and focus group discussions. Some of their findings on the history of the practice are presented in the box below.

Box 2: History of female circumcision in Aze Debo'a

It is not known when and how female circumcision started to be practised in Kembata society but it has served as a rite of passage to marriage for centuries - a symbol that indicates a girl is mature and ready for marriage. As girls married quite late usually FGM was performed after the age of 20.

In the past two decades there was an evolution. Perhaps due to greater interaction of rural communities with urban groups of different ethnic backgrounds, girls started to marry earlier and circumcision to be performed at a younger age as well. For instance in Aze Debo'a, which is close to town, a considerable number of girls underwent FGM between 12 and 14. KMG staff suggested that some households started to circumcise their daughters at a lower age after the campaign against FGM had been initiated and before it was totally banned by the government. However, some of the women stressed that they are not comfortable with this tendency because they believe that girls circumcised too young would be stunted.

Informants explained that most people in the community are well aware that circumcision has nothing to do with religion and it is not supported by the Bible and the Quran. FGM was performed to comply with the tradition. According to beliefs underpinning the practice, FGM is performed:

- To make the girl clean by removing the clitoris, considered as an extra organ. Otherwise, she will be considered impure and will not get a husband and social acceptance in the community.
- To prevent her from breaking utensils and being insulted by her age group.
- To prevent her from becoming absent-minded and to have better marriage relations.
- To prevent her from becoming over sexy or to restrain her sexual desire. Otherwise, she may seek extra-marital sex for satisfaction, sexual intercourse with her could not be easy, and she may even not be regarded as a female.
- As a rite of passage to marriage, to respect a tradition of their community passing down from generation to generation and one is born and socialised.
- For getting the respect of their own family and the community.
- Because an uncircumcised girl will be disobedient, uncontrollable, insubordinate, powerful, untamed, uncouth, and ill-mannered if she is not circumcised.

Numerous local terms are used to insult and degrade the uncircumcised girl among the Kembata such as referring her to be an untrained mare and having a prickle, a comb or with three legs.

Nowadays, thanks to a strong campaign by local NGOs, the Protestant churches and the government (which is further described in a later section), the uncircumcised girls and women in Kembata are said to face less serious stigma, although in rural areas they may still be insulted. Several times in the past decades thousands of uncircumcised girls marched to Durame, the capital of the Kembata zone, to hold demonstrations. Among these girls, some of them married without being circumcised.

In Aze Debo'a women of various ages indicated that thanks to the various awareness raising activities there had been a remarkable impact with regard to FGM. Respondents mentioned tangible signs like the fact that here is no longer any ritual celebration to mark the occasion of FGM. They explained that most community members are aware of the health hazards caused by FGM, and that girls no longer feel ashamed of being uncircumcised. But there are rumours that FGM is still being performed within the community by sending daughters to the neighbouring zones.

The woman head of a successful household said that her older daughters were circumcised, out of ignorance, but she does not circumcise her younger daughter because she 'has awareness'. The wife in the middle wealth household also said that all their daughters were circumcised when her

awareness was very low, but she will not circumcise her grand-daughter living with her. The wife of the successful farmer too said that her daughters were circumcised, but she has a plan not to circumcise her grand-daughters. The *kebele* chairman's wife explained too that her older daughters were circumcised when she was not aware of the adverse effects of FGM, but her younger daughters are not circumcised. The poor farmer's wife said that their daughters are very young still, but they do not have a plan to circumcise them because she is aware of its negative effect.

Among the nine young women in their early 30s, mid-20s and late teen and of various wealth backgrounds, all were circumcised except the poor young woman of 16-17 who said that as a result of health education and awareness raising by KMG she committed not to be circumcised. One of those who were circumcised specified that it was on her mother's insistence. Another said that she was circumcised before she knew the health hazards of FGM. Another explained that because of the severe circumcision she had undergone she was sick for more than a month and as a result, her parents did not circumcise her younger sister, who 'is ready to marry without undergoing FGM'. One of them, in her early 30s, said that she had no plan to circumcise her daughter (who is 7 today) because she is aware of the health hazards caused by FGM.

Girls' work

There is relatively little information on the type of work that girls are expected to do. As noted earlier, some of the mothers said that children of both sexes worked to help their parents after school. However, the wife in the poor household said that women's workload had increased because girls were going to school. The 18 year-old girl from a poor household explained that as she was the oldest among her siblings she had a lot of tasks at home and in the fields, but she managed to do this after school. Her parents were supportive of her studying which also helped.

Once they become adolescent, girls also engage in income-generating activities sometimes alongside schooling. Girls from poorer families may need to be engaged more fully in these activities and drop school. The most often mentioned activities are small-scale trade of fruits and coffee (collecting products from a few households and selling them on local markets) and seasonal work on the coffee washing plant. This is a new trend as in the past girls could hardly move out of their house.

Completing education

Community members generally stated that nowadays girls have as much opportunity to complete education as boys. Parents are serious about sending girls to school. The young women interviewed confirmed that completing grade 8 is not a big issue for most. Like for young men, it is more problematic for young women to try and move higher up in the system, and they face joblessness after completing their education. One poor young woman in her late teen highlighted that girls face specific challenges. For instance if they lack money to buy sanitary materials they have to stay at home during their periods. Young girls from poor families, like young boys, might also lack clothes and school materials.

The young women interviewed had completed fairly high levels of education – minimum grade 8. Several of them explained that they dropped out because of economic problems in the household and/or to get married.

The richer young woman in her early 30s dropped out after grade 8 but she did not seem to mind as it was to get married as she wanted. In contrast, the middle wealth young woman in the same age group explained that she was forced to stop school and marry, following economic problems in her parents' household and as she had nothing that belonged to her. The poorer woman in her early 30s completed grade 10, after which she married and had a first child.

In the mid-20s age group, the richer young woman completed grade 10 a few years ago. She explained that she does not have any job and that she would like to continue further, up to university, but she did not seem to have a specific plan on how to make this happen even though

she is not married. The middle wealth young woman stopped and got married after grade 8, of her own choice. She is now involved in trading coffee four days a week on local markets, but she said that she would like to return to school. The poorer young woman in that age group also completed grade 10 but said nothing more.

Two of the three young women in their late teen had completed grade 10 and grade 8 respectively. One of them, who now is married (out of her own choice), explained that she is not thinking about continuing to learn as she has a workload as a married woman. The most striking case is the young woman in her late teen and who is from a poor family. She is in grade eight and is supported by World Vision in her studies. She explained:

My ambition is to join the university and have a good job. I do not have any problem that interrupts my study at this time because I am assisted by World Vision. I like attending school regularly and my parents also advise me to learn effectively. My work does not interfere with school because I do it after school hours. I started assisting my mother in household work when I was seven years old. I have not started taking an interest in boys and I do not have any boyfriend because I learned in our church that having sex before marriage is a sin and written in the Bible. I have no interest to get married at this time because I want to finish my education and get my own job. My parents are not willing to see me married before I join the university. I am good at all subjects and hope to score a good grade in the examination.

Sexual initiation

As explained earlier, community members suggested that youth of both sexes have more opportunities to meet. However, like the young men, the young women who are married explained that they had their first sex with their husband. Those who are single all said that they did not have boyfriends. As shown in the case of the poor young woman who studies to get to university, two intertwined discourses explain this trend. First, the protestant churches carry out a strong message against having sexual relationships outside of wedlock. At the same time, organisations sponsoring children and young people in their studies pass the message that getting involved in such relationships is not compatible with strong performance in one's studies.

Leisure activities and bad habits

A few respondents noted the absence of any recreational facility in the *kebele* – affecting young women as well as young men. There was no discussion of bad habits in relation to young women in Aze Debo'a. Key community informants noted that young women migrating to work as housemaids in the country or abroad could end up in prostitution, but this was more like a general statement.

Finding work – economic independence

Young women face the same constraints as young men. The rich early 30s woman explained for instance that *'owning property and leading an independent life without being dependent on one's parents is very difficult for most youth in Aze Debo'a'*. Land shortage already affects most youth's parents. She added

Parents resign to give a piece of land to their children only after all other possible alternative livelihoods have been exhausted and the youth decide to lead their life by farming... In general, having an independent source of income, creating assets, getting married and bearing children have been major challenges for the youth in our area.

She explained that the challenges are even more severe for young women as there are options that are not available for most of them, like moving here and there to get daily labour opportunities. So, they depend heavily on their parents.

However, in the past decade young women have started to migrate in other areas of the country to work on flower and other farms or as housemaids in big cities like Addis Ababa and Hawassa. Since two or three years migration to Arab countries is also on the increase, for housemaid work. Young

girls and women do this to get some economic independence as they have very little other options. In the course of the research three young women were interviewed, all three grade 10 dropouts or completers, and working at the coffee washing plant. Two of them were hoping to save enough income to be able to migrate abroad.

Young women get involved in income generating activities when they still live with their parents. The general trend seems to be that part of their income is remitted to their parents to help the household, but they keep a part with the aim of getting independent. The location of a new coffee washing plant in the *kebele* has represented a big opportunity for young women of Aze Debo'a. Before this, they had to go to the neighbouring *kebele* and compete with workforce from that *kebele*. Apart from this work, which is seasonal, young women seem to be mostly involved in small scale trading of fruits and coffee, and some livestock rearing. When they are married they work with their husband.

Several of the young women clearly stated, as part of their aspirations, that they wished that the government would create income generating activities for the youth, providing credit and jobs for those who have completed their studies.

Getting married

There are several trends at play. Several community respondents explained that girls have started to marry earlier than used to be the case in the past. It was common for girls to marry after twenty. Nowadays they may marry earlier. At the same time, most of the young women also highlighted the challenges faced by young men and women alike in trying to get on the trajectory of becoming independent, getting married, establishing one's household and bearing children. But it seems that the difficulty is not in getting a partner but in affording an independent life. Landless and jobless young people either remain not married for a long time, or they remain dependent of their parents after their marriage.

The stories of the young women interviewed in the course of the research tend to suggest that most women still marry fairly late. The rich early 30s woman married when she was 20, after falling in love with her husband - with whom she still lives nowadays. The middle wealth woman of that age group married when she was about 23, out of necessity as her parents were facing big economic difficulties after returning from resettlement. The poorer woman in that age group married when she was 27. Among the women in their 20s, the richer one who is just 20 is still single and does not have a boyfriend, whereas the middle wealth one got married this year at the same age (20). She chose her husband and her parents agreed. Another woman who is 20 still lives with her parents too. Of the two 18 year old women interviewed, one has just married and it was her choice and decision to get married at exactly 18, whereas the other is the young lady who wants to continue to study. As explained earlier she has no interest in marriage for the moment and her parents also do not want her to marry and stop her studies.

Many respondents highlighted the change in relation to choice of one's partner. The stories above tend to confirm that there is indeed a shift there.

Establishing an independent household

The situation for young women is similar to that for young men and a continuation of the challenges that they face to becoming economically independent. So among the nine women from their late teen to early 30s, six were married and among these six, the three women in their early 30s had established their independent household. So had the mid-20s woman of middle wealth, who lives with her husband only as they have decided not to have children immediately. The other two married women lived with their husband's parents.

Having children

Having children and bringing them up well has become a challenge for young couples. As one of the

young women explained, when young men marry without being economically independent and have children, the children suffer: *'they become weak and emaciated'*. Some newly married couples accordingly decide not to have children immediately, like the young woman in her 20s and of middle wealth, who started taking contraception immediately after her marriage. However, it is not clear that these are the majority. The other married young couples either had had children very soon after getting married or were planning to do so. The richer woman in her early 30s who had married when she was 20 had already five children between 3 and 11 year old.

Community participation

The above shows that young women face many of the same difficulties as young men. Like young men, they actively participate in church activities. Their parents or their husband are important people for them, whereas government interventions according to them play a limited role in their life.

It seems to still be rather unusual that young women would be closely involved in community management issues. For instance, the middle wealth mid-20s young woman said that *'since I am a woman and newly married, I have no role involved in any co-operative or other government intervention'*. She explained that she is not participating in the *kebele* office, development team, 1-5 cell and women or youth association. The middle wealth young woman in her late teen similarly explained that she is not a member of any of these *kebele* structures. On the other hand the *kebele* secretary who is a young diploma holder woman from the community seemed to be fairly influential in the *kebele's* affairs.

Two of the young women in their early 30s said that they were members of the women's association – although the middle wealth one added that it had no benefit and she did not have any knowledge about politics. The other young women did not mention this point.

Gender inequities

Wereda officials mention that female circumcision used to be a critical factor of gender inequity, but in their views this is on the verge of being eliminated. They are of the opinion that apart from this there is no serious discrimination against women in relation to social services and other benefits like FFW. However, they reckon that women have less power in controlling the resources and property of the household, and they also tend to work longer hours – as is common too in other areas of the country.

Kebele officials note that fetching water continues to be primarily the responsibility of female household members, although gradually male children and teenagers get involved too. Key community informants explained that in the past enset processing activities were carried out exclusively by women, whereas nowadays men are involved in many such activities – like uprooting and transporting the roots and trunks. In turn, women are now also involved in many activities which were previously carried out exclusively by men like hoeing, weeding and harvesting crops.

As said just above, women and girls are also freer to move around than in the past, although one of the young women explained that many girls could not go to other places to find daily labour like boys are doing.

Age inequities

Age inequities arise mainly with respect to access to land. The older generation stresses the lack of access to land but also any other livelihood option for the young generation.

Social equity interventions

Assistance to poor people

Government support to poor people is mainly through the productive safety net programme. In

addition, when drought happens the government provides emergency food aid for several months to poor people/people facing food shortages and with nothing to fall back on (in contrast to the successful household whose head explained that he has '*enough assets and cash at the bank*').

Apart from this the government is also assisting some poor households' children by providing them with school materials and uniforms. Key informants mentioned that poor people can be treated at a lower price and sometimes even free of charge in the government health institutions by producing a letter from the *kebele* administration. However none of the community respondents interviewed seemed to have had access to this – even poor people like the 82-year old man, direct support beneficiary and without support from relatives, who said that he has never been treated without payment in the health centre. The physically disabled girl from a poor family said the same. Churches and NGOs are also active in supporting poor people in getting access to education and health services.

The provision of credit by government or NGOs is also aimed at supporting poor people in priority. *Kebele* officials explained that the main criterion to select beneficiaries is the households' economic status: credit services are giving priority to households in the poor and very poor categories, except KMG which gives loans only to women.

Community respondents also mention support to poor people in the form of provision of fertiliser, improved varieties of crops, fruits and vegetables, farming oxen, livestock and fodder plants by NGOs working in the *wereda*, including in good years. The *kebele* chairman explained that for instance, World Vision is purchasing hybrid cows, farm oxen and goats for five or six households per year. Three years ago, KMG purchased and distributed three sheep to each of 80 households in total, as well as 800 birr to each.

There is no consensus as to whether this assistance is effective. As further discussed in section 4.2 in Aze Debo'a all PSNP beneficiaries are in the very poor and poor categories of households. However, the quota is too small to include all such households. Moreover, *wereda* and *kebele* officials and some of the community respondents believe that PSNP is not the solution as it creates dependency; graduation have only started to happen, and those who have been selected to graduate are deeply unhappy about this as they say that they have not improved their life.

The provision of credit has been limited because of constraints on the available budgets. E.g. the Rural Finance Fund was very small and loans were small too. In addition it has now phased out and has not been replaced by anything yet. A few people mentioned the forthcoming Household Asset Building Programme but they thought that it will target the PSNP graduates - which will not be among the poorest of the households. Overall, the demand to get credit is much higher than the access to credit services. These various limits have played against the effectiveness of the support.

Overall, some people in the community are of the opinion that although a large amount of resources have been invested on poor people in the *kebele* by the government and NGOs, these people '*have not shown any concrete change in their life*'. Whereas some people note that the women who got access to credit from KMG show some progress and are able to save money on a monthly basis because there is a close follow up and technical advice provided by its experts. They also highlight that providing dairy cattle and oxen to poor households, which both World Vision and religious organisations do, is effective in terms of both bringing greater food security and opening up a source of income for these households.

There is not any type of insurance (crop, livestock or health) that would help to protect especially poor people against shocks. *Wereda* officials said that this is one of the areas untouched by the government and it is not available throughout the country. One of them had heard on the BBC that crop and livestock insurance has just been started in Kenya.

Interventions to help vulnerable people

There is a strong correlation between vulnerability and poverty in Aze Debo'a, and the interventions targeting poor people and households in fact address some of the vulnerability. *Kebele* officials explained that for instance when they have difficulty distinguishing between households in terms of wealth status they give priority to vulnerable households – like widows. However, there is no systematic government support for vulnerable groups including elderly and weak people with no or little support from relatives, orphans in the same situation, mentally ill and disabled people and their families, and People Living With HIV AIDS (PLWHA) beyond free-of-charge provision of ARV drugs.

For all these groups, their families and relatives are the first port of call in terms of assistance. In Kembata culture for instance, when a man who has children dies one of his brothers will take responsibility, and the clan will oversee that this happens. It is also customary to assist one's parents, and for siblings to assist one another. But as some respondents noted, *'the community is supporting vulnerable people in various ways as it has been before, but the number of vulnerable people is increasing over time'* and *'life has become hard for everyone'*.

The government supports orphans and vulnerable children through providing them with school materials and clothes, and financing their medical expenses. The *kebele* statistics mention that in 2011 there were 286 orphans who got some support including 135 who received stationeries from the *wereda* education office and 24 from the *wereda* health office, 124 students (or their families) were provided with food and 7 students who got free health treatment. As World Vision provides similar type of support the statistics are likely to include both government-financed and NGO-financed support activities. Sometimes the same people get support from several sources. For instance the disabled girl walking with crutches is supported by World Vision and she also gets some assistance by the government through the school.

Disability like that of the girl is in a sense easier to address. In contrast, as noted in section 3.3 above there is no specific support by the government for people who are deaf, blind and mentally ill or for their family. There is no special school or teachers trained to cater for deaf and blind people. There is no programme to support families of mentally ill people in seeking treatment. PLWHA get access to some food supplements through the HEWs and are given priority for things like bed nets but this is not regular and not sufficient.

Generally, people who are in situations of vulnerability stated that the support they get through government channels is not sufficient. Sometimes also, government officials make assumptions that do not hold in practice – like in the case of the mother of the mentally ill man who has other children working in government jobs and is believed to get remittances from them which she said, is not the case.

Community respondents explained that most of the assistance to vulnerable people is provided by NGOs and faith-based organisations/churches: assistance to orphans and vulnerable children (educational materials, financial subsidy, school fees, school uniform and medical care) through their guardians (World Vision, the Ethiopian Kalehiwot Church, the Evangelical Church Mekaneyesus and others); food assistance to PLWHA (same); various types of crop/livestock production inputs to selected households (World Vision, KMG); credit for poor people in groups (KMG) etc. Churches also assist vulnerable people in their daily chores, with volunteers helping e.g. elderly people in farming etc. Several interviews gave examples of these types of support. This support is generally much appreciated.

In particular, in the strongly Protestant community of Aze Debo'a the various Protestant churches play a big role in assisting poor and vulnerable people. First, church members help each other – including some financial assistance in cases of health problems for instance. Second, churches as institutions also assist the vulnerable groups in the society, as advised in the Bible. Most churches have a tradition of providing free labour service to elderly people, disabled people, patients, orphans and child- and female-headed households of their church once a week, by farming their plot of land, decorticating their enset, building their houses and performing other duties. Besides that, churches

assist destitute people. One blind person interviewed explained that his church fellows had dug a toilet for his family, and they were assisting him for the big religious ceremonies.

Churches are also active in supporting vulnerable people with education. The blind man from Aze Debo'a recalled the following striking story as an example:

Two blind men (now about 32 and 35 years' old) got the chance of attending school with the support of the Kalehiwot and churches. They attended primary school in a Missionary School and high school in Addis Ababa. Both of them obtained degrees. One obtained a BA degree in Law from Addis Ababa University in 2007 and he is presently working in Addis Ababa. The other is a BSc graduate and he is currently teaching in Durame High School.

Churches, together with some NGOs like World Vision, also assist orphans and vulnerable children who lost their parents due to HIV/AIDS and other reasons. They provide educational materials and financial subsidy through the children's guardians or close relatives, and cover school fee and uniform and medical care expenses. They also involve in counseling PLWHA and providing food assistance to seven of them who disclosed their sero-positive status to the community.

Female-headed households are counted as a vulnerable group. Not all such households are poor or vulnerable, as shown by the case of the relatively successful one interviewed. But when the husband dies early and leaves behind a family with many dependent children there is no assistance which would allow the widow to actually strengthen or avoid eroding the household's assets. For instance the woman head of a poor household explained that as she gets no support she is forced to sharecrop and cannot make best use of her land, and therefore she cannot 'show any improvement'. She gets support for sending her children to school and PSNP but nothing else.

Promoting equity for women

Legislation and awareness-raising

Wereda officials were generally upbeat with regard to achievements in promoting equity for women. The strong campaign against female circumcision has been described above. In addition, generally there has been a lot of awareness creation about women's property and broader rights – by NGOs like KMG, the women's associations and the *wereda* Women's Affairs Office. *Wereda* officials explained that in addition to a much higher level of awareness (e.g. on land inheritance rights, rights against male violence etc.), efficient legal protection was given by the local enforcing bodies. While few property-related and domestic violence cases between husband and wife come to the *wereda* court, these cases are handled efficiently by elders, neighbours and church leaders.

Kebele officials stressed progress in particular in relation to women's rights to land. They explained that

Currently, all land owners in the kebele have got a certificate with the name of the two spouses and the children. In addition to enhancing farmers' confidence in land tenure security, leading them to invest in tree plantations and other conservation measures, this establishes women's rights on land. In the former time, women and girls had no right of claiming the land and property of their parents. In most cases, if a widow had no children from her deceased husband, her husband's brothers would insist for her to leave the house and go to her parents' house. At present women are aware of their rights towards land and property inheritance, and where and how to apply to wereda court.

The *kebele* manager (who is a diploma-holder young woman from Aze Debo'a) highlighted the key role of the *wereda* Women Affairs Office in providing support for women having court cases related to land and property inheritance. As a result, she said, no widow is uprooted from the land, especially since the last one decade.

Community respondents concurred with the point that there is better awareness of women's rights, including by the women themselves. There is no new law, but the law is better known. Women have attended a number of training programmes, by the government and KMG, and got organised by the

wereda Women Affairs Office. Moreover, women from the community explained that since two years in each *kebele* of the *wereda* there is a high school graduate girl assigned by the *wereda* WAO. She is working in collaboration with the *kebele* women association chairperson, the *kebele* chairman and members of the *kebele* administration on all cases related to women. Community respondents stated that the extent of gender-based violence had substantially decreased.

Women themselves confirmed their awareness of their rights in relation to land and property. The women association leader reported that in the past year they were able with the assistance of the *wereda* women association and the *kebele* administration to return to a widow her land that had been taken away by the brother of her deceased husband.

In relation to women's social, economic and political empowerment, *wereda* officials were upbeat as well. They said that women have equal access to social services and other benefits like FFW – although they still have less power in controlling the household resources and like elsewhere in the country they work longer hours than men. Female enrolment is very high, which is a continuation of a longstanding trend: in Kembata some parents started to send their girls to school in the same way as boys in the 1950s. The *wereda* Women Affairs Office head noted that women participate at all levels of government structures, from 1-5 level to *kebele* and *wereda* levels.

Generally both men and women from the community agreed that there has been some change with regard to women's empowerment in the community. The two women heads of household noted that women were '*free to speak and participate in different local and governmental meetings, had access to land and could share household properties during divorce, and had equal participation with men in every aspect of the community*'. Men said that there had been a change in women themselves and in their husbands, and that people in the community now recognised that women are '*not weak, powerless and unable to make decisions*'. They stressed that people were made aware with regard to HTP, access to land, rights following divorce, avoiding looking at women as weak and powerless, rights of widows and access to economic opportunity.

Women generally agreed although they highlighted some continued limitations. For instance, the wife in the poor household noted that while women can in principle share land and other property after divorce, in practice divorce is not accepted and rarely occurs because the community is Protestant, and when it occurs, the woman usually leaves the community. She and some other women also noted that women lack practical ways of being economically independent – their access to credit and income generating activities is limited.

With regard to political empowerment, in principle indeed women have equal rights to participate in community management as men. The interviews of wives in the male-headed households tend to suggest that it still is not usual for women to play leading roles in government and party structures at the local level, with a few exceptions. Women are also not in leadership positions in the clan structures. In contrast, women can occupy key positions in church organisations.

Women's organisations

There is a branch of the Women's Association in the *kebele*, with about 385 active members. According to its leader the main role of the association is to mobilise women to be members and increase their participation and role in decision-making and in the control of their household's resources. It also plays a role in protecting the rights of women by reporting and assisting women who are exposed to gender-based violence. The Association meets once in a quarter or every two months, and monthly when elections approach. The membership fee is 5 birr. There is also a women's league with about 70 members, and a women's federation whose role is not clearly understood even by the WA leader.

The WA leader explained that the WA was not as active as used to be the case during the Derg regime and also when KMG was working on human rights, before the new NGO legislation. In her view, the *wereda* WA and Women Affairs Office seem to have less budget compared to other line

offices and as a result the association has many problems. It has no budget even for stationeries – although NGOs like KMG support them with stationeries and in providing trainings on issues related to gender, gender based violence, HTPs and others. The WA has no office of its own. It shares the office of the *kebele* and it has no property of its own except some written documents.

The WA leader reported their success in getting a widow's land back (as just explained) as an example of their usefulness. However, the women interviewed from the community did not mention any benefit from being a member.

Apart from the WA there is one recently established savings and credit organisation for women, supported by KMG. It has been in place for less than two years and its impact is not yet very strong. It is discussed more fully in relation to the provision of microcredit in the *kebele* (in section 4.2).

KMG is also organising uncircumcised girls in club as it has done in the zone as a whole since more than a decade. In this respect the policy has changed recently and clubs are now mixed, for male and female youth, as KMG found that it was critically important to sensitise young men so that they would not be the ones to demand that their future wife be circumcised.

Youth policies and programmes

Youth organisations

The leader of the *kebele* youth association explained that the YA has 264 active members of which 100 are young women. There is a league with 27 members, of which 7 are young women, and a federation which is formed by the association and the league together. The YA members involve in conservation, forestation, anti HIV AIDS activities and sport activities. There is an anti HIV AIDS club and a sport club. The league members discuss different tracts that come from the *wereda* youth league office, including also about HIV AIDS transmission and prevention. The role of the three organisations (youth association, youth league and youth federation) is described as 'similar' by the YA leader. He added that youth organisations cannot achieve anything for young men and women because they have no budget at all.

Community respondents including the young people interviewed did not have much to say about the youth organisations. No one mentioned the youth league except the YA leader and the leader of the failed youth cooperative (see below). One of the young men who had been a member of the YA said that he had stopped as there was no benefit. The adult women interviewed about the government interventions in the community were only aware of the existence of the Anti HIV Club organised by the youth and had no information about other issues of the youth.

Youth livelihoods

As a background to describing the youth policies and programmes found in the *kebele* the box below presents the aspirations of the youth as they were expressed by the nine young men and boys and young women and girls in their late teens, mid-20s and early 30s and of different wealth level.

Box 3: Youth aspirations in Aze Debo'a

Young men and boys

Rich mid-30s – I am planning to start a poultry farm in the coming year and it would be a cause for the improvement of my life in the future.

Middle wealth mid-30s – If it is God's will, and my brother who is living in South Africa assists me, I wish to go to South Africa for work and return within three years. Then, I wish to build a new house in Durame town.

Poor mid-30s – I have a plan to build a new house and I wish to upgrade my education to Diploma level.

Rich mid-20s – I wish to have a driving licence. Before that I would like to complete grade ten (he has stopped after grade 8 and because of a dispute with one of the teachers went to do his military

service). I also wish to buy a motor cycle. I drive a motor cycle, but I do not have a licence.
 Middle wealth mid-20s – I wish to go to South Africa this year.
 Poor mid-20s – If I get money I have a plan to open a shop in my area and to improve my life.
 Middle wealth late teens – I want to go to university.
 Poor late teens – I would like to get a credit and I would engage in sheep fattening business.

Young women and girls

Rich early-30s – I wish to see our life improved by working hard with my husband.
 Middle wealth early-30s – If it is God will, I have a plan to plant coffee and varieties of fruits for cash income. I also plan to make more effort to improve my life.
 Poor young woman early-30s – I plan to improve my life by increasing all my efforts.
 Rich mid/early 20s – I wish to improve my life if I get a job opportunity.
 Middle wealth mid/early 20s – I wish to continue my school and be fruitful in my studies. After that I wish to bear children.
 Poor mid-/early 20s – I try to improve my life by using all my efforts.
 Middle wealth 16-17 year old – If it is the will of God I will bear a child and improve my life.
 Poor 16-17 year old – I try to improve my educational background to help my parents.

Kebele officials noted that there is no well organised government programme for the youth, except one programme which aimed to get youth organised in groups to obtain loans from the government. But this attempt to start youth cooperatives failed in Aze Debo'a. The young man who led the attempt, who is also active in the *kebele* youth organisations, explained

We got credit from Youth and Sport Office and started to work according to the plan which came from Addis Ababa. There were three co-operatives each of 25 members. The credit given was not enough to do anything at the cooperative level. Therefore, we divided it as loans among individual members. Since then, the government did not provide us any money. There was nothing we did with the money we obtained from the government. It started end of June 2007. In one of the three co-operatives the members have paid back fully. The other two paid 75% and are paying the remaining 25%. The plan of giving credit is good but the amount given was not enough to do any kind of business so it led to the failure of youth co-operatives.

There also seems to be no coordination between NGOs and the government, like in the case of the group of youth who had received a blocket-making machine from World Vision but did not get credit from the government. Generally (as discussed in section 4.2), access to credit is very limited in Aze Debo'a. There is therefore no obvious way for young people having plans like those outlined above (opening a shop, engaging in sheep fattening business etc.) to find capital to implement them. By and large the youth of Aze Debo'a are 'left out'. Owing to the combination of lack of access to land, lack of access to credit and joblessness for the growing number of educated young men and young women, for most youth in Aze Debo'a it has been a major challenge to try and get an independent source of income, create assets, get married and form one's household. No wonder in this context that an increasing number of young men and women migrate or look at migration as the only option. This is alluded to above, and further discussed in section 4.2.

Youth and HIV/AIDS

There is an anti HIV AIDS club in Aze Debo'a, and its leader has taken a one-day training at the *wereda* level. Although there is no specific information on this one can assume that the club carry out some activities as women from the community were aware of it. As explained above the league is also involved in anti HIV AIDS activities (discussing tracts coming from the *wereda*). One of the young men interviewed is a health army member and in this capacity he is involved in raising awareness of the community about HIV AIDS transmission and prevention.

Apart from these activities, the issue of youth and HIV AIDS does not seem to be given more attention than for other members of the community, even though it is likely that youth are more at risk especially with the rising trend of migration in that age group.

Youth recreation

Community informants thought that a place to construct a youth recreation centre had been recently demarcated in the *kebele*. The youth association leader clarified that in fact, they tried to build a recreation centre with their own resources – just getting some support in the form of corrugated iron sheets for the roof from the *wereda*. They got this support but the centre could not be completed and they could not start the service. As a result as several community members and young people said, there is no recreational centre in the *kebele*.

Fields of action /domains of power in 2012

Cross-cutting

Climate change

As noted earlier, a number of community respondents said that the weather was changing and rain was more erratic, which was making agricultural undertakings more challenging even though the market price for cash crop like coffee was rising. There had been three drought years out of the last five. In 2008 the drought was very severe and lasted long, and there had been total failure of crops except enset and a few fruit trees. People explained that the groundwater potential, which is better in the *kebele* than on average in the *wereda*, is decreasing as well.

Environment

Environment protection has been strongly promoted and many activities took place in the *kebele* in the past decade and in particular in the past five years. In the area this has been strongly supported by NGOs – which for instance provided tree seedlings and mobilised communities in annual campaigns. In the *kebele* environmental protection activities have also been undertaken through the PSNP public works and as food-/cash-for-work generally, and also by voluntary community labour. Hence as the DA NRM explained, while in the past the NRM activities were organised by community members nowadays this is led by him.

Watershed management

Respondents from the community explained that farm fields and grazing lands located in the down parts of watersheds were protected from the effects of flood erosion and flash floods mainly as a result of soil and water conservation activities like reforestation, terracing (soil and stone bunds), gully rehabilitation, area enclosure and road and bridge maintenance. The DA NRM also thinks that the underground water potential is increasing.

Most of the *kebele* is flat hence watershed management activities are concentrated in the hillsides. One critical challenge is that in areas that should be treated community members do usually not want soil and water conservation structures to be constructed on their private land; they explain that this reduces the already inadequately small area on which they can plant crop. One woman who lives in the hillsides explained indeed that

... the location (where she has land) is highly exposed to flooding and massive soil erosion during the rainy season; and in some occasions households in the village lost some of their crops. Significant improvements were made in mitigating these problems by constructing terraces, planting trees and rehabilitating gullies, especially in communal holdings. However, no soil and water conservation activities were carried out in her holdings as she did not want this.

Trees

Men from the community explained that trainings and practical work in demonstration sites

contributed to sustainable adoption of forestry plantation in communal, private and institutional holdings. More than 200,000 seedlings of various forest trees were planted on the communal land of the *kebele*, in addition to a large number of seedlings distributed to individual households and planted in their private holdings. The guard, who has been employed since 2007, explains that there are annual campaigns to dig holes in February-March and plant the trees in May-June.

Large areas of community forests have been established on the hillsides and on the premises of churches and schools. A large area was enclosed to be protected from human and animal contact. This is so that trees could grow faster to slow down run-off water causing erosion and allow water to infiltrate the soil hence increasing soil moisture and productivity. The area is not fenced but surrounded by soil bunds. It is guarded, because there were people cutting trees and grass, and driving their animals in the enclosed area. In October 2011 two individuals caught to cut trees were jailed for a few days and condemned to pay 200 birr before being released.

However, there is confusion surrounding the ownership and management of these areas as well as the distribution of benefits to the community. The grass, harvested through cut-and-carry, has been sold to individual farmers to pay the salary of the guards. One of the guards explains that the *kebele* administration used poles to construct the new *kebele* buildings; they also sell the grass and trees when they need some budget to buy stationeries and other office materials. In contrast, so far, the community has not benefited directly from the sale of products from the communal forests. At the time of the fieldwork there was more than four ha of communal forest ready to be harvested but there was no clear policy about how community members might share this resource.

On private land dual-purpose woodlots have been established. They contribute to protecting the environment and provide a source of income to the households concerned. Various species were distributed, mostly eucalyptus. As a result, many households have their own woodlots. The rich and the middle wealth head of households interviewed reported that in the last two years they received 2,500 and 3,200 seedlings of eucalyptus, respectively, from the DAs, and planted them in their plot of land. The rich man explained that farmers have a strong preference for eucalyptus as it grows very fast, resists drought and pest, is multi-purpose (construction, fencing, fuel wood, shade and remedy against common cold) and sells very well on the market. Moreover as it easily absorbs water it contributes to control mosquitoes causing malaria.

The two men explained that this activity had benefited a number of households who had nothing in the past. However, one poor woman beneficiary of PSNP explained that seedlings were usually distributed to households with a large area of land, which were mainly from the rich and middle groups in the *kebele* and had therefore benefited from having additional woodlots more than most of the poor people and than the beneficiaries of PSNP.

Grazing land

Wereda officials explained that each *kebele* has its own communal grazing land. In Aze Debo'a, the Millennium school was recently built on communal grazing land. Another change is the relatively recent ; grazing policy applied to enclosures in specific locations in the *kebele*. By the time of the fieldwork there were two locations of 100 and 108 hectares of zero-grazing areas on which there was reforestation and which are protected from human and animal contact. The grass in these lands is sold by the *kebele* administration to individual farmers by cut and carry. People are unhappy because they say that so far they do not benefit from these newly developed community forests.

People who have comparatively larger landholdings also keep parts of it as grazing land. For instance one of the model farmers of the *kebele* explained that of his total 1.5 ha he uses around 0.2 ha as grazing land. Other farmers with smaller landholdings complained that, in line with the ever increasing scarcity of land in the area, grazing land is shrinking and this is a severe limitation to livestock production activities (see e.g. the middle wealth and politically important households). Lack of access to grazing land was also cited as a constraint to the activities of young people that the

wereda tried to organise as a cooperative.

Soil fertility

Several community respondents indicated that the soil fertility was declining. The link with the soil and water conservation activities just mentioned was evoked although less often than the effects of the SWC activities on avoiding floods and erosion. Respondents mentioned using fertilisers though this is uneven among farmers and farmers may use it for some crops and not others. Preparation of compost was mentioned but not very often.

Infrastructure

Roads and transport

The main gravel road going to Durame and in the opposite direction to Sinshicho and farther, has started to be asphalted in October 2011. Community respondents appreciate this as it will further facilitate transportation of goods to the market and cut costs.

Currently costs vary depending on the means of transportation. Public transport between Aze Debo'a and Durame is charged the full Durame-Shinshicho tariff (7 birr) whereas the distance to Aze Debo'a is much less (4 kms). Motorbikes tend to have no fixed price (from 2-3 birr to 10 birr) and prices go up on market days. They often belong to people with better income, businesspeople and people getting remittances from children or relatives abroad. They are not comfortable for elderly people and children. One young man explained that he was transporting people on market days by renting the motorbike from someone else in the *kebele*, as a means to assist his parents by bringing an income. Another said he can drive but he needs a license and he would like to buy his own motorbike to get an income by offering transportation services.

The donkey- or horse-drawn carriages are less expensive (3 birr/person and 5 birr for 60 kgs goods). The woman running a successful shop near the Aze Debo'a *kebele* office and young women retailing coffee or fruits use them. One man who migrates seasonally to Wolkite to get an income has a plan to buy one as it is good business. A sharecropper complements his limited agricultural activities by transporting individuals' goods from Aze Debo'a to Durame market and vice versa, using the carriage of another person in the *kebele*. He does this work on market days and evenly shares the income with the owner of the carriage. The income is no less than 15 birr and can reach 50 birr in good days.

Some people hire private trucks to collect and resell coffee or to transport and sell stone and gravel. One man who owns an Isuzu explained that he makes at least 10,000 birr/month by transporting goods between different places in the *wereda*.

People from Aze Debo'a also have access to ambulance services. However, the Red Cross ambulance (for which everyone contributes 5 birr every year) is often not available. The KMG ambulance, more dependable, charges 50 birr for the fuel – which is expensive for poor people.

Internal roads have improved and are being maintained but are not enough and uphill villages are not accessible by vehicles, any time of the year. People usually travel on foot to the villages inside of the *kebele*. They may use mules or horses for distant places or if they are sick.

Electricity

Electricity became available in 2009. The man appointed to 'fix' anything to do with electricity explained that he tries to organise people to raise money village by village so that they are able to buy their own electric meter. By end November 2011, roughly one fifth of the people in the *kebele* had access to electricity by sharing the meter of individual households. There were 15 private meters and electricity in all the *kebele* public services except the Millennium school.

Households having their own electric meter help their neighbours by charging 15 birr for each bulb per month until they buy their own meter. Better-off households benefit more. However, poor households living close to rich people have great chance to have access to electricity by taking it

through cables, like one elderly man who also gets his neighbor to lend him his mobile phone. For those living on the upper hillsides they have less chance of getting electricity in the near future because moving the line for more than one kilometre seems to require a huge amount of money.

Among those interviewed, people like the landless sharecropping man, the poor widow, the poor farmer said they could not afford the cost of the meter and sometimes even the cost of the 15 birr/month for one bulb. But others use this opportunity like a woman heading her household and that elderly man mentioned earlier. The model farmer who had the first meter installed explained that this gives him access to radio and TV programmes, including international channels like Al Jazeera and BBC which he listens to as he has better command of English than many of his age in the *kebele* (he was educated in Durame's missionary school in his childhood).

Communications

The mobile network reached the *kebele* in 2010 and it is estimated that 200 to 250 people from the *kebele* have their own mobile. Phone helps families to stay in touch with relatives including migrants. Many also mentioned that they could call the vet or the ambulance when necessary. Like for electricity, poorer people explained that they could not afford the cost of the apparatus or even the card to use someone else's phone. Some people help their neighbours by letting them use their phone free of charge. The poor woman heading her household explains that her son (who gets assistance by World Vision for his studies since the decease of her husband) has a mobile and she uses it when she needs to communicate with her other children.

Water

As noted earlier the *kebele* is comparatively well endowed in water. Yet, there is little water infrastructure development by the government. So far there has been no government investment in water structures for irrigation; the only developments have been the initiative of private farmers (see section 4.2). The government tried to promote water harvesting with household ponds a few years ago but for various reasons this did not work and very few of these ponds are in operation. A number of households have their own well. And there are two communal ponds for the livestock, which have been kept in operation. A large number of drinking water structures have been built – all of them on non-government financing. Maintenance of this infrastructure is an issue, as it is in the *wereda* as a whole (see section 4.3).

Urban development

There are two concurrent trends in relation to urban development. On one hand, there is a tendency for wealthy community members to invest in a better, more modern house, with electricity for some, and urban-like in that it is covered by a tin roof, animals are kept separately and there may be a living room and rooms for guests – like the model farmer whose compound the research team visited. However, the settlement pattern is quite scattered in many villages.

On the other hand, as Aze Debo'a is very close to Durame, many wealthy people invest in town and in many better-off families, there are now one or several children living and working in Durame. Several of the younger people said that they wanted to build or buy a house in Durame. The rich man in his mid-30s, who did not have much land but was successful thanks to coffee trading, had a house in Durame which he was renting 500 birr/month. The DAs and many of the teachers live in Durame and several government employees working in Aze Debo'a explained that they wanted to be transferred there (e.g. the male teacher and one of the health extension workers). The leading business man who has a house there, has opened two cafés and other commodity shops for his son and daughter in Durame and '*they are doing business in a good way*'. He plans to use his house as a coffee store as he also is very successful in trading coffee.

Both trends are fuelled by the growing number of families with migrants abroad, as remittances or the capital that they bring back on their return are invested in these two ways.

Livelihoods and recent events/changes

Generally

Independence of the farming economy and future potentials

The local farming economy is not self-sufficient. Even in good years a significant number of households have a food gap and are supported by PSNP six months out of twelve. In bad years like 2008 the level of support required increases both in terms of number of people to be assisted and duration of the support. For instance in 2008, 2010 and 2011 transfers were provided for nine, eight and seven months respectively.

It is striking that in Aze Debo'a, as is the case in the whole *wereda*, PSNP beneficiaries rely on the PSNP transfers as a 'regular' part of their livelihood portfolio. They talk about 'earning' the transfers as if it was a salary, and one of them for instance explained that he wanted to stay on the programme until his children would have graduated and could earn a living and support him.

At an individual level, farming alone does not seem sustainable, except possibly for strong farmers with large plots of good land or farmers reaching high level of productivity. For instance, one of the model farmers has a fertile land of 2 ha which he inherited from his parents. He uses it as follows: 0.5 ha for coffee (minimum 10,000 birr/year) + 0.5 ha for enset and fruit trees (mangoes and avocados: minimum 2,000 birr/year) + 0.7 ha for teff and maize + 0.2 ha as grazing land and 0.1 ha as a woodlot. He is not afraid to say that he is rich. He has a three room house in Durame of which he rents a part and his children live in it while studying.

However often, those successful farmers then invest in complementary activities such as trade of agricultural products (in particular coffee) and others – which may become a far larger contribution to their livelihoods.

For farmers with smaller plots of land, complementary activities are often indispensable. For instance, the person interviewed as 'leading cash crop trader' has one ha of land and livestock (including two Holstein Frisian dairy cows), but his main livelihood option is his trade of coffee and maize. The man involved in transporting goods and people using someone else's carriage has to rely on this to complement the production he obtains from the four plots of land he sharecrops (the total makes just less than ½ ha), even though he is a hardworking farmer appreciated by the people he sharecrops the land of, and using improved maize seeds.

For an increasing number of families, local livelihood options are completed by remittances that are either used for consumption or invested in local economic activities.

As noted earlier, there is a large variation in the size of people's plots of land and according to *kebele* officials there is a direct correlation between land size and the economic status of the households. So, shortage of land is one of the major limiting factors that adversely affect productivity, hence the independence of local farming in Aze Debo'a. In their views there are a limited number of options to address this. On the farming side, irrigation should be expanded to allow production two or three times in a year; and productivity could be improved by the use of improved technologies and agricultural inputs – but this will be limited because of the variability and erratic nature of rainfall which hinders the effects of fertiliser and improved seeds, and the very high prices of inputs.

The other option is '*strengthening the magnitude of off-farm activities or constructing small-scale agro-industries that could absorb by creating job opportunities for a large number of households facing shortage of land. This option needs huge capital and rigorous research and secured market outlets before embarking on any off-farm activity as an alternative means of a livelihood*'. However, currently access to off-farm activities in the *kebele* is still limited, as is described later in the report.

There may be some untapped potential in improving livestock production as well. By the time of the research 35% of the households in Aze Debo'a had hybrid breed livestock. Several respondents

mentioned fattening and sale of livestock products as productive activities. But lack of access to capital/credit was often mentioned too.

Effects of inflation and other events affecting livelihoods

Inflation has affected all households in Aze Debo'a but whether it is negatively or not depends on their capacity to produce for the market, and the type of products.

Several respondents noted that the 'skyrocketing' market price of livestock and livestock products, and the upward trend of return on coffee (both because of good price on the international market with local repercussions, and because of the opportunity of selling fresh coffee a good price to the local coffee washing plant) were positive factors for local farmers.

But this is counterbalanced by increasingly erratic rainfall, lack of capital or of access to credit, pressure on land and the ensuing fact that the proportion of households who can hope to be able to produce surpluses of any kind is continuously decreasing. Moreover, inflation hit the price of inputs: for instance the price of one quintal of DAP fertiliser reached up to 1,550 birr which according to *kebele* officials is way beyond the affording capacity of many farmers.

Inflation has also led to rapidly increasing prices for all commodities. In relation to foodstuff, a quintal of maize bought for 250 birr in December 2010 was 750 to 800 birr in September 2011. Similarly, at the time of the fieldwork edible oil and sugar had increased by 52% in the last six months, and coffee from 70 to 120 birr/kg between January and September 2011.

Inflation also considerably reduced the benefits of the PSNP transfers for the households concerned. Transfers in Aze Debo'a have been paid in cash for the last three years, on the community's request at the time. However, all those interviewed would now like to return to at least a mix of food and cash. Many explained that two or three years back, even though the transfer was only 50 birr/month for a family member this was filling the family food gap whereas nowadays with 75 birr/month this is no longer the case as inflation was currently more than fifty percent.

Inflation was also affecting negatively the (few) households that had been able to get credit from the World Bank Rural Finance Fund. The small loans were increasingly insufficient to undertake any activity that could generate enough profit to enable them to make any savings or reinvest. As explained by one of the poor households targeted by the Fund:

He received a credit of 2,000 birr in 2008. He gave 1/3rd of the sum to his wife to involve in butter trade. But the profit is very small (less than 300 birr/year) because of the small amount of capital which buys a very small amount of butter from the market. With the other 2/3rd he started to fatten sheep. Initially he could buy three sheep and sell them after a few months and he was obtaining a minimum of 750 birr as annual profit. However since 2010, due to inflation he could not buy more than two sheep for fattening, and his profit has dropped below 500 birr.

Smallholder Agriculture

Weather and pests in last few years

There was severe drought in 2008, and drought in 2010 and 2011 as described earlier. There was no mention of pests.

Land for farming

The table below summarises the way land is used in the community.

Table 1: Land use in Aze Debo'a (2012)

Proportion of land allocated	(ha)	(%)
Small holder land	1.050,0	73,59
Irrigated land	2,0	0,14
Cooperative farming land	0,0	0,00

Land for <i>kebele</i> administration	0,3	0,02
Area covered by forest and bushes	166,0	11,63
Protected grass and wood land (enclosure)	208,0	14,58
Land for investors	0,5	0,04
Other	0,0	0,00
TOTAL	1.426,8	

Farm land allocation

There was no formal land reallocation since the fall of the Derg in 1991. As one community respondent described it, at the time relatively large households, *kebele* administrators and party members obtained relatively large plots of land, and this never changed. As a consequence a large and increasing number of new households have had no access to land except sharing land with their parents or sharecropping. This man said that a new rural land policy needed to be developed.

There were cases of small-scale land reallocation to accommodate people returning from settlement areas. These usually got very small plots of land (500 square meters for a man with four young children, recently returned from a short attempt at resettling; 0.1 ha for a returnee family with nine dependent children) – usually sufficient to build a house but not to cultivate anything. Those people have to lead their life as daily labourers or by sharecropping, like the younger generation. In some cases returnees were given land by their family or clan members as it is not acceptable to leave a clan member in need.

The only formal cases of land reallocation were for construction or expansion of public buildings and water schemes, and the plot of land which was allocated for the coffee washing plant. With regard to land allocated for public buildings, the respondents who had been affected by such measures complained that the land they had been given as compensation was not as good. This was the case of a 35-year old widow with eight children, who five years ago was forced to give their 1.5 ha of land for the expansion of the school compound. They were given a plot of 1 ha of less good quality in another village.

The investor who installed the coffee washing plant described the process he went through and what the returns on the investment as follows:

Since about five years the demand for Ethiopian coffee has increased on the world market as it is valued as organic coffee with a unique flavour, taste and aroma. I had been in the coffee business for several years and had savings of more three million birrs. I decided to involve on a bigger scale. I submitted my proposal to install a coffee washing plant in Aze Debo'a kebele to the Trade and Industry Office of the Kembata-Tambaro zone in March 2009. I chose Aze Debo'a which I knew as I am from Durame, because there is reliable access to rivers and production of coffee in the kebele and its surrounding areas.

After carefully reading my proposal and checking my Bank deposit the zone allowed me to invest in the kebele. The Wereda facilitated the process and the kebele gave me about 1.5 ha of land. The kebele gave the owner of the land another land in the upper hills and I paid him some money as compensation. I also promised to employ him as a guard and to give job priority to his family members. He and two of his family members are working with us.

We finished installing the plant in July 2009, for a total investment of 2.3 million Birr. We started washing coffee in October 2009. Currently, the investment created a permanent job opportunity for four people and a temporary job opportunity for 80 to 100 people. Most are women and they earn from 20 to 25 Birr per day or up to 500 birr/ month for three to four months in a year.

So far it is also a lucrative business for me. I earn a profit of not less than half a million per year on average. In 2010 as the price for Ethiopian coffee in the world market was very good I earned a profit of about one million Birr.

Irrigated land

Very little land is irrigated in the *kebele* as shown in the table above. Respondents at all level (*wereda*, *kebele* and community) stressed that irrigation was untapped potential. The main constraint was said to be lack of budget at *wereda* level. *Kebele* officials mentioned attempts of constructing water harvesting structures some years ago, by campaign and PSNP public works, but most of them are not used due to lack of attention and follow-up. None of the community respondents mentioned them.

However, 11 farmers who saw that they could have easy access to water from the river or by digging a well on their land, have started watering small plots of their land to grow vegetables or water their fruit trees, and complement their family's diet and income.

Rainfed land

Rainfed land is planted with perennials and annual crops and a mix of subsistence and cash crop. *Kebele* officials explained that the area of land planted with enset has been declining over time as there is a tendency to plant more coffee and fruit trees like mangoes and avocados, as cash crops. As noted earlier, landholdings vary in size but are generally small and the *kebele* is known for this, in a *wereda* where the average landholding is small compared to the zonal average.

Land registration

Land registration was conducted in Aze Debo'a in the same way as in all other *kebele* of the *wereda*. All communal, private and institutional land was measured and registered, free of charge, by people selected by the *kebele* administration to do this. This took more than a year and was completed last year. A certificate with the name of the husband, the wife and their children has been provided to all land-owners in the *kebele*.

As *kebele* officials and male farmers underlined, land registration gives farmers confidence in land tenure security so that they invest in tree plantations and other conservation measures. However, one respondent indicated that some problems arose from the process of land registration and are not yet solved. Some households complain that the measurement was not done fairly and land was wrongly recorded deliberately.

Women are happy as their land rights are confirmed by their name on the certificate. Indeed, women informants were aware of the registration and of the certificate holding the name of both husband and wife. All six household heads noted that there was greater awareness of women's rights to land (and other rights). The *kebele* manager, herself a young woman, explained that

In the former time, women and girls had no right of claiming the land and property of their parents. In most cases, if the widow had no children from her deceased husband, her husband's brothers would insist for her to return to her parents' house. At present, women are aware of their rights towards land and property inheritance, and where and how to apply to wereda court. The wereda Women Affairs Office is actively involved in providing support for women having such court cases. As a result, no widow is uprooted from the land, especially since the last one decade.

A large part of the land registered as communal land has been recently enclosed and is protected from human and animal contact. The grass on that land is sold by the *kebele* administration to private farmers (cut-and-carry). As discussed earlier people noted the lack of a clear policy in communal land use and the management of its products.

Sharecropping and renting

Kebele officials explained that there is no land leasing in the *kebele*. However, an estimate 25 ha of private land is rented by farmers (usually when they get old or are sick) to others. Depending on quality, the annual rent is 5,000 birr for fertile land, 4,000 birr for moderately good and 3,000 birr for poor land. The Aze Debo'a primary school contracts out some land to farmers (they also sells grass

and wood from the rest of the land). They usually rent out for two years at a time. Last time they got 18,000 birr but this was a cheap deal. At the time of the fieldwork they were planning to enter into new contracts and the head teacher expected that they could get up to 30,000 birr for the two years. In the *kebele* land is rented for maximum ten years.

In addition there is sharecropping – as shown in the interviews but there is no data on the overall amount of sharecropped land. The type of people who sharecrop in and out is described later. Moreover, as noted earlier many young households do not have land and share land with their parents.

Contracting (buying) land

There was no mention of land being bought. The coffee plant investor did not mention that he was leasing the land on contract.

Crops and changes – subsistence and cash crops

The *wereda* Agriculture and Rural Development officials explained that the *wereda* inhabitants have been sedentary farmers since centuries with livelihoods based on enset, perennials like coffee and fruit trees and cereals, supplemented by vegetables and root crops. Small-scale livestock rearing is equally important to crop production. In the *wereda* as a whole, the ten most grown crops in the past few years were enset, maize, teff, wheat, ginger, fafa beans, coffee, barley, taro and sorghum.

Kebele officials did not comment much on crops and changes. Community members' responses give an idea of the variety of strategies mixing cash and subsistence and annual and perennial crops that are being used in Aze Debo'a.

Box 4: Crop production strategies of different farmers in Aze Debo'a in 2012

Poor farmer – He does not have much land so last year he planted only enset and maize for consumption (not covering the family's needs) and green beans and tef. He has started growing some vegetables also for consumption. He planted a few coffee trees and hopes they will start yielding in two years of time. Except for this he did not change what he used to do in the past five years.

Middle wealth farmer – He plants enset, maize, potato, cabbage and other vegetables for subsistence. He has coffee and tef for cash, and as coffee gets a good price nowadays, he planted 25 additional coffee seedlings this year. He would want to plant more of them but does not have enough land to do this.

Successful farmer – He usually grows enset, maize, tef, potato and sweet potato, and vegetables, for consumption. He planted coffee trees five years ago and has an income from them, and has a few fruit trees for cash too. He did not change in the past five years but has become more involved in trading coffee from other farmers in addition to his coffee.

Politically important farmer – He plants enset, coffee, avocado, banana, cabbage, maize and tef for both consumption and market. Especially tef and fruits are for the market. He tried tomato and beetroot (that the zonal ARDO promoted) five years ago, for consumption and market, but stopped because they were not trained on how to cook them. Last year he increased the area planted with avocado, banana and coffee as demand and market price increase.

Poor woman head of household – She has enset and maize for consumption, and has coffee and avocado trees as only source of cash income. She does not have enough land to plant vegetables, except some cabbage that she uses for consumption and market. She has started in the past five years using avocado and some eucalyptus as cash crops.

Successful female head of household – She is growing today the same as five years ago: tef, wheat, maize, enset, coffee and avocado. Coffee and avocado, especially, are planted for generating an income.

Another successful farmer – He planted vegetables and many fruit trees (mangoes, avocados and

papayas), and got a high production yield by using water from his hand dug well whereas his fruit trees would dry up before setting fruits when he was not watering them. His income from the fruits grew from 2,000 birr to 11,000 birr in a year. The increased market price also helped.

A successful woman farmer (she is the mother of the *kebele* manager) – With her husband she plants enset, supplemented by maize, wheat, tef and root crops mainly for consumption. Every year she adds a variety of vegetables (tomato, cabbage, carrot) as she has done since many years and even before the DAs trained them. Since a couple of years they plant fruits (avocados, mangoes, papayas, custard apples) to get an income. They have developed a woodlot of eucalyptus and this provides an income too. They have coffee, and that is a major part in their income.

Farming technologies

Wereda officials noted that the zonal ARDO was successfully introducing improved maize and bread wheat varieties in potential *weredas*, as well as high yield varieties of potato, tef and other crops – although there were shortages of cuttings and seeds.

Kebele officials were of the view that the farming technology is still mainly traditional (plough and hoe), though with some change in the type of plough and hoe (no detail was given). They noted the introduction of improved varieties of cereals, vegetables, animal fodder and grass. They thought that one of the ways to improve the community's livelihoods was to increase productivity by using chemical fertiliser, improved seeds, pesticides and others. But as rainfalls are erratic this does not work well and in fact, according to them local seeds are much better than improved varieties in resisting to moisture stress and shortage of rain. High input price is also a problem as it makes it unaffordable for most farmers to adopt new ways of farming.

The farmers interviewed had different attitudes.

The politically important farmer said he often was receiving advice on how to prepare his land and what inputs to use, but did not mention whether he was using them.

The successful farmer explained that since five years, thanks to the DA advice and visiting farmers and to the training at the FTC he had totally stopped using local seeds and planting crops without using fertiliser or compost. He has been using improved seeds of maize and teff, of root crops and vegetables such as cabbage, beetroot and onion as well as using DAP and Urea. He also planted improved varieties of fruits (mangoes, avocados, papayas and oranges) mainly for market, and improved coffee. There is just enset for which there is no improved variety. Also, he does not use fertiliser but compost and manure for coffee. He added that some households were assisted by NGOs who provided them improved seeds of grains, vegetables and fruits, and were able to use these. But the price of fertiliser is increasing from year to year and it became unaffordable for poor households. The other major problem in the area is erratic and late rainfall as the weather is changing. As a result, crop failure and low productivity are common phenomena in the area. His wife explained that given all this and that they prepare the land well, they managed to maintain good yields – but no change. He added that for them crop failure is not too problematic because he has a good income from his (coffee) trade and other sources.

The poor farmer indeed explained that even though improved maize was available it was not affordable, and he could not use it. The middle wealth farmer explained that he was using the improved variety of maize and fertiliser with it – but not for any other subsistence crop and not for root crops and vegetables. He does not use the improved variety of teff, too expensive (and which he plants for the market) but uses fertiliser with it. Like almost all the farmers he also never uses fertiliser for coffee. He said there is access to improved varieties but except for maize, he buys local seeds on the market. The poor woman head of household sharecrops out her land. Her sharecropper uses fertiliser but not improved seeds. One poor widower growing enset, maize and tef uses commercial fertiliser that he buys from retail traders on the market, but local seeds as he does not have the money for improved varieties. One man sharecropping four plots of land of about ½ ha in

total has been using improved seeds of maize since three years and says that it is by far better than the local seeds in terms of productivity; but he is using local seeds of teff so far because he does not have enough money to buy the improved seeds from the DAs.

Irrigation technologies

Irrigation

Wereda and *kebele* officials explained that there was no strong irrigation scheme in the *kebele*. Yet, given the very small landholdings *kebele* officials stressed that irrigation would be a very important way of improving people's livelihoods. Community respondents explained that indeed, the key to success in producing high-value crops is the ability to produce them during the dry season when prices are higher. Irrigation makes this possible and reduces the risk when rainfall is low or late.

In the *kebele* water is readily available with perennial rivers like Mark'osa and good ground water potential (water is available at 10-12 metres' depth on average). Yet, so far efforts have been very limited. No more than 11 individual farmers started to use irrigation. Five started very recently after they obtained small motorised water pumps from the *wereda* ARDO so that they pump water from Mark'osa River and other streams. About 6 farmers who had their own hand-dug wells have recently started to use them for irrigation through rope-pumping. It is apparent that ground water resources are sufficient to allow considerable expansion of irrigation using either of the two technologies (rope-and-wash, and motorised pumps).

Wereda officials visited the *kebele* to encourage model farmers to dig their own hand dug wells in their homestead and use it for irrigation. One such model farmer explains that he was indeed chosen to be a champion model farmer mainly by planting vegetables and many fruit trees on his land and getting high production by using water from his hand dug well. He explains:

Before I dug the well my fruit trees were dried up before they would set fruit due to lack of water. I never earned more than 2,000 Birr from the sale of my fruits. Then I worked as a daily labourer with the Kalehiwat Water Section to dig a public shallow well in our kebele, and I understood that it is possible to obtain water relatively easily. In 2006 I was able to dig a hand dug well in my own backyard and got access to enough water and started planting more fruit trees. Now my annual income from fruit sales increased up to 11,000 Birr. The market price for vegetables and fruits has increased – which is also helpful.

The successful farmer explained that he had dug a well in his compound last year and he had started to grow irrigated vegetables; he was planning to expand the area used by irrigation in the coming years.

Water harvesting

Many water harvesting structures were built in the *kebele*. This was started in 2005 by campaign and PSNP public works. However, men from the community explained that one fourth of those built at great expense with cement are cracked and do not hold any water due to the poor workmanship and/or poor quality materials. They were often repaired by putting in geo-membrane, which could have been put without the expense of the cement or masonry work. Women informants confirmed that all these efforts were gradually abandoned as they lacked attention by the community and by the *wereda* ARDO. Households were misinformed that these structures were hatching grounds for mosquitoes causing malaria. As a consequence, at the time of the fieldwork several water harvesting structures were not used effectively.

Livestock contributions to livelihoods

As noted earlier, *wereda* officials explained that small-scale livestock production had always been important in the local livelihoods. *Kebele* officials explained that a number of activities were undertaken in the *kebele* concerning livestock production, by the government and NGOs. These are described in the section on government interventions.

As a result, a large number of households in the *kebele* started to own hybrids of Holstein Frisian and Jersey, and selling out their local stock. The hybrids have higher productivity and better capacity to resist to diseases according to them. A number of households are also rearing White leghorn chickens provided by government and NGOs. They explained that at the time of the fieldwork, roughly 35 % of the households in the *kebele* had one or more hybrid cattle - a significant change compared to some years ago. Furthermore, substantial increasing of livestock production was recorded despite climatic the drought and late in rains in 2008, 2010 and 2011.

Respondents from the community indicated that indeed, while in the past the main marker of wealth was having a large area planted with enset, nowadays having cattle was also the sign of being a wealthy person. For instance, the successful head of household has two oxen, three dairy cattle of improved breed of Holstein Friesian, four sheep, and more than ten chickens – which his wife said, are high laying species (Rhode Island Red, White Leghorn). So, the number and quality of their livestock has increased. They take good care of the livestock and have a livestock yard made of concrete. Their main challenge is shortage of fodder and pasture especially during the drought years.

A number of other farmers with a mix of local species and hybrids mentioned that they were planting new fodder which was nutritious and made the cows give more milk (the successful, middle wealth and politically important men farmers among others). One successful woman farmer explained that she also buys supplementary animal feeds and glum of grain in Durame, in addition to the grass and fodder from her own field.

In contrast, the poor woman head of household explained that when her husband was alive they had ploughing oxen and cows. He fattened the oxen and sold them. But now she does not have a single ox left and she is forced to sharecrop out her land. She does not have the capital or access to credit to buy a cow or bull. The poor male farmer said that he had only one cow and one goat. Five years he had no livestock at all. Now the cow he has is in share-rearing with a neighbour.

Rich and middle wealth people may have ploughing oxen. For instance the head of the successful household had two oxen; the middle wealth farmer and the politically important head of household each had one; but the poor man had none, and the two women heads of households did not have them either. Several respondents said that they were ploughing by hoe. The household headed by a female PLWHA said that they were ploughing their land by hoe as they did not have an ox. The young wealthy man in his mid-30s said he did not need an ox because the land he was given by his parents was very small (he was rich from his coffee trade business).

None of the respondents mentioned bee keeping – although in the DA office there is a board saying: *No tree no bees; No bees no honey; No honey no money; No money no funny*. The rich young man in his 30s explained that he wanted to start a poultry farm and he expects that this should contribute to improve his household livelihood.

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

As said earlier there is share-cropping, but no detail was given on the terms and conditions. Those who sharecrop in do this either because they have no or very little land (like one man sharecropping in four plots as he was only given a very small plot of land when he returned from resettlement), or because they are successful and want to expand their farming income (like the head of the successful household who since five years has expanded by sharecropping and also renting land from the school). Those who sharecrop out are households with insufficient labour – like the two women heads of households interviewed, and the family of the blind old woman who sharecrops out the part of land that she does not use for her enset and the few coffee trees that the household has.

The middle wealth head of household, who has one ox, said that people use to help each other by sharing oxen, but he added that this type of cooperation is decreasing and people get more individualistic. The interviews do not give examples of ox-sharing. The man sharecropping four plots of land, whose ox died one year ago, said that he had to borrow oxen from friends and

relatives and rent from other people in the *kebele*.

There is a longstanding practice of share-rearing – especially for cattle. That is, households with some land but no money to buy cattle get some from other farmers who may be short of land or fodder. The products are shared - so that everyone gets some milk and butter, which is very important in Kembata culture. Nowadays this is also done with a view to expanding one's capacity of fattening animals. One leading businessman (who is trading coffee as main business) is using this practice of share-rearing on a large scale to engage in livestock trade. He buys oxen on the market which he gives to other farmers to fatten then he sells them back on the market at Meskel time and shares the profits with those farmers. He buys up to 20 oxen in a year.

No respondent mentioned working parties, but there were mentions of assistance provided by church members to weaker people from their church for some of their farming activities like farming their plot of land and decorticating their enset as well as other activities such as building their house, digging their latrine or assisting in celebrations. Also, the *kebele* vice-chairman who is also the propaganda officer of the *kebele* and responsible for tax collection, so is very busy with multiple responsibilities, explained that he gets assistance from his relatives and neighbours for farming, weeding and harvesting.

Agricultural labour

Daily labour

Kebele officials explained that 42 adult men were working as daily labourers. Many young men are without land and those who do not have a chance of sharing their parents' land or of sharecropping may be leading their life as daily labourer. It usually is male youth doing this. The wealthy young woman in her 30s explained that getting an independent income is very difficult for female youth because many of them cannot go to other places to work as daily labourers like male youth. However, young girls from Aze Debo'a (like elsewhere in the Kembata area generally) have started moving to places where they are employed as daily labourers on flower and other private farms.

Non-agricultural daily labour opportunities are described later in this report.

Longer-term agricultural employment

Seasonal agricultural migration has significantly decreased. However one man said that he had started going to Wolkite to plough and harvest there in addition to farming his family's land in Aze Debo'a.

Kebele officials said that there are also about 75 people (47 males and 28 females) leading their life as household servants. No detail was given on this, but it is likely that they share in some of the farming activities of the households with which they live.

Government farming interventions

According to *kebele* officials, there have been a large number of government farming interventions in the *kebele*. These are described below under the different sections about the FTC, crop, livestock and NRM activities. In many instances a number of NGOs have been active in the same areas as the government.

Development Agents

There are four Development Agents in the *kebele*, two for crops, one for livestock and one for NRM. They all are male, and diploma holders. The NRM DA is now second year BSc student in a summer programme, in geography. He has a good reputation and acceptance in the community. One of the two crop DAs is also studying on a BSc summer programme and in his second year. The livestock DA, although he is the youngest, has already completed his BSc degree. All three were born in *kebele* in the same *wereda* or nearby. They live in Durame. They were selected for their jobs through fair competition but they implied that the process of getting a job had become less transparent recently.

All three mentioned that besides their professional activities they were involved in many other tasks including tax collection and awareness-raising against HTP like FGM – to the point that they were not sure who their boss was. The two of them who are party members were also heavily involved in party activities especially in the run-up to the 2010 election. As a result they were deeply unhappy with their jobs and all three mentioned that they would quit without any hesitation if they were finding another job (even for a lower salary for one of them). They earn 1,427 birr/month and the salary is paid on time – which a few years ago was not the case. They believe that this is insufficient considering the workload, which makes them work way beyond the eight hours/day and five days/week that they are supposed to work.

They explained that even though each of them has an area of specialisation, they divided the *kebele* into four zones and each of them covers one of the zones in the *kebele*. The NRM DA works in the zone of the hillsides in which most of the environmental rehabilitation activities are carried out. When they face problems that require expert advice, they communicate with each other and assist one another by moving from one zone to the other. When this is beyond their capacity they contact the relevant subject matter specialist in the *wereda* ARDO.

When they write reports they do this together. They exchange information among them about all zones, and each of them takes responsibility for reporting on his specialisation for all zones of the *kebele*. So usually, three reports are prepared on NRM, crop production and animal husbandry, and then compiled together section by section before the reports are sent to the *wereda* ARDO on a monthly, quarterly and annual basis.

Community respondents generally seemed to be appreciative of the DAs. Typically, one of them said

The agricultural extension programme in general and the advice provided to us by the DAs largely contributed to my productivity. I use both DAP and Urea fertiliser according to the advice of the DAs. I also planted forest seedlings in my land. Particularly, the fodder plants they introduced to us contributed to our milk production. There is no veterinary expert in our kebele, but we get service from a person in the neighbouring kebele.

With the exception of terracing private land which is explicitly resisted to, for most of those who said that they do not follow the DA advice this was because of lack of money or lack of land. One farmer said that the DAs were doing their best to train and educate them through house to house visits and coming to visit farmers' land. The household heads all mentioned that DAs were providing advice for instance on how to prepare land well, preparation of compost etc. and were visiting them. However, one woman living in the remotest part of the *kebele* said that she never was visited by the DAs.

Model farmers and Development Teams

In the *kebele* there is a **Development Committee** with nine members, chaired by the *kebele* chairman. It has a broad mandate which is described later in this report. Among others it is involved in promoting government agricultural interventions. For instance, the Committee visit the farms of model farmers and encourage them to dig their own hand dug wells in their homestead and use it for irrigation. It is also involved in the NRM activities.

There are **development teams**, which after the 2010 elections have replaced the earlier sub-*kebele* structures and are supposed to have a role in government agricultural interventions. According to one of the development team leaders there are 27 such teams in the *kebele*. Every team has a leader who reports to the chairman of the party, and whose duty it is to improve his life – showing the example to the team members. The team leader interviewed explained that development team leaders and members got various kinds of training. At the beginning there was no idea about development. Now there is change and members improved in life style. He further suggested that the teams' work should be improved by training, getting the right improved seeds and getting plenty of products from improved seeds. The *kebele* will develop by 'propagating', training and getting improved seeds and using fertiliser in order to produce more. There are also 1-to-5 networks under

the development teams but they did not seem to have any specific role in livelihood development.

Generally, community respondents linked party membership to their being organised in networks or development teams. But as simple members they had little to say about practical developmental activities that these structures might facilitate in relation to their livelihoods. These structures and their link with the party are described in more detail in the section on community management.

At the time of the fieldwork there were 15 **model farmers** in the community. Their graduation had been celebrated (in February 2011) in presence of all members of the community, and *kebele* and *wereda* officials, in the plain near the *kebele* office.

Among the research respondents three were model farmers. This includes the successful household head – who is also a highly respected and influential person in the *kebele*. He is one of the elders, and is consulted for legal advice when some faces serious problems. He is one of the richest persons in the *kebele*. He is also an elder in his church and a *wereda* councilor. He is very busy but happy to serve the community. He did not explain why he had been selected as a model farmer but as described earlier he is one of those who closely followed all of the DA advice.

Another interviewee model farmer explained that he has planted ½ ha of his land with coffee and earns more than 10,000 birr annually. He was given farm tools last year as a reward.

The third one is the man who as explained earlier, dug a well in his backyard after having seen that water was quite easily available through working as a daily labourer during the construction of a water point for the community, and started watering his fruit trees and vegetables. In this way he multiplied his income from his fruits more than five times (from 2,000 to 11,000 birr annually). He said that this was the reason why he was chosen as a model farmer. The *wereda* gave him farm tools as well. He was invited in Hawassa by the Regional government, stayed there three days with people from different zones of the Region (and all their costs were covered), and obtained a certificate and 2,000 birr as reward.

Other people in the community did not mention model farmers as a source of inspiration. The young man of middle wealth in his 30s said that he did not get a chance to obtain fertiliser from the government because it is given first to the model farmers.

The Farmers' Training Centre

The Farmers' Training Centre was built in the course of the past five years, at the same time as the health post and some additional offices for the *kebele* administration. There is no information on how it was built except a mention that the *kebele* administration used poles from the 'community forest' in the recently established enclosed areas. It is well built with cement floor, iron roof, and a not very large demonstration plot around the hall and offices.

There are remarkably few mentions of the FTC. Few community respondents mentioned it explicitly. One rich woman said that since the construction of the FTC various trainings have been conducted, which benefitted the community in many terms. The successful head of household explained that DAs are providing extension service to the households of the *kebele* by visiting their farm lands and by training them in the farmers' training centre. He links this to the change in his farming practices described earlier (he stopped using local seeds etc.).

Kebele officials mention many training and promotional activities on Integrated Crop Management, Improved Vegetables Production and Management of newly introduced varieties, Improved Fruit Production and Management, Nursery Management, Compost Preparation, and Promotion of Newly introduced Crops. On livestock production activities they mentioned training and promotional activities related to sheep and cattle production, fattening and management, dairy development and forage development. One can assume that many of the training took place in the FTC.

Moreover, experience sharing tours (among *kebele* in the *wereda*, in the zone and beyond like Konso) were undertaken. Several farmers' field days were organised.

Crop interventions

Kebele officials indicated that seeds of improved crop varieties (maize, wheat, tef, and different vegetables) were supplied to many households in the *kebele* by NGOs and the *wereda* ARDO to increase crop production and performance. In 2011 for instance, improved seeds of cereals (wheat and tef), vegetables, banana, and taro were distributed to 190, 220, 10 and 14 households by and World Vision.

A large number of households were trained and encouraged to establish or expand vegetables gardens and provided with seeds of improved varieties of vegetables like tomato, cabbage, carrot, beetroot, Swiss chard, and new varieties of root crops like potato, sweet potato and taro. This contributes to households' income and improved diet. The supply of inputs is complemented by training and promotional activities carried out for many farmers and described above.

Communal and private nursery centres were established to produce and multiply seedlings for use of the households in the *kebele*.

The DA crop explained that there is a challenge in making farmers to use the agricultural inputs adequately (in sufficient quantity and in the advised proportions). There was more progress about this than about convincing them to construct terraces on their private land. However, due to lack of money a considerable number of households are not able to use the prescribed amount of fertiliser on their land.

The community's viewpoint on the government interventions in relation to crops is described in the section on farming technologies above. Several households highlighted the high prices of inputs combined with lack of access to credit as a major obstacle. Others mentioned land scarcity – while saying that all packages introduced by the government were relevant but they could not use them.

Livestock interventions

Wereda officials mentioned plans to further enhance livestock production as an important option to mitigate the issue of land shortage.

Kebele officials explained that both the government and NGOs are active in strengthening livestock production. Sheep were provided for breeding and fattening; cattle were provided for fattening and milk production; forage multiplication centres were established and forage seeds were distributed; livestock vaccination crushes were established and numerous training and promotional activities related to livestock promotion were conducted. Poultry activities are also promoted. In 2011 and 2010 for example, a total of 130 and 72 egg lying chickens were distributed to community members by the government, including day-old chickens and two month old roosters and pullets. Similarly, 32 chickens were distributed by World Vision in 2010.

One very important government intervention is the introduction of artificial insemination, to address the longstanding issue of poor genetic potential of indigenous breed which together with other factors had been a limiting factor in livestock production. There is provision of artificial insemination free of charge, bull service and distribution of heifers. For example, artificial insemination service was provided to 87 and 116 cows and 51 and 63 calves were born in 2010 and 2011 respectively. This is complemented with the introduction and promotion of forage development.

They link this to the result that roughly 37% of the households have one or more hybrid cattle; and a substantial increase in livestock production was recorded despite climatic problems for consecutive years (drought, late and erratic rain in 2008, 2010 and 2001).

One poor woman said that she and other women from the *kebele* were provided with egg layer chickens including day-old chickens, three month-old pullets and roosters. They were also trained for two days on poultry production and management by development agents in the *kebele*. The six chickens she has are the sole source of income for her household as due to land shortage she cannot benefit from the crop and vegetable activities.

The DA livestock explains that with his specialisation in Animal Science he ideally is expected to focus on five major issues, namely forage development, fattening, dairy production, poultry production, and sheep and goat production. He did not mention problems in relation to livestock production activities in the *kebele*.

The community respondents' interviews suggest that poor households are less likely to benefit from the government interventions in relation to livestock production, except when they are specifically targeted like for instance through a World Vision programme which purchases hybrid cows, farm oxen and goats for five to six households per year; or KMG which distributed three sheep to 80 households in the *kebele* three years ago (as well as 800 birr to each of them). The main reason is the poor households' lack of capital, and lack of access to credit.

The usually richer respondents with some livestock showed appreciation of the DA advice with regard to new type of fodder and the provision of fodder seedlings, but highlighted that land shortage was an issue. While no one openly criticised the new policy of area enclosure, farmers resented the fact that the grass was sold by the *kebele* administration. The forest guard mentioned that there were people caught driving their animals on the enclosed areas. The *kebele* chairman also said that veterinary drugs are expensive and this prevents farmers from taking good care of their livestock.

Community people noted that there is no veterinarian assigned to Aze Debo'a, which is served by one vet stationed in the neighbouring *kebele* through outreach. He immediately comes if any household gives him a phone call as he has a motorbike. All informants confirmed that the veterinarian is very cooperative and a responsible person. He provides a good support when their animals are infected with various diseases. He also comes to the *kebele* on a schedule to vaccinate their animals. He is effective in diagnosing diseases and able to cure many animals from their diseases. As a result, they wish to have a veterinarian in their own *kebele*.

Two small ponds were dug recently (through campaign and PSNP public works) for watering livestock. By making water available within a short distance of pasture, such ponds have an important role in improving the livestock production.

NRM interventions

The many activities in relation to environmental protection have been described earlier. There appear to be three Committees involved in promoting environmental protection and mobilising the community to undertake soil and water conservation activities. The Development Committee chaired by the *kebele* chairman is involved in these tasks, though it has a broader responsibility described later in this report. The other two apparently focus exclusively on environment-related tasks. (It is not fully clear whether these are two separate structures).

The responsibilities of the **Land Conservation Committee's** (with three members) are: protecting land from flooding and erosion; leading the works of soil and water conservation activities; making follow-up and control whether structures are constructed to the standards in terms of length and width. The **Natural Resource Management Committee** (with nine members and chaired by the DA) is responsible to promote community awareness for the protection of natural resources and mobilise the community for soil and water conservation activities. It is in place since three years but although it is operational there were major weaknesses like lack of close follow-up and no evaluation. The committee meet every 15 days in the period during which NRM works are carried out. The Committee, which was reformed in September 2011, comprise members elected by the community because they have high reputation and acceptance in the community and they have better awareness towards NRM compared to other members of the community.

All three committees mentioned that it was still a big challenge to get farmers to agree to build SWC structures on their private land. This is due to lack of adequate knowledge and awareness towards soil and water conservation activities. As a result, people perceive terraces as a limiting factor that

reduces the land that could be covered by crops. They also are not serious in protecting communal forests and enclosure areas from animal contact and instead they try to drive their animals to these areas. The leader of the Land Conservation Committee said that such problems can be resolved by providing continuous education and training to community members and making them benefit from grass and forest resources.

The DA NRM is the chair of the NRM Committee and he is also the PSNP PW organiser, as NRM activities are carried out through both free labour campaigns and the PSNP public works. He too highlighted that one of the major challenges in the *kebele* is to make farmers construct terraces on private holdings. While there is a significant improvement in terms of use of fertilisers and improved seeds, farmers continue to resist to constructing terraces on their land, because they say that this reduces the area on which they plant crops which is already too small for most of the households.

Non-farm occupations

Wereda officials stressed that in Aze Debo'a like in the *wereda* as a whole, as land is so scarce farm-based livelihoods would never be sufficient and many people need to move out of farming. They said that the Trade & Industry office is working on this, and there is a new policy of the government aimed to strengthen the small/micro enterprise sector, but no specific activities had yet taken place.

In general, according to *kebele* officials there is still limited access to off-farm activities in the *kebele*. They explained that only 15 people (13 men and 2 women) have their own business, 53 people (41 males and 12 females) have regular employment, and 17 adult men are involved in skilled work. For the last three years, there has been temporary (three months) work opportunity for more than 100 girls after the construction of the coffee processing plant in the *kebele*. In most cases, they earn 10 to 15 Birr per day on average, and their monthly income goes up to 400 Birr.

This data probably do not include the many people – including many young women or girls – involved in small-scale trade of coffee or fruits.

Local non-farm employment opportunities

The largest local non-farm employment opportunity is the **coffee washing plant** installed recently in the *kebele*. At the time of the fieldwork it was operating for its 3rd year. The box below summarises the information we got on the plant in relation to work opportunities.

Box 5: Work opportunities at the coffee washing plant in Aze Debo'a (2012)

When the plant functions at full capacity it processes up to 100 quintals of coffee in a week. It works a little more than 3 months. They stop operating when the processing falls under 10 quintals/day because it then is not profitable to continue to pay all the people working there.

There are diverging data on how many people work at the plant. The manager mentioned 300 while the investor and officials said 100. There are a number of young boys (30 to 40 according to the manager) for the hard work (loading/unloading the coffee in/from trucks and to bring it to the machine etc.). Most employees are young girls to dry the coffee and pick out the bad beans. They pay the girls 400 birr per month and the boys 500 or 550 depending on their physical strength. This is more than what they would get in working 30 days as daily labourer (unskilled labour is paid 10 birr/day in the area), as an incentive to work well. It is important so that the girls do not leave too many bad beans as this would reduce the quality and price obtained for the coffee. It is about the same rate as other plants in the area.

They select the girls among those who show most interest and seem strong enough for the work. Many women return one year after the other for the job. Before they started this plant there was only one in the area (slightly bigger and closer to Durame, in the neighbouring *kebele*) and so the competition for jobs was intense. Now it is better and it is more advantageous for the girls from Aze Debo'a as they can spend the night back at home and also they can bring their lunch so they have no expenses and can save everything they earn. They also explain that girls are more reliable

than the boys who “disappear as soon as they have a little money”.

Three girls working at the coffee plant were interviewed. All three were Grade 10 leavers having not succeeded to have enough points to continue. They shared part of their income with their parents. With the savings two of them had bought cattle; they also thought that they could strengthen their retail trade of fruits or coffee (see below). Two of them wanted to save enough to be able to migrate to the Gulf. The head teacher of the Aze Debo'a primary school said that there were students dropping out during the coffee harvesting season, from October to December.

Those in **regular employment** include all the government employees paid by the *wereda* (the HEWs, teachers and head teachers and *kebele* manager). The DAs do not live in the *kebele*. There are also a few people employed locally like the *kebele* secretary who is paid by the *kebele* budget. There are a few people from the *kebele* employed by NGOs active in the *kebele*. For instance one 39-years old man with a diploma in management has been employed as animator for World Vision in Aze Debo'a since 2001 when he applied for an advertised vacancy and was selected for the job.

As for the people engaged in **skilled work**, some of them also do agriculture, and sometime they work outside of the *kebele* – e.g. in Durame or in neighbouring *kebele*. Given the proximity of Durame there are a number of people from Aze Debo'a having non-farm occupations in the town. These could still be considered as 'local' (as opposed to occupations based on 'migration') as people return in their families in the *kebele* every day or the linkage with their families remains very strong. A number of families have children running or working in shops in Durame.

Local non-farm business and trading opportunities

Wood and grass

Many farmers have woodlots and this has expanded as part of the environment protection activities. Several respondents mentioned a good income from selling wood (for instance the rich and middle wealth household heads having received 2,500 and 3,200 seedlings from the DAs; the school getting an income from its woodlot; the successful woman farmer mentioning eucalyptus as an important source of income since a few years).

There was no mention of grass being sold by private farmers. The *kebele* administration is selling grass from the enclosed areas recently established on communal land, to private farmers – which is resented by the community lamenting the lack of clear policy about the sharing of benefits from the enclosed areas.

Trading

Trade is an important contribution to the livelihoods of many people in Aze Debo'a. This ranges from small-scale operations to much larger ones. For some people trade is their main livelihood option; for others it complements agriculture. There are both men and women involved – though the really large-scale trading seems to be male only. Trade usually involves regularly moving between the *kebele* and places like Durame and other markets in the area like Shinshicho and Hadaro in neighbouring *weredas* and Adilo in this *wereda*.

A number of young women and girls involve in small-scale trade of coffee and fruits. Many have discontinued their education, for various reasons, but some also do this while continuing to study. They collect the products from their own family and a few other households and transport them to local markets – either on foot or using some transportation means if they think that they can afford this. They all work individually. Some of them, who also work at the coffee washing plant, explained that the coffee plant work was better as it provides a more stable income. They also find it advantageous to be paid once a month rather than earning small sums of money on a daily basis, which makes it difficult to save money. Although the rising price of coffee and fruits is a positive factor, conserving the fruits could be an issue. The profit is not big, and not stable.

One woman explained that she successfully runs a shop that she took over from her (grade 12 unemployed) niece who had started it but had run into bankruptcy. She is the wife of the successful head of household. She gets the goods that she sells in Aze Debo'a from Durame (soap, fuel, pepper, salt, cereals etc.). She sells well especially on days when people from the *kebele* come to get their PSNP transfers. She has also opened a beauty salon and barber house.

Her income is likely to be a nice addition to what her husband gets from his successful farm and which he also complements with trading coffee. He explained that every year he buys up to 100 quintals of fresh coffee during the harvesting season, and sells it back when the price increases. He also speculates on grain that he buys from the market at harvest time so at low price, and sells during the rainy season when the price is high.

For another farmer, with many children including several studying at university and in Durame, trade is an indispensable complement to farming to allow him to pay for their studies. He is trading his own coffee and also peas and beans that he collects from other households and sells in Durame, Adilo and other smaller markets in the area. He gets a profit of 20 to 40 birr per day, excluding transport costs. He usually transports the products on his donkey though he uses public transport when he gets to Adilo as it is farther away. He is able to invest 6,000 birr annually on his children's education in this way.

Another of the successful men interviewed is also combining agriculture and trade but for him the coffee trade has become his main livelihood source. He explains that:

He started the business of coffee from his childhood, but it became his main livelihood option when he was 30, and received 300 Birr from his parents. Back in that time he was buying coffee from Hadaro and Shinshicho markets and selling it back in Shone and Halaba for a profit of 30-35 birr a day. In five years his capital reached 10,000 Birr and he started to transport larger quantities of coffee by renting trucks on a contract basis. He provides fresh coffee to coffee washing plants and he also buys fresh coffee which he dries up before selling it back. He buys mainly from retail sellers who buy from different local markets and sometimes directly from the producers who bring it to the market.

He explained that although the business was profitable, the sector is highly competitive. There is high competition between buyers as the season for fresh coffee is just three months. Individual farmers are tough in bargaining for a better price. And the owners of coffee washing plants who know well the price of coffee at any market in the area limit the margin that he can take over the price of the retail sellers.

The man interviewed as leading businessman did not mention any farming. He focuses on coffee trade which he started when he was 15, with capital obtained from his parents. He brings coffee from Shinshicho and Hadaro to Durame and sells it to merchants who have a license to take it and sell it in Addis Ababa. He has his own Isuzu vehicle to do this. In addition he is involved in livestock trade as explained earlier. He buys oxen, gets them fattened by farmers, and sells them back on the market around the time of Meskel. He shares the profit with these farmers. He mainly buys oxen from Durame and Shinshicho and sells them back in Durame. Oxen travel on foot.

Back to smaller scale operations, the rich young man in his mid-20s, who as many young men of his generation does not have land, sells clothes as his main occupation – besides assisting his parents in farming as he is their only son.

None of the respondents involved in trade mentioned credit. Several explained that they were using only their own capital.

Carpentry

There is no data on how many people are involved in carpentry. The 30 year old man interviewed explained that he started when he was 18 as a daily labourer in Durame. He was an assistant for 6 months. He learned in this way and started building houses on his own. Now he has a boy assisting

him, and when there is a lot of work he hires people. He buys materials from a construction material shop in Durame. The profit he makes depends on the house. It usually is higher for bigger buildings.

He became successful as he built the Millennium school in Aze Debo'a. Now he has built twenty houses in the area. He does agriculture too, but carpentry is his main profession and as it is profitable he plans to continue it. He is also able to make furniture but he does not have enough money to buy the machines which are needed to make them. He does not use credit.

Transport

As noted earlier, several people in the *kebele* get an income in providing transport services. They own, or rent a motorbike or a horse- or donkey-drawn carriage. Carriages are profitable particularly on market days. The landless man, sharecropping and complementing his farming with running a carriage rented from someone else, explains that he makes between 15 and 50 birr per day as profit (after having shared the income with the owner of the carriage).

Motorbikes are profitable too but expensive to buy. They belong to businesspeople or people with family members in South Africa.

Traditional health services

There was no mention of traditional health services being provided in the *kebele*, except TBAs. One fifty year old woman explained that there are about six of them in the community. Prior to the deployment of HEWs TBAs were regularly trained and getting the necessary equipment from the *wereda* health office. They were able to provide effective services. They were not charging anything except the price of the gaunt – and they would always use one. Now they are supposed to take women to the HEWs and work with the HEWs. But she does not have a good relationship with the HEWs because they ignored her when there was a government training for TBAs in Hossana. She explained that in the past she used to assist up to two women every day, but nowadays not even one in a month, because many women are going to health centre for delivery service

Production

There are no workshops in Aze Debo'a. One young man explained that with some friends they got a machine from World Vision to produce house blockets in the area. They also got a working place from the *kebele*, and the government officials promised to give them credit. However, to this day they could not get the credit and start working, so that they have given back the machine to World Vision until they get a credit.

There are a few quarry sites. Individuals have the license to exploit them and allow others to work against a fee. Most of the sites are exploited for stones for foundations. A lorry of these stones would sell 200 birrs, approximately. People work individually.

One man has started producing gravel of different types that are used in construction materials, by crushing the stone which can be extracted from the riverbed of one of the rivers in the *kebele*. His story is in the box below.

Box 6: The self-made stone crusher in Aze Debo'a

He started crushing stone eight years ago. Before this he went for two years on seasonal migration in Metahara to work on a sugar plantation. But it was very hard work; the weather was hot and not convenient for his health. So he did not want to continue to do this. Passing by Hawassa and Halaba while he was travelling he saw stone-crushing places, and that some of the stone found in the *kebele* was of the same type as that used there. So he decided to start this work. People initially thought he was mad as it is very hard work. He had not devised any marketing plan, but as the site is along the road, once he had started some people stopped and asked whether they could buy and that is how it all started.

People when seeing that he was making an income from this started to join. Now there are around 30 people working at the site. They work and sell their stone individually i.e. they have not organised a group. They just help each other when one of them needs to load the truck with his stone load. For him it is a job that he does throughout the year. Others working at the site are students and they do not do this all the time.

In the first year he did not have to pay anything. But since 7 years they all have to pay a fee to a person who is said to have the license to control the area. He can get enough stones crushed to fill one truck in 15 days, with the assistance of his son. He gets 800 birr out of this. From this he pays 150 birr to the license-holder and another 150 to people who help him to load the truck so he makes a profit of 500 birr every 15 days, sometimes a bit more when the stone is of the best quality.

With the income, he was able to get clothes, afford school and health costs etc. i.e. meet a part of the household consumption needs (he has 8 children). He never counted how much this had been in eight years, but it is evident that they could not do with just the farming. He also bought a milking cow and he recently invested in building a very good house. It is just completed and he is very happy with this. He invested 25,000 birr in it.

The main issue he has is that he is getting old and would like to get a crusher. But it is very expensive (120,000 birr though there may be cheaper ones), and he does not get any support. He has not thought seriously about organising a group because "they don't have the same agenda". He believes that he would not get credit from the bank as they do not lend to rural people but only to those who have a house in town. So he never asked.

Government non-farm livelihood interventions

When asked about this, *kebele* officials mentioned the work of NGOs like KMG and the church which provided training in petty trade, embroidery, pottery and wood work. A total of 31 individuals, including 22 women, participated. Some of them were then provided with equipment (woodwork equipment for 4 participants); others got some seed capital for petty trade. *Kebele* officials said that women appear to have been the most successful participants in these activities.

No community respondents among the interviewees mentioned this. The wife in the middle wealth household said that she could not involve in any non-farm business even though she has interest in and experience of fattening shoats because she does not have the starting capital. The male head of the poor household similarly explained that he has some experience of petty trade and fattening animals; but due to lack of access to credit or starting capital he could not involve in any off-farm activities. Generally as shown by the examples described above, people who have managed to engage in a non-farm activity have done this with capital raised by themselves or with some assistance from relatives.

Marketing

Output markets

Kebele officials mentioned the following major sources of income for most households, in order of respective importance: coffee, fattening of animals, sale of milk and milk products (mainly cheese and butter), sale of eucalyptus, vegetables and fruits, sale of grains (mainly tef, followed by maize and wheat), sale of root crops (potatoes, sweet potatoes, taro, cassava and others), sale of sugar cane, chat, Enset and hides and skin. They further explained that some household which were able to improve their production sell more than five years ago, but it is impossible to generalise.

Community respondents mentioned selling coffee, fruits, trees, grains and vegetables, as well as livestock and livestock products. All those who discussed this topic noted that the prices of all outputs have increased and that this was positive for the farmers. They mentioned good prices for, especially, Kembata coffee, maize and teff, some fruits, and livestock and livestock products. All six heads of households noted this trend. Those who had the means had reacted, for instance by

planting more coffee or fruit trees. Several respondents explained that some prices had even skyrocketed, like for livestock and livestock products, but they were constrained by lack of grazing land and fodder for some, and lack of access to credit for others.

Input and consumption markets

The prices for all agricultural inputs and goods have increased.

Many respondents explained that the price of agricultural inputs is simply too high and unaffordable for poor farmers. There is no government credit to get them. The microfinance institutions in Durame do not work in the *kebele* and it is not clear that they would provide credit for agricultural inputs. Commercial banks do not do this. People who can afford get fertilisers and improved seeds through the DAs from the *wereda* ARDO. Local seeds can be bought on the market. Some people also buy fertiliser from retail sellers on the market – presumably because they do not want to buy the minimum quantity provided by the DAs. There was no mention of people being forced to buy fertiliser and improved seeds.

As for consumption goods, *kebele* officials explained that in spite of inflation, on the whole the demand for consumer goods seems to increase and people with higher income seem to buy more goods than five years ago.

PSNP and other food-for-work

PSNP

Selection of beneficiaries

Selection generally

The *kebele* chairman who is also the chairman of the PSNP Task Force (and is not a PSNP beneficiary) explained that there are no specific meetings to discuss PSNP issues like selection; these are discussed as part of the regular meetings of the *kebele* administration. He took up this responsibility in 2008 so he was not trained on PSNP selection and was not involved in the initial targeting. He heard it was fair. Under his leadership things have continued to be done fairly. There was no retargeting as the quota stayed the same throughout the years [which is contradicted by data from the *wereda* – see below]. However, they were able to substitute new beneficiaries of PSNP in the place of those who passed away and or left the *kebele* and this had been done in a fair way.

He explained that the *wereda* had given the criteria for PSNP beneficiary selection as being: the magnitude of poverty, food insecurity status and vulnerability of the household to food shortage, measured by the level of savings and of assets and the number of months for which a household is able to cover its food need. They take these into account and a few additional factors like the amount of farming land. All households in the *kebele* have categorised into four groups: rich, medium, poor and very poor. When they need to substitute someone to replace someone else they focus on the households in the category of very poor and pick the most vulnerable ones in terms of food shortage.

They sometimes face a challenge in differentiating one from the other. In such cases they give priority to orphans, child-headed households, women-headed households, elderly people and those suffering from illness. Community respondents underlined that there were sometimes only very small differences between households excluded and included.

The chairman explained that there are a number of households who fits the criteria but as no additional quota was provided by the *wereda* to the *kebele*, a number of very poor households are not covered by the PSNP. In addition, as the number of households facing shortage of food is too high for the quota the households are not provided with support for all of their members. Community respondents agreed that the quota was too small.

The *kebele* chairman explained that the *wereda* ARDO informed them of a plan of providing support

to all members of the beneficiary households, from September 2012. This would likely create a big problem, as even in spreading the quota through partial family targeting, more than 150 households facing food shortage were not supported at all. If there were beneficiaries of PSNP who graduated, it would be possible to select and target new households to be the beneficiaries of PSNP. But this has not happened so far except for one household which was graduated.

The *wereda* gave the following data concerning PSNP in Aze Debo'a *kebele*. [There was no data for the years 2006 to 2009; the data for 2010 is the same as for 2011].

Table 2: Number of households and people benefiting from the PSNP in 2005 and in 2011

	Number of PW Beneficiaries for PSNP						Number of DS Beneficiaries for PSNP						Total HHs
	Households (HHs)			People			Heads of Households			People			
	mhh	fhh	total	mhh	fhh	total	mhh	fhh	total	mhh	fhh	total	
2005			334						75				409
2011	120	100	220	391	405	796	17	12	29	45	61	106	249

The *kebele* administration data shows that the *kebele* current population is 5,004 (2,426 male and 2,578 female), so that 18% (902 people) are beneficiaries of PSNP. There are 751 households in the *kebele*, and 33.2% (249) get some support – though not for all their members as already explained. [According to the DA NRM the population was larger, with 3,589 men and 3,735 women, and a total 7,324 people].

The *kebele* administration data also shows that all PSNP beneficiaries are in the category of poor and very poor households. The table below (based on this data) shows that even so a large proportion of poor and very poor people are not PSNP beneficiaries. Only roughly one third of the poor and very poor people are included because of the small quota.

Table 3: Poverty and PSNP selection in Aze Debo'a

	PW Beneficiaries			DS Beneficiaries			Total beneficiaries			Non beneficiaries		Total
	No	% (categ)	% (no. benef)	No	% (categ)	% (no. benef)	No	% (categ)	% (no. benef)	No	% (categ)	
Very poor	490	26%	62%	67	4%	63%	557	29%	62%	1.343	71%	1.900
Poor	306	31%	38%	39	4%	37%	345	35%	38%	655	66%	1.000
Medium	0			0						2.046	100%	2.046
Rich	0			0						58		58
Total	796			106			902			4.102		5.004

The *kebele* chairman underlined that no one is selected because of being a party member or because of having a good relationship with *kebele* officials. They do not select anyone outside of the criteria. Community respondents did not challenge the fairness of the initial selection. One man, who had been identified for graduation unfairly in his view, said that replacements had not been as fair, with economically better off households included to replace dead people or people having left. Several respondents said that they were not sure that there was no inclusion or exclusion on the basis of political affiliation or other factors such as nepotism.

There is an **appeal** body, led by a man who is respected in the *kebele* and has led the appeal body since two years but himself explained that the body is dysfunctional. Instead, he takes the decisions to be made to the PSNP targeting decision-making body. He said that there has not been any serious appeal case as payments are by *wereda* staff (accountant and cashiers). The PW beneficiaries are well aware that payments are transferred only when they fully involve in public works. If they get sick, they send one of their household members to substitute them in public works. If someone has no child who can substitute, he is expected to finish his share when he has recovered from his illness or sometimes his neighbours cover his share.

The *kebele* chairman explains that when he faces a problem he first discusses it at *kebele* level. If the case is not resolved at *kebele* level, he consults either the *wereda* Administration office or for PSNP issues mainly the *wereda* ARDO. He said that there was no serious problem that faced him and the *kebele* administration so far. The DA NRM disagreed vehemently with this, referring to the issues around graduation as 'headache' – this is discussed below.

The two interviewees who had never been PSNP beneficiaries, one man and one woman, both said that they thought this had been fair. The woman said she would not refuse if she was offered support but she knew there were many poorer people in the *kebele*. The man, who said that he is middle wealth with a relatively large plot of land, coffee trees and a woodlot in addition to crops, explained that he does not complain because he can see that most PSNP beneficiaries do not show any improvement in their life as a result of having developed dependency. However, there are a significant number of them who have very small plots of land, especially the returnees from resettlement.

Public works selection and graduation

There is a lot of confusion with regard to **graduation** in Aze Debo'a.

One person was alleged to be a voluntary graduate. In reality this is someone who migrated to South Africa, with money from relatives – but he had not achieved food security according to the DA NRM.

Then in 2003 EC the *wereda* initially gave a quota of 15 households from the *kebele* to be graduated. The *kebele* administration identified them and they posted the list on the *kebele* administration board. Then the *wereda* realised that they had made a mistake and they said that the quota for 2003 was 45 households. Accordingly, 45 households were identified as described below. They were told that they had graduated as if transfers would stop immediately. They appealed. The *wereda* volunteered the information that they would still get transfers for a certain number of months but they do not give clear information. The DAs and *kebele* manager say that this is because they want to put pressure on the people for them to start 'doing something' to replace the transfers. It was said that the *wereda* has got a quota of 88 households from Aze Debo'a to graduate in 2004 EC.

The *kebele* chairman said that they had identified the 45 households then he heard that it was not approved because the *wereda* identified that they did not fulfil even half of the criteria. So, he said, *'the graduation was cancelled. The wereda decided that their payments should continue up to August 2012 because the wereda believed that none of them had developed adequate assets that could resist any shock of drought'*. He added that the *wereda* has a plan to incorporate all PSNP beneficiary households in the HABP, including these 45 households who were graduated.

The DA NRM gave the following explanation.

The 45 households identified in 2003 EC included 7 direct support households. To identify the households they listed each household's characteristics including size, who is away, the number of PSNP beneficiaries in the household, the land size and land which is covered by crops of any type, the number of large livestock (cattle) and of small livestock, and 'any other source of income' (retail trade, daily labour, work in the coffee washing plant, educated working children assisting parents etc.). The problem is that people hide whatever they can. So, once the DA completed the list, a "graduation committee" of 9 people from the kebele went house to house to check people's assets. They were also asking key informants in the area. The list was then adjusted and those better-off were graduated. So, direct support beneficiaries can graduate if they have 'another source of income' like remittances. The committee is composed of the kebele administrator and rich farmers: none of them is a PSNP beneficiary.

The DA NRM and the *kebele* manager both believe that if they left people graduating by themselves as they had done until then it would never happen. So, the decision of identifying households for graduation is at least raising awareness of all that they will not remain beneficiaries forever and they have to do something about improving their life. Some people have now started taking measures.

The DA also said that the benchmarks that are supposed to be used are fully unattainable. People even after years and years of asset building would not reach them. So there was a decision of adjusting them, taken at the *wereda* level.

The *kebele* manager explained this about the **appeal** by the selected graduates.

They came to put a complaint to the kebele administration. Twenty came as a group with a signed letter in which they explained that they could not be graduated because they did not have enough land, they had not met the criteria for graduation and they had not yet finished to repay the World Bank loan that they had taken. To which the kebele responded (but not in writing) that they could use the government resettlement programme so they would have land; they were anyway not supposed to repay the WB loan from the PSNP transfers but rather from the profit of the activities undertaken with the loan; they had been made aware of the graduation anyway. Two women came as individuals and one of them went to the wereda ARDO because she was not satisfied by the kebele response. She was told by wereda officials that the kebele people knew things better than they would and if they had decided that she should graduate they were not in a better position to say the contrary. They also told her that it was anyway the government policy that everyone would be graduated in three to five years.

Even so it appears that the *wereda* at least changed its message, and as one of the concerned cases explained, until then at the time of the fieldwork he had continued to receive the transfers.

The researchers explained that the misunderstandings arise from the fact that until very recently nobody was ever told that PSNP would not be forever. The client cards are taken as ID; the PSNP transfers are considered as a salary especially since it is paid in cash. People do use the *Kembata* word 'earning' like they would for a government's or any salary. Community members believe that graduation is an invention by the government (*kebele* and *wereda*). They do not believe that donors would 'let them down'. There are reasons to believe that *wereda* officials have mixed incentives: on the one hand, graduating people may mean a smaller quota and so a smaller administrative budget (which is proportional to the quota), but on the other hand they are under pressure by the Region and the zone. The Regional government raised the issue strongly with the zone, asking "how is it that it is only in *Kembata* zone that there is no one graduating".

Among the community respondents, one man who was sharecropping land, had been able to buy a milking cow and an ox two years ago, and was working on the coffee plant for 300 birr/month for the last three years, had not been identified for graduation. A 35-year old widow with eight children, although she complained that she was not able to cultivate her land properly as her sons were at school, said that she needed the support for now, but she would not mind if it stopped in a couple of years because she would then get an income from the coffee trees that she had planted recently.

One man who had been identified for graduation presents his case as follows:

He is 42-year old and has eight children, all dependent and five of whom at school. He returned from resettlement seven years ago and was given 0.1 ha of land by the kebele as his farming land (which was ½ ha) was given to another person immediately after he went for resettlement. He has been PSNP beneficiary and was supported for six members of his family for the last six years, which highly contributed to fill the food gap of his family and to send all his school age children to school. He could not show significant improvement in his life because of his very small land, and because of the large number of his family members (he had six only in 2006 but now they are ten, and he has additional costs as they go to school). He could not save anything from the transfers.

At the beginning of October 2011, the kebele administration posted the name 45 PSNP beneficiaries including his name on the notice board informing that they are going to graduate at the end of 2011 without providing any information prior to this date. However, he does not qualify the criteria for graduation because he could not build any asset. In his house there is only one milking cow which he got to keep for his neighbour and they share the milk. He was selected even though many others with wider area of farming land, higher incomes and better living conditions were not selected. This is

because his is not their relatives. There are no clear criteria and benchmark for graduation. Earlier on they were told that beneficiaries are expected to graduate on a voluntary basis after they build assets. In this case, however, they simply picked up names from the list of PSNP beneficiaries. Furthermore, the graduation was made without the knowledge of the wereda and the region. Therefore, they expressed their grievance and opposition to the kebele and appealed the case to the wereda ARDO. They recently heard from them that there is a hope that they will get transfers up to the end of August 2012.

Personally, he wants to stay at least until his older children completed their high school education, get employed and able to support themselves. If the payment would not be transferred in the coming months it would be a disaster for the family.

Direct support selection

The beneficiaries of PSNP direct support are those who are physically weak or otherwise incapable of working on public works due to age and infirmity, and those who do not have other sources of support like sons/daughters and relatives. Children below the age of 12, women who are six months of pregnancy or more and lactating mothers are eligible to receive direct support.

The people interviewed who were getting direct support included one elderly woman, widow and whose children all died except for one, and who has a grandson with her. In 2011 she got 150 birr/month (for 2 family members). She has no other support, and her household would be in real trouble without the transfers as her 0.1 ha land is very small and she has no other dependable asset. Even with the support in the past year she faced between five and eight days food shortage every month except during the two harvest months. She had taken a loan of 1,080 birr from the Rural Finance Fund and bought an ox, but it died in November 2010. She has started to repay but remains with 25% debt. Fortunately she also had bought a heifer and still has it.

One 17-year old girl living alone with her 5 siblings (3 of whom are at school) as their parents died after they returned from the resettlement area, and who has only 0.2 hectare of land which she and her younger brother cultivate, gets full family support since 2006 (so 450 birr per month in 2011). She does not get any other assistance from government or NGO or any relative although the Aze Debo'a Primary School assists them in school materials like uniform and stationeries. World vision covers their medical expenses.

Support provided

Overall support provided

In 2005, 2006 and 2007 which were normal years the support was provided for 6 months. In 2008 which was a severe drought year, PSNP transfers were provided for 9 months – with 3 months contingency. There was also emergency food aid for 3 months. In 2009 which was a good year the support was again only for 6 months. In 2010 and 2011 there was crop failure due to insufficient rain but this was less serious than in 2008. PSNP transfers were provided for 9 months according to the *kebele* chairman, but no emergency food aid was provided.

Initially the support was provided in food and cash. The community then indicated that it wanted cash. Since three years transfers are in cash only. In 2011 the amount transferred was increased to 75 birr per household member supported for one month (up from 40 in 2005 and 50 in 2010). He explained that there is no issue of bias against people once they are beneficiaries. They all get their transfers. Payment is made at the end of each month. Last year payments were made timely, comparatively to earlier on. Most often they arrived within five days of the end of the month. Some respondents explained that payments were sometimes late by a month and did not mention a recent improvement.

The *kebele* chairman explained that beneficiaries complain that payments were not enough. First, even though it had become 75 birr per beneficiary this was not compensating for the price hiking for all items on the market. Secondly, not all family members were included so that even with nine

months of support they were facing food shortages. However, the chairman said that if they have to support all members of eligible households these would be fewer and those who would not get any support would be forced to migration and their families would be in danger. The direct support beneficiaries would starve as they are not able to migrate to work as daily labourers or in other jobs.

Indeed, all community respondents interviewed on PSNP said that they now would like transfers to be a mix of cash and food. They highlighted that since 2010, even with more months of support provided and a higher amount of cash, they were facing food gaps while before they could cover the food needs of their family without problem.

- One man who sharecrops land said that for instance last year he got 300 birr/month for 9 months but he had a food gap of two months. However, he was able to cover it by his production so he did not have to sell assets.
- Similarly, a 35 year-old widow with eight children said that in 2011, even though she got 600 birr/month for nine months, this was insufficient; but she was able to get a good yield from her one ha of land and so they managed. She added that they also had to cover all other expenses like school fees, health costs and others by their production.
- One man who gets direct support (though it is not clear why direct support and not public works) for five family members explained that PSNP is not enough to cover the food gap of the family but he is able to cover by what he earns from his coffee trade.
- The young orphaned girl said that they fill the gap by getting some income in selling fruits on market days, for which she leaves going to school on Tuesdays.

Public works support provided

Public work beneficiaries and direct support beneficiaries get the same support.

Direct support provided

Public work beneficiaries and direct support beneficiaries get the same support.

The Public Works work

In the same way as for the selection, the PSNP public works are discussed at the regular meetings of the *kebele* administration. According to the *kebele* chairman most of the environmental protection activities (construction of soil and stone bunds, terraces and erosion diverting culverts, tree plantation, area enclosures and others) have been carried out through PSNP public works.

Several community respondents mentioned that when they could not go to the public works one of the children would replace them. The 35-year old widow with eight children explained that usually she was working 2-3 days/week (which was confirmed by others as well), or a total of 12 days in a month (and she was getting 600 birr/month that is, support for 8 family members). She said that sometimes in addition to the NRM activities they do road construction, which she likes because it is a bit easier, though she agreed that terracing, tree planting and gully rehabilitation are very important. She explained that women and men are expected to do the same work but sometimes women are assisted by neighbours.

Contingency PSNP

There has been contingency PSNP support three years since the programme started: in 2008, 2010 and 2011 – to respond to serious drought in 2008, and crop failure in 2010 and 2011. Most people said that there were transfers for three more months in those years.

Emergency Food Aid (FFW)

Kebele officials and community respondents explained that there is no regular programme of food aid in the *kebele*. There was food aid and a feeding programme in 2008 because of the extreme weather conditions. This was mainly by NGOs like Samaritan Purse and World Vision Ethiopia. Rain

was late by three months in 2010 and 2011, which resulted in shortage of food throughout the *kebele*, but there was no food aid. It is provided only when there is drought, as in 2008. When drought occurs, the government also expands the regular PSNP transfers.

The man whose household was not PSNP beneficiary did not receive anything like relief or other assistance from government, NGOs and other sources last year. However, he received relief from World Vision in the same way as most of the households in the *kebele* during the drought of 2008. He also got a goat from them through their IGA program, as they considered that rearing goats was convenient in his homestead – but it is not clear from the man's account whether this was also triggered by the 2008 drought or unrelated.

One poor young woman in her 20s said that in 2008 her family suffered a lot because they did not get assistance in time, and had no assistance from relatives (unlike in 1984 when relatives from another *wereda* had helped). Two 16-17 year old girls from a middle wealth and a poor family said that they got relief from World Vision International and Samaritan's Purse last year and four years ago (in 2008) when her family was hit by severe drought and exposed to food shortages.

The successful household head said that in 2008 when the drought was severe and several households were exposed to food shortages and starving, the NGOs like World Vision and Samaritan's Purse were the first to save the lives of the needy people. On the government side there was a problem in reporting the number of children and households needing assistance. As a result, some children passed away because of the negligence of *wereda* officials. He was not assisted because there is no food shortage in his family.

Impacts on the households and the community

Impact of PSNP and EFA on households

In the view of the *kebele* chairman, in summary the PSNP protected its beneficiaries from selling assets and getting into debts. However, its contribution in household asset building is minimal. In the case of Aze Debo'a, it created a culture of dependency. He said that most of the PSNP beneficiaries do not cultivate their land and plant crops properly since they became beneficiaries. They consider the payment as something that would be transferred up to the end of their life.

The 35-year old widow did not agree that PSNP prevent people from getting into debt. She heard that many PSNP beneficiaries borrow money from rich people and repay them when they get the transfers. So, the lion's share of the transfers goes to repay their debt.

One man believes that PSNP protected his household and others from food insecurity and that without PSNP several households would be starved and exposed to death. It prevented beneficiary households from selling assets, getting into debts and eating less in hard times. It created good conditions for some households having a relatively larger plot of land to improve their life.

The man who never was beneficiary but does not complain about this said that while PSNP saved many lives from death, selling assets and getting into debts and it prevents serious food shortage, it does not bring an impact on the life of most beneficiary households. On the contrary, it creates a spirit of dependency in many households. The main indicator is that most beneficiaries do not effectively cultivate their plot of land compared to the non-beneficiaries. They do not have any ambition and motivation to graduate and instead, most of them want to stay in the programme up to the end of their life. The woman non-beneficiary said the same.

Direct beneficiaries

The *kebele* chairman said that the direct beneficiary households would starve without the support as they cannot move to seek jobs elsewhere. That is why they need to be backed up by HABP.

Public Works beneficiaries

Similarly, PSNP alone cannot help people build assets and they need HABP to be able to show real

improvement.

Impact of PSNP and EFA on the community

Community respondents and *kebele* officials said that there was no issue like disputes or conflicts. But interviews suggest that there are community members who despise those who are beneficiaries and have developed a sense of dependency.

The other impact on the community is in the creation of community assets – though this is also done by free labour campaign. Environmental protection work is judged useful by most people, though as discussed earlier they do not want this on their land. Some of the work was evidently not very useful, like the water harvesting structures that had fallen in disuse.

Savings, credit and debt

There is no widely available credit source in the *kebele*. Many community respondents explained that lack of access to credit was undermining their efforts to improve their livelihoods. This is illustrated by the examples given in the sections above about people's undertakings in farm- and non-farm activities. The research team explored the issue of access to credit or lack thereof in Aze Debo'a in some detail, talking to the *kebele* administration, individual farmers, and heads of microfinance institutions. The main findings are presented in the box below.

Box 7: Microfinance institutions in the wereda and credit in Aze Debo'a

There are two big microfinance Institutions in Kedida Gamela *wereda*, Omo Microfinance and Wisdom Microfinance. Omo is an organisation initiated by the government and it started its service in the *wereda* in 2008. Wisdom is an independent organisation founded by World Vision International which started to work in the *wereda* in 2010. Currently, Omo microfinance is working in Adilo town and 8 rural *kebele* in Kedida Gamela *wereda*. Since the start of its operation a total of 1,386,950 birr was distributed as credit to groups of mainly poor women and youths. A little more than half of the loans had been repaid by end December 2011. Wisdom is providing credit to people in 13 *kebele*. So far, it has disbursed five million birr. Most of its beneficiaries are poor women living in rural *kebele*. Aze Debo'a and some other *kebele* are not covered by either Omo or Wisdom Microfinance so far. The demand for credit is very high and Wisdom has a plan to start credit service for Aze Debo'a and the remaining *kebele* in the near future.

Apart from this, a number of saving and credit groups were established by NGOs like KMG. There was also a credit-providing government body named Rural Finance Fund. This, which was financed by the World Bank, did not have staff of its own. The credit was disbursed to PSNP beneficiaries through the *wereda* and *kebele* staff assigned to manage the PSNP. It is reported that 67,000 and 11,925 birr was provided to 75 and 49 organised women IGA groups in Aze Debo'a by KMG and by the Rural Finance Fund. However, there is no adequate recording or documentation of the operations of these schemes. The major criterion to select loan beneficiaries in these government or NGO schemes is the economic status of the household. All credit services give priority to households identified to be "poor" and "very poor". In addition, KMG works only with women. So far, only a limited number of poor and very poor households as well as women have been beneficiaries because of budget constraints.

One poor household who had benefited from a 2,000 birr credit from the Rural Finance Fund found that it was too limited to make any difference to its livelihood (inability to buy enough butter for the woman and to buy more than two sheep for fattening for the man). They have not yet started to repay and as they have not been able to make any savings this is going to be a major issue. The man suggested that 10,000 birr would be necessary to engage into fattening in a proper way and hope to make any profit. Other respondents explained that middle wealth and rich households do not have access to credit and do not rely on it.

According to the *kebele* officials various studies assessing the potential of various kinds of IGAs and focusing on the saving culture and credit experiences were carried out in the area. Experience

sharing tours were organised. Numerous training sessions on a broad range of topics were held, among others for households and People Living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) and for women – for instance by NGOs like KMG, by the Evangelical Church of and by the DAs. Some people were provided with loans as starting capital for IGAs. But these activities reach only a limited number of households and women compared to a much higher need to borrow money.

Thus generally, respondents from different groups highlighted that there is a big gap between demand and supply of credit services. In addition, in the credit schemes available thus far the loans were not enough to run any business except petty trade; and middle wealth and rich households do not have access to these schemes which target poor households. As a result, there is no household whose livelihood is significantly improved as a result of credit obtained from government sources.

The researchers contrasted this insignificant impact of credit provision in Aze Debo'a, with the relatively higher impact of the provision of dairy cattle and oxen to certain households by World Vision and religious organisations. This is said to strongly contribute to improving these households' food security: the oxen enable the households to produce relatively more, and the milk and milk products obtained from the dairy cattle are used for the households' consumption and as a source of income. Initially at least, these were provided for free and not as loans. However, there is no comprehensive documentation on the number of households that benefited and the total amount that this support represented in the *kebele*.

The DA NRM who has worked for five years in the *kebele* believes that between 200 and 300 households from the *kebele* have taken loans at the **Omo branch in Durame** though he has no details. The differences with the Rural Finance Fund of the government (which is described below) is that there is not a list of activities, no training and awareness-raising, and individual loans can reach 4,000 birr. People must be organised in a group. No community respondents from among the interviewees mentioned this. The DA added that rich farmers do not take and do not want to take credit. They get capital from other sources including remittances from children abroad.

Savings by individuals

One community respondent said that there were people saving huge amounts of money on **bank accounts** in Durame – notably migrants abroad or their families. There are examples in the stories above, like the man who invested in the coffee washing plant and who had 3 million birr savings when he decided to invest. One man also mentioned that he used all his savings and sold some assets to be able to send his child to South Africa. The two savings and credit organisations found in the *kebele* are supposed to allow people to save. The women members of the KMG-initiated organisation do indeed save 5 to 10 birr every month. This is described below.

Equb are not very common in the *kebele*. The *kebele* chairman said that this is because most people do not have money. *Equb* are there for merchants and business people. But they are important for some people. One man interviewed was the leader of an *equb* of 27 male members, with a weekly contribution of 100 birr. The payment is reduced to 50 or 30 birr in the winter season when people have less cash at hand, but it never stops. He explained that when it is his turn, he uses the money to buy and sell something – making a profit on it – and buying clothes for his children.

Community-organised credit

Iddir may provide credit to their members. In the largest *iddir* of the *kebele* members can borrow to pay back within a year with 30% interest. Chronically ill members do not pay interest.

There were several schemes organised by locally active NGOs or faith-based organisations. **KMG** provided credit for women organised in groups with a 10% interest rate (the same as for the Rural Finance Fund). The lending capital and repaid amount is deposited in the Bank in the name of the women's group. The researchers reported that the women who got access to credit from KMG are showing gradual progress and are able to save money on a monthly basis because there is a close

follow up and technical advice provided by KMG's experts.

The KMG initiative started with a round of information and awareness-raising by the DAs who moved from house to house to inform all women. First, only 15 women expressed interest. Now in one of the structures there are 90 women pooling resources, working as three groups of 30 women who are co-responsible for credit repayment. There are three other structures in the *kebele* but they have started later and are smaller.

The women first had to save a little (1 birr). They were given training about how to manage credit etc. They were then all given 250 birrs as a first loan. Although women are organised in a group they carry out their activity the way they want. But all women in a group of 30 have to repay the loan before anyone can get any more credit. After the first round of 250 birr loans they got 1000 birr each. Repayment is on the way. It is due by March 2012 and then there will be a 3rd round. The long term plan is for this to continue as women have no other means of access to credit. The women want to ask KMG to increase the loan amount. Initially there were problems with some women who were late to repay. After they had consulted many times with them and it did not get better these women were excluded.

One woman explains what she did with her loans as follows:

With her first loan B bought butter for 500 birr together with another woman, in the month of July, and they sold it at Meskel for 750 birr also having taken some butter for their own family. She is planning to do the same with the 1,000 birr. With her savings she managed to buy some poultry and they are now ready to lay eggs. She is also buying some improved fodder for her own cattle so she hopes better production to increase the quantity of butter she can sell. She isn't very conversant with running a business... but she thinks this is very profitable for women as they had no access to credit at all before this. B thinks that almost all women benefit from this, not only in being able to repay but also making some change for themselves and their families.

There is also the **Firegenet Women Saving and Credit Association**, established in 2010 and which received 25,000 birr seed money from the Evangelical Church Mekaneyesus. Currently, it has 32,000 birr on its account. The association is led by a women working as a volunteer. Most women save 5-10 birr per month (5 birr is the minimum). In October 2011 the association had 86 women members. Among these, 47 had borrowed money at different times and were paying it back. The maximum loan has been 530 birr only because of the association's limited capital. Loans are to be repaid within three years, with one year of grace period. Repayments of one third each are due at the beginning and end of the second year, and at the end of the third year. The association will reach the end of its first round of loans at the end of this year. The major challenges for the association are lack of adequate financial capital and of access to sources of capital, and the association has no office and no accountant which is a problem in relation to keeping adequate documentation.

General government credit

In 2007 there was an attempt to get **youth to organise in cooperatives**, get capital and credit, and start income-generating activities. This was a plan coming from Addis Ababa, and taken up by the Regional government and the zonal and *wereda* administration.

Accordingly, in 1999 EC the *wereda* Youth and Sport Office got the youth of Aze Debo'a organised in three co-operatives of 25 members each, to provide them with seed capital for IGA. Because there were budget constraints there was a strict limit on the number of youth who could involve in this. In Aze Debo'a the information was passed to all youth. According to one of the (male) members, a number of young women who were initially interested gave up when they learned that activities had to be carried out in groups. As a result there were only 15 young women among the 75 members.

It is not clear whether the *wereda* gave credit or simply organised savings from the members. Anyway, according to the member interviewed, the capital available was not enough to do anything at the cooperative level. The members decided to divide it as loans for individual members. Eligible

activities included fattening, retail trade, coffee trade etc.

After this initial activity nothing happened except that some youth have repaid the loans, but not all of them. In one of the three co-operatives the members have paid back fully. The other two paid 75% and are paying the remaining 25%. The *wereda* has explained that the lending capital would not be used again before everyone would have repaid so this is now blocked, and the money which has been repaid is sitting idle. There were also issues with the activities. Some of them were not matching with the market demand. There were cases of cattle dying and people getting not profitable. All in all, it was good for a few people but even for them it was not enough for them to really change their life. The youth of the *kebele* accuses the *wereda* of 'blocking change'.

The **Aze Debo'a Farmers Saving and Credit Association** was established in June 2009 on voluntary basis, following promotion by the *wereda* Cooperative Office officials. It started with 14 members and has now 180 members. Most of them save 5-10 birr per month (the minimum is 5 birr). New members are expected to pay 20 birr for registration and 30 birr for membership. The association is legally established and has an executive committee and a credit sub-committee under it. It has its own account at the Commercial Bank branch in Durame. Every member has a bank book and ledger. The financial transactions of the association have to be signed by three people (chairman, secretary and cashier). Most often it is the cashier who takes the members' money and saving books and deposits the money for them. One challenge is that there is no remuneration for the cashier. The association did not get any support thus far, except its members' savings. The leader of the association did not mention any credit service by the association.

Credit for agriculture including OFSP/HABP

The **Rural Finance Fund** was established at the *wereda* level and was active in Aze Debo'a. It is a World Bank-financed scheme but at the time of the research it had phased out. Any person identified to be poor was eligible for credit. There was no collateral requirement but people were made to organise in groups with group members underwriting loans of one another. The interest rate was 10%. Eligible activities included farming and non-farm ones.

Kebele officials explained that the major challenge was that a very small number of people benefited because of budget constraints, and as explained earlier the loans were found to be too small to make a difference. There was no problem for people to pay back. As most beneficiaries of the Rural Finance Fund are PSNP beneficiaries the *kebele* was able to collect almost all the money due by deducting from their transfer on the payment day.

The DA NRM explained that three rounds of credit were given and the third round was ongoing at the time of the fieldwork, with loans outstanding. Most of the PSNP beneficiary households had a chance except around 40 households, excluded because the head was drinking or smoking or having other bad behaviour. The credit was small - around 1,100 birr maximum, to be repaid in six instalments of 200-220 birr. As the first two rounds had covered most of the eligible PSNP households he indicated that some middle wealth farmers who were not PSNP beneficiaries were included in the third round. Direct support beneficiaries could take credit too. Once selected the beneficiaries have to organise in groups for the repayment (5-15 members). Loans and activities are individual, and repayment is individual too but with the group's collective responsibility. In the DA's view most people who took a loan did improve but all hide this because of the graduation. Most people did fattening. Many also engaged in retail trade.

The scheme has phased out but the fund remains as the *kebele's* property. It can be used to further revolve, or to invest in some infrastructure. That will be decided by the *kebele* fund management committee (*kebele* administration, *wereda* cooperative office and Omo MFI). The DA thinks that it should continue to revolve because there is little credit opportunity in the *kebele*.

One elderly widow with eight children, whose husband death twelve years ago forced to eat up the household's assets and whose household now survives thanks to the PSNP, explained that they

bought two cows three years ago, by saving some money from the PSNP transfers and getting a loan of 1,080 birr from the Rural Finance Fund. But they lost the two cows six months ago to an unknown disease even though the vet had given them various drugs. She did not explain how she repaid the loan, but said that church had assisted them with a gift of 100 birr.

Wereda and *kebele* officials as well as the DA NRM mentioned that the Household Asset Building Programme (HABP) was due to start in the near future in the *kebele* and the *wereda* as a whole (September 2012). One of the community respondents had heard about it too. *Kebele* officials highlighted that this was essential as the PSNP alone could not enable beneficiaries to build assets and show change in their life. There are high expectations that HABP beneficiaries will be able to undertake meaningful activities and show real improvement. It is said that they will be able to borrow up to 4,000 birr individually. The DA NRM explained that priority would be given to PSNP graduates to get loans from the HABP. Households would first graduate then they would get a loan.

Credit for non-farm activities including OFSP/HABP

There is no other scheme than those described above. The man with his stone crushing enterprise said that he believes banks in Durame would not lend to rural people who would like to borrow for non-farm activities because they ask collaterals like a house in town. As explained earlier, the youngsters who got a machine from World Vision to produce house blockets were apparently promised credit by government officials but to this day did not see this materialise.

Debt

The *kebele* chairman explained that in the *kebele* there is presently no debt owed to government or NGOs. Most of the households are encouraged to take agricultural inputs from the government through cash payment instead of taking them on credit as was done during the Derg regime. Community respondents explained that people who get credit have to pay even in bad harvesting years. The militia leader explains that the militia plays a big role in '*mobilising the community to pay their debts and loans that they have taken to buy agricultural inputs and for other purposes*'. The DAs mentioned that one of their tasks was to get people to pay their debt for agricultural inputs. As shown in the stories above, many people rather than getting into debt avoid using inputs.

As said earlier, most debt owed to the Rural Finance Fund was repaid by deducting the repayments from people's PSNP transfers.

Co-operatives

There is no cooperative in the *kebele*. Government is distributing fertiliser at the same price as on the market. The attempt to organise youth in cooperatives (see above) is considered to have failed. One person mentioned a recently established irrigation cooperative but there was no more information about it.

Migration

Migration opportunities and remittances

General pattern

In the past, young girls had no tradition to move anywhere from their home area except for marriage and visiting relatives. At the same time, a large number of young boys and adult men constantly moved from Aze Debo'a and the whole Kembata zone to various parts of the country for trade, temporary employment and other jobs (notably, to state farms and sugar plantations in the Rift valley area like Metahara, Wonjii, Nurahera and others, mainly for temporary employment). Migrants returned after six months to one year. This type of outmigration has significantly decreased in the past decade, although there were a few cases among the respondents.

For instance a 30-year old man went to Wolkite to farm the land of someone who resettled there in 1976 EC. He ploughs with the owner's oxen. They contribute equally to buy fertiliser. He plants maize

and pepper in April and August, harvests both crops in November and returns to Aze Debo'a after selling it so he usually stays away for eight months. Two years ago, he got 6,000 birr from the sale of pepper. He is the breadwinner of the household at home. He ploughs and sows his parents' land before I go to Wolkite. Another man explained that he used to migrate for temporary work to Metahara Sugar Plantation for 15 years, staying sometime up to nine months at once.

Nowadays young boys and girls have started to move in other directions to look for jobs. In the past decade there has been a large youth migration (especially male) to South Africa. Returnees explain that the first migration took place after the collapse of the Apartheid regime in 1994, by people from Addis Ababa. In 1995 two youths named Erago from Kembata and Habtamu from Hadiya migrated to South Africa along with youth from Addis Ababa. Shortly after their arrival in South Africa, they wrote letters and made phone calls to youth of their relatives, telling them that there were opportunities for job seekers in South Africa. Currently, these two individuals are millionaires, having mega shops in Pretoria and other cities of South Africa, and have been granted the documents of citizenship. Then, some high school graduates and other youth lacking access to jobs started to migrate. Gradually over the years the information reached the ears of many people in Kembata and Hadiya, and a huge number of youth started to move to South Africa. Especially starting in 2000 a large number of youth have migrated to South Africa through different routes. On average, more than 20 people from the *kebele* travel illegally to South Africa in a year.

Young girls have begun to move to big cities in the country like Addis Ababa, Hawassa and others to work as housemaids, and to work as daily labourers in flower and other private farms in the country. In addition, especially since the last two years young girls also started to move to Gulf countries (UEA, Bahrain, Qatar, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and recently South Sudan and Sudan) to work as housemaids. One young woman working at the coffee plant and who wants to migrate explained that it is difficult to estimate how many went thus far. But many are interested, and the number is increasing. She said that last year approximately 50 young women and girls went, and this year even more left. It is the same in all *kebele*, not only Aze Debo'a. There are a few girls who migrated to South Africa, usually under the guise of marriage with a young male migrant.

Causes for migration

The immediate contributing factors are shortage of farming land, population pressure, poverty, high level of unemployment and limited livelihood options. Two informants explained:

Since two years there is no access to job for many graduates in the area. If job opportunities were adequately available in this kebele or wereda, a lot of young people would not leave the country. But they have no other option. What sadden me most is that even those young people who would have done well at schools and college and university graduates are forced to go to South Africa to look for jobs.

All six household heads and their wives reckoned that young men were disadvantaged, with no land, no access to credit to start their own business and no access to jobs so no way of establishing a household, and were therefore forced to migrate to other areas in the country and abroad. They said that the same is true for women. As a result, they also started to migrate to Arab countries.

The Aze Debo'a primary school deputy director explained that this migration is a big issue and it cannot be solved overnight. There needs to be a lot more job opportunities and government and other agencies should put priority on this. That might slowly change people's minds. Government attitude to migration is ambiguous. On the one hand there is a legal route for migration but this is very difficult and officials may be suspicious and make people fail to migrate. On the other hand, they seem to "look the other way round" on all the illegal migration.

Migrants' background

Those who migrate are predominantly unemployed youth and high school and college graduates. Since a few years even civil servants have started to move to South Africa due to dissatisfaction in

their jobs, salary scale and overall politics of the existing government. The following is a typical case for young women from Aze Debo'a.

One young woman who is working on the coffee plant is planning to go to the Arab countries. She plans to sell the ox she bought last year with her savings from the coffee work, add her savings and go. She may leave this year if she has enough, otherwise the next year. She has full information about the cases of other girls from Aze Debo'a. It is said that they earn 2,000 to 2,500 birr/month and accommodation and food are provided for separately. No girl has returned but they inform their family. They sent money and in this way they change their family's life. She plans to stay perhaps up to ten years, because she wants to change her life and that of her family and the money she gets here is not enough to do this. Another young woman explained that she had heard that the families of migrants are able to buy foreign breeds, to have a good house, to get clothes and consumption goods and to "drink milk like water".

One young man involved in the local administration and party activities was vehemently against migration. Through the illegal route many people die or they return after having lost everything. In his family, his wife's sister went four months ago and they still do not have any news. Most girls go illegally without a passport, through dealers, and they have no rights when they get there. However, it is true that there are no job opportunities in the area. What is needed is that the legal route should be used and the government should make follow-ups to ensure that people get their rights when they are there.

Travelling to the Gulf countries

The young woman working at the coffee plant has heard that one needs to have at least 7,000 birr to begin to think about travelling to the Gulf countries. Most of the girls who did it got the money needed from their family and relatives. Some also got contributions from various people and they repay when they have gone and are able to send money back.

Travelling to South Africa

Some of the would-be migrants travel legally by obtaining visas directly from the South African Embassy in Ethiopia by paying brokers who have a relationship with the embassy people. In 2001/02, the brokers used to charge only 7,000 Birr for this. Nowadays they charge 100,000 birr and get visas by sharing the money with people working in embassies. People get visas as tourists, businessmen or patients seeking health treatment in South Africa.

If the brokers cannot obtain enough visas they contact the embassies of other countries sharing a border with South Africa like Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique or Namibia (for 90,000 birr). Once there migrants can easily cross the border with the assistance of brokers in those countries. If the embassies of these countries refuse to grant visas, embassies of other countries like Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania and Angola will be contacted. If none of these options work, migrants travel by public transport first to Kenya through Moyale or Omoratie, and then to Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, and then to South Africa, with the assistance of brokers charging 33,000 Birr.

There are women travelling to South Africa too. A recent trend in Aze Debo'a and other places in the zone marriages arranged by parents, siblings and relatives who send a picture of the girl to children and relatives in South Africa. If they find a partner, the boy's father gives a bride price of 60,000 or 80,000 birr to the girl's father. There are a number of girls who have engaged to boys in South Africa and are waiting until their visas and air tickets are arranged by brokers.

Many migrants do not calculate the risks they will face on their way or once there. Some people say that a large number of illegal migrants are exposed to detention and imprisonment in different countries on the way; others are killed by robbers; yet others are eaten by wild animals when crossing the jungle at night. There are many young people whose whereabouts is not known. The following is the story of one migrant from Aze Debo'a who was detained on the way.

I am single and 18 years old. My father, who is a teacher in Aze Debo'a Primary School since 20 years,

used to encourage me to be successful in my education and to continue my studies up to university. Unfortunately, my ambition of joining the university became a dream after I failed in the grade 10 exam in 2010. I started nagging my father to send me to South Africa because I knew that he had been saving some part of his salary on a monthly basis. My father finally agreed to cover the cost of my travel to South Africa. He gave me 5,000 birr and paid 28,000 birr to a broker to take me to South Africa. I and four other youth from the Durame area started our journey on 25 July 2002 EC. In Moyale we joined others and became 90 in number. We passed from one broker to another until reaching Zanzibar where the broker there told us that he needed up to 500 dollar from each of us to bribe the security people in Zanzibar and on the way to South Africa. We gave him all our money but he disappeared on the beach of Zanzibar. We were captured by the police, briefly detained in Zanzibar, sent to court in Dar-es-Salaam, accused of travelling to Tanzania without a visa, and imprisoned for one year. We were released thanks to the International Red Cross which covered the cost of our air tickets. During our stay in the prison of Tanzania, we were starved and mistreated many times and handled inhumanely.

Staying and working in South Africa

Most of the migrants in South Africa work as petty vendors in cities and towns all over the country, selling curtains, blankets, bed sheets, mattresses, pillowcases and other cloths. They are assisted and guided by relatives or friends who have stayed some years in the country, who lend them money to buy some items to start their business.

Returnees from South Africa explained that most of the migrants are not well integrated even after several years. They face xenophobia and discrimination on a daily basis. There are many cases of robberies and violence. In the last three years the number of migrants murdered in South Africa has increased substantially.

As a result, most of the migrants want to return to their home country, and maintain close contacts with their parents and relatives in home areas. Most migrants immediately transfer whatever they get to their family in Ethiopia, as they fear robbery and murder. Moreover, they do not have the right to open a bank account in their names in South Africa except the very few who acquire South African identity documents. One of the returnees who travelled to South Africa shared his experience as follows:

He completed grade 12 from Durame High School in 2001 then was at home without a job for five years. His parents finally accepted his idea of sending him to South Africa as other parents are doing. They sold their two oxen and all eucalyptus on their land for 23,000 birr. He went to Addis Ababa and started his journey through a broker having a relationship with a broker in Durame town. He and nine others from Kembata area journeyed through Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi and Mozambique. On arrival to Pretoria they were introduced to individuals from Kembata who had stayed some years in the country and who sheltered them until they got a job and earned some money. With some payment they got an identity card enabling them to stay in South Africa on a temporary basis and run some small businesses.

They started to sell curtains, blankets, bed sheets and mattresses, wallets, cell phone cards and other items by moving from place to place. He did this until he returned in 2011. After some time he had started renting a place with three of his friends. They became quite successful and after one year, each of them had earned more than 100,000 Rand. Then they were robbed at home as robbers know that they do not have permission to open an account and deposit money in the Bank. They reported the case to the police to no avail. They were lucky that the robbers did not kill them. They started all over again with the assistance of some other people from Kembata. Such cases are daily phenomena in South Africa, and dozens of Ethiopians were horribly murdered by robbers because of refusing to hand over all their money and property.

Economic impact

Kebele officials noted that many household heads would be forced to migration and their families would be in danger if they could not benefit from the PSNP transfers – this is one of the reasons why

they do not implement full family coverage to be able to assist more households. They added that for direct support beneficiaries if there was no PSNP support most would die of starvation because they cannot move or migrate for daily labour like the household heads of PW beneficiaries. On the other hand, families that are thought to be getting remittances are excluded from PSNP – like the family of the mental ill man interviewed. The only one household said to have graduated and having been taken off the list, thus far, is a household whose head migrated to South Africa and he is able to send remittances to his family. Several respondents highlighted that this had nothing to do with the graduation criteria.

Remittances from migrants abroad are said to be one of the major sources of wealth for the rich and very rich people in the *kebele*. Community respondents explained that the life of some families is changing as a result of remittances obtained from their children and relatives living in South Africa and other countries. Women said that:

Those returned from South Africa have constructed well-furnished corrugated iron houses for their parents in the kebele. The living conditions of their families have also been improved and made them to start their own business by purchasing Isuzu Vehicles and motor cycles. Those living in South Africa are sending money not only to their families, but also to their mother churches as offerings. As a result, some churches are constructing huge buildings that can hold a large number of people at the same time. Those in South Africa have also purchased new musical instruments like electric guitar, accordion, keyboard, saxophone and others for their mother churches. There are huge amounts of money coming as remittances and kept at banks in Durame and in other ways.

The successful head of household and his wife mentioned remittances from their children as one of the factors behind improvements in their livelihood – in addition to the mere fact that four of their children were employed and therefore, self-sufficient, and were even helping each other.

The researchers were told the following stories by the concerned people themselves.

The man robbed in Pretoria finally was able to peacefully return after he saved 1.4 million birr. This is in addition to what he was robbed, and money he sent from time to time to his parents before being robbed (he sent 30,000 birr in 2008 and 25,000 birr a month before being robbed). He purchased a living house and started to construct a big hotel in Durame. He has an Isuzu vehicle transporting goods from place to place, and he is earning a minimum of 10,000 birr in a month.

The father of a successful migrant stated his change in life as follows:

He decided to send his older son to South Africa as he was told that migrants are gaining a good income in a short period of time and can assist their families. He covered the cost of his travel by investing all his savings and by selling all his assets including his farm oxen and milk cows. He gave his son a passport and 30,000 birr to a broker who obtained a visa from the South African Embassy. His son was able to fly directly there, in February 2005. The first few months were very difficult, but he got the first remittances of 15,000 birr at the end of August 2005. He immediately purchased two oxen and a milking cow, and the family was able to celebrate Meskel in a good way. In October 2007, his first son was able to take his second son to South Africa. Currently, they give him a phone call at least once in a month and they usually obtain remittances from both their children.

He was able to purchase a living house in Durame town and rents it to an NGO staff for 1,000 birr per month. Besides that, he is engaged in oxen fattening. The family is eating more nutritious food. Similarly, families of migrants in the kebele are investing the remittances in productive activities that have multiplier effects such as building nice houses, shops, hotels and other businesses.

The heads and wives of the households interviewed noted that incoming ideas were coming from international migrants.

Negative impact

Women from the community explained that there are many cases of young people who were cheated by brokers and lost their money, and cases of young people dying on their way. Men said

that there are a number of young people who are detained and still in prison in countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and others as they were crossing the border of these countries illegally. Others were killed by armed robbers after they managed to arrive in South Africa and secured employment. Some of them were eaten by wild animals like leopards and lions when they were travelling at late nights and crossing the jungles. There are also many young people whose whereabouts is not yet known.

When migrants die in South Africa, their bodies are repatriated back to Ethiopia for burial in their home villages. The researchers attended the funerals of a young boy who was killed by armed robbers in South Africa during the fieldwork.

Children become disinterested with education since the migration to South Africa has started. The head teacher underlined that many students do not attend classes as they are overwhelmed by the idea of migration to South Africa.

Re-settlement experiences

One of the *wereda* officials interviewed said that in his view, resettlement should remain an option to address land shortage in the *wereda* as there was good land available elsewhere. But in Aze Debo'a, *kebele* officials and community respondents explained that in the course of the past ten years there had been very few (less than ten according to one respondent and five according to another) households willing to resettle under the government programme. That is because people had terrible memories of resettlement experiences during the Derg. Some of the respondents told those stories:

One man - *I am fifty years old. I went to Gojjam resettlement area in 1985. When I went I had four family members. The land given by the government was marshy and I did not get enough grains to feed my family. After one year my daughter died. After another year my wife gave birth. Because of poor climate the amount of grain I got was decreasing. After another year my wife gave birth to a son. I planted vegetables and local cabbage. I reared five goats. But after two years two of my sons died; the climate was getting poorer and poorer; my whole family became sick. I decided to come and I sold the five goats and used the money for transportation. In Aze Debo'a my brothers gave me a piece of land and I built a small house. I get a little amount of grain to eat. Now I am becoming old. But if I get an area with suitable climate condition, I will go again and change my life.*

Another, younger (40) man who is sharecropping land - *In 1985, I and my family members resettled in Metekel in the current Benishangul-Gumuz Region, believing the propaganda made by the officials of the Derg regime. This place was very hot, with high malaria infestation, and totally different from our home place in terms of agro-ecology. When we arrived at the site nothing had been prepared except a small shelter constructed by university students mobilised from all over the country. I was given a marshy area which was not convenient for crop production. After two and half years all my family members became seriously sick including me. By chance, I and my wife were able to recover from our illness gradually but my three children died within a week. We decided to evacuate and managed to return to Aze Debo'a in 1987. But our land had already taken away and given to another person who was not my relative or from my clan. As a result, I could not get any farmland. I got space to construct a shelter from my uncle... I and those returned from resettlement areas extremely hate the recent propaganda of the government to resettle us as if we were not aware of the problems and consequences resulting from resettlement. For my part, I do not want to go to anywhere else in the name of resettlement. I prefer to die or suicide instead of resettling again because I know what happened to me during my stay in resettlement area.*

One woman explained that people were not willing to go even if their land was very small, because they are well aware of the challenges that settlers face – including the loss of their land in their home area. Some of the recently resettled households indeed returned after not even a year. One man in this situation explained that he returned even if there was no serious problem in the resettlement area but he suspected that his plot of land at home would be given away. One 17-year old adolescent girl, living alone with her five siblings, explained that their parents had died after

returning from resettlement – which given her age must be the recent resettlement programme.

Theft and burglary

Community respondents generally underlined that the community was a safe place to live in. The *kebele* officials said that theft of crops which was not common in the area is occasionally happening since the arrival of re-settlement returnees.

Human re/production

Houses and household assets

Traditionally in Kembata zone people and livestock share a thatched roof hut. In Aze Debo'a this is changing under the combined influence of urbanisation and closer links with urban areas like Durame, government HEP and its focus on hygiene – including one package focusing on separate dwellings for humans and animals, and a shift in wealth status markers. Wealthy people nowadays have tin roofed modern houses with several rooms, a separate kitchen, a room to welcome guests, and a separate space for animals. Even people who at first glance might not be that wealthy invest in housing, like the woman head of household who built a new house with a tin roof as her house was getting old, and the stone crusher who invested 25,000 birr in a new house. People with money also buy houses in urban areas and in particular Durame.

This shift is not yet generalised, and the research team also saw pretty poor dwelling. The *kebele* chairman explained that in his household, even though the house and compound are clean, livestock and people are living together. This was the case too for the middle wealth household and in addition the wife said that their house was dilapidated and old.

Rich people tend to have modern household goods like sofa, chairs, dishes and cups, and even TVs. The *kebele* chairman's household has a new bed and a table and chairs. The successful farmer whose wife runs a shop has a house with cement floor and tin roof, and they had recently bought a new sofa, dishes of various sizes and drinking material, and a TV. These goods are not seen in poorer households, who tend to use more locally-made utensils.

Domestic technologies

Kebele officials explained that rural women and girls have been spending significant time and energy in collecting firewood and cooking food in uncomfortable situations. They used open fire and were exposed to smoke which made cooking difficult. To improve this, NGOs introduced fuel efficient stoves, which save time and wood hence contributing to minimising deforestation. The time and energy saved can be used for productive purposes and it also improves women's and girls' health substantially. They said that a considerable number of households in the *kebele* are using modern stoves. However, there is no modern stove in the household of the *kebele* chairman.

The other change is that most people in the *kebele* fetch water with jerry cans and no longer heavy earth ware pots. This is lighter and also more hygienic.

Fuel and light

All of the women interviewed explained that they use wood to cook. For lighting, some households have access to electricity and otherwise, those interviewed used kerosene lamps.

Drinking water

At the *wereda* level 48% of the population has access to drinking water from protected water sources. In some *kebele* with high ground water potential like Aze Debo'a and a few others this is much higher (85%) – and much worse in some others. Various NGOs supported the construction of water points (53 by the Kalehiwot Church; 8 by UNICEF; 2 by World Vision and Save the Children USA). However, *wereda* officials highlighted that one big issue is the lack of well trained personnel and of adequate maintenance budget. At the time of the research, of the 63 water schemes in the

wereda 31 were not functional. *Wereda* officials said that in Aze Debo'a, 6 of the 18 protected water schemes were not in service in October 2011.

Kebele officials noted that there was significant change. NGOs and other organisations are very active in constructing water points (protected springs, shallow and deep boreholes, hand dug wells) and some individuals dug wells in their own compound. They said that as a result, no one is presently using rivers and ponds for drinking water – in another instance officials mentioned that 85% of the people in the *kebele* had access to safe drinking water. They counted only two shallow wells that were not functional. There are also two rivers and two small ponds in the *kebele*. The rivers are mostly used for washing clothes and taking shower, whereas the ponds are mostly used to water animals during the dry season.

Availability of drinking water was noted as a significant development by many of the community respondents. As a rich woman stated,

Some years ago, many of us were using unprotected water sources and we fetched water by earthenware. These days, thanks to Health Extension Workers and other health professionals, we are aware that the quality of drinking water can be affected "from water point to mouth". As a result, almost all of us abandoned using earthenware and shifted to using a jerry-can, which is more hygienic. We have separate water points for humans and animals, which is another way of protecting water from contamination. The community benefited in two ways: 1) we are less exposed to water-borne diseases and 2) less time spent on fetching water allows us to dedicate more time for our other duties in the household.

Kebele officials and community respondents explained that for most of the people in the *kebele* fetching water takes 15 to 20 minutes (round trip) on average. However, the distance and time needed are a bit higher (20-25 minutes) for those living on the hillsides.

In the *kebele* there are water committees comprising five members, and five individuals are trained how to maintain water points. One man interviewed was the guard of one of the water points. He said that the water committee collects one birr/month from every household for maintenance and repair spare parts. As a guard he is responsible for opening the water point to the community on time, and controlling excess flow of water. The water point is open from 6:00-10:00 and from 2:00-6:00. He is paid seventy birr/month. The main problem is that some individuals do not take care of the pipe. When this is the case the committee discusses and gives a warning to the person. If she/he is not willing to accept the committee reports the case to the *kebele* administration. *Wereda* officials sometimes come and check the condition of the water point.

There is contradicting information as to whether there is a fee for water, or not. Some people said that there was no payment for drinking water, although one woman who said this added that if there was a problem people could be asked to contribute for repairs.

Domestic work

Kebele officials explained that enset processing activities were carried out exclusively by women in the past. But at present men take on some tasks like uprooting and transporting the roots and trunks of Enset. In turn, women also get involved in many activities which were previously exclusively carried out by men like hoeing, weeding and harvesting of crops. Fetching water continues to be primarily the responsibility of female household members although gradually male children and teenagers are involved in this too.

One woman commented that women's workload had increased because girls go to school and husbands and sons work on the farm and do not get involved so much in domestic work. She added that these days both girls and boys assist their families when they return from school.

Leisure and play

This was not mentioned.

Preventive health services

Wereda health officials explained that the *wereda* scores very high in terms of disease prevention and control programs. For instance, immunisation coverage, spraying houses, removing stagnant water, provision of bed nets and availability of first aid service at the health post level reached 100% in 2011. There is one health post and two trained health extension workers in all *kebele*.

Kebele officials highlighted the role of the government through developing the Health Extension Programme and deploying Health Extension Workers (HEWs) in all *kebele*. Aze Debo'a has two HEWs since 2005, who work mainly on preventive services through sixteen extension packages. Safe water supply is one of these and in Aze Debo'a, 90% of the community has adequate access to safe water. HEWs are promoting hygiene and sanitation practices (e.g. using toilet, hand washing by soap/ash before preparing food, before and after eating food and after using the toilet) which are at the core of preventive services. The officials added that the community is well aware of most of the packages, and about harmful traditional practices as well as health treatment to some extent.

The preventive health packages

One Health Extension Worker explained that *"they have sixteen packages and try to implement them all. But they give priority to the basic ones such as construction of toilets, provision of delivery service, educating mothers to use and follow up antenatal care, postnatal care, family planning, vaccination and immunisation programmes, making follow-up on TB patients, treating patients in the health post and sending them to health centre through referral system, visiting from house to house and providing education on personal hygiene and environmental sanitation and others"*.

When asked how they perceive the preventive services targeted by the Health Extension Program, generally *kebele* officials and community informants expressed their satisfaction and appreciated the services by recalling the time before the launch of the HEP as *"dark for their people"* as there were fewer options to deal with some common diseases.

The Health Post

The health post has been built recently, together with the FTC, DA offices and additional rooms for the *kebele* administration. It has electricity and a model latrine as well as water from just outside the compound. It is well built, though there is only one main room. At the fieldwork time the HEWs had started keeping a 'medical file' for each household in the *kebele*, and all files were organised by village. A lot of information (statistics, prevention messages etc.) was displayed on the walls.

The Health Extension Workers

There are two HEWs in Aze Debo'a *kebele*, both of them grade 12 having attended the one year health extension programme of the government, and are married women from the community. They are paid the same as the DAs (a little above 1,400 birr/month). They are of the view that the *kebele* is large and with at least a quarter which is uphill and not accessible other than on foot, so that there should be a third HEW to make it possible to implement everything well. One of them explained that she is happy with her profession but she would like to upgrade to degree level and be transferred to Durame.

In general, *kebele* officials and community informants are well aware of the packages of the HEWs such as ANC, PNC, safe delivery, family planning, vaccination services, malaria diagnosis, and education against harmful traditional practices as well as health treatment to some extent. Regarding these prevention issues, the HEWs are providing intensive health education for community members.

The HEWs' achievements in relation to preventive and curative services in Aze Debo'a are among the highest in the Region, as shown in the table below (based on the health post data). They explained that HEWs from developing Regions like Afar, Somali, Gambella, Benishangul Gumuz and even

Oromia and Amhara as well as from other *weredas* in the Region have visited the *kebele* several times for experience sharing.

Table 4: Plan & Achievement in health activities in Aze Debo'a in 2003 EC (Sep 2010 to Aug 2011)

Activities	Target public (no. of people)	Yearly plan (no. people)	Yearly achieved (no. people)	Yearly achieved (%)	Coverage (of target public)
BCG	261	261	268	100+	100+
Pent 1	234	234	238	100+	100+
Polio1	234	234	238	100+	100+
Pent3	234	234	236	100+	100+
Polio3	234	234	236	100+	100+
Measles	234	230	232	100	99
Fully Vaccine	234	230	229	99	98
Anti Natal Care (ANC)	261	229	243	100	93
Delivery service	261	157	161	100	62
Post Natal Care (PNC)	261	157	168	100	64
TT2 for pregnant women	261	229	243	100	93
TT2 for non-pregnant women	1300	1040	1142	100	88
Family Planning	1300	1040	1274	100+	82
PMTCT	261	64	136	100+	52
Voluntary Counselling & testing	3241	875	1166	100+	36
Growth Monitoring	806	806	807	100	100
TB Patient Detection	10	10	10	100	100
People undertook malaria test	6705	1341	309	23	5

HEWs also report that in the 2003 EC year, there were 300 people involved in community conversations, 286 orphans supported (135 of them getting stationeries from the *wereda* education office and 24 from the *wereda* health office), 124 students provided with food, 29 households who received cattle, 7 students who got health treatment with their costs met, and 35 children who used Plumpynut (food supplement) of whom 26 improved to the point of stopping.

The HEWs explained that one big achievement has been to convince all households in the *kebele* and made them to construct their toilets. They also convinced a large number of people to get tested for HIV/AIDS. Generally they achieved more than 85 percent of their targets for most of the packages.

One of them added that community members are somehow resistant in abandoning HTPs associated with their tradition. In her view women are more resistant than men, and uneducated women are the most resistant, in accepting the health education and other extension packages. Washing hands before preparing and eating food was easily accepted; but it took a long time for people to wash hands after toilet and put household waste in the waste disposal after they had constructed their toilets and waste disposals. So they still give continuous education on these issues.

On average they work 10 hours/day for 6 days/week and sometime even on Sunday. They stay the time which is needed to treat all the patients who come to the health post. They give health education on house to house visits at least one or two days a week. One of them explained that in the past one month she has been involved in treating patients at the health post, checking the utilisation of toilets by visiting house to house and providing health education, distributing malaria nets, providing vaccination to children and lactating mothers, providing family planning pills, ante-natal and post-natal care to women, involving in outreach programme of HIV test and many others.

They work with 30 voluntary health promoters in the *kebele* - each responsible to follow-up 40 households. There is also a health army of 27 people. They work in collaboration with the *kebele* and the school community.

Community health volunteers

The HEWs explained that there were 30 health promoters in the *kebele*. They mobilise people for vaccination and pass information to households when an epidemic arises in the *kebele*. There also are 27 health army members, one in each of the subdivisions (Got'e) of the *kebele*. They make a follow-up on toilet construction, provide education on how to use and protect toilets, distribute bed nets and spray chemical for malaria and others.

The **health promoter** interviewed explained that he works on health issues two hours a day, all days in the week. He makes a follow up of the 40 households in his neighbourhood. For instance in the past one month he mobilised the households to take their children for vaccination and adults to go to the outreach programme of HIV test in the *kebele*. He facilitated the house-to-house visits of the health extension workers in his village. He is a grade 12 who started work as a volunteer health promoter in 2010. He was selected and trained for 6 days at the *wereda* health office before taking his post. He also got training at the *kebele* by the health extension workers, and by KMG on HTPs and sanitation for four days in the KMG compound in Durame. When he needs advice he consults the HEWs and he also collaborates with the health army member of his village.

The **health army member** interviewed explained that she and other health army members work on health issues for one day/week. She is responsible to follow up 40 households. Like the HEWs they work on all 16 health extension packages. They report on a weekly basis to the HEWs regarding the condition of the 40 households that they follow. They provide education through house-to-house visits on how to handle safe water and avoid contamination, concerning utilisation of malaria net. They monitor children's growth, identify those who need supplementary food and report the cases to the HEWs. They inform people about vaccination days and mobilise women to take their children to be vaccinated. They provide education to community members about TB, measles, malaria, tetanus and other diseases. They report to HEWs if any epidemic emerged in their village. The woman interviewed explained that in her view, there is good acceptance of what they teach. She started four years ago. She is grade 10 and received one week training at the *wereda* health office before taking her position.

The researchers explained that there is some overlap between health army members and health promoters. The former are mainly involved in mobilising and checking that households build and use latrines, waste disposal and hand-washing. The latter do this too but in addition they mobilise households to bring children for vaccination, and women to attend ANC and post-natal care.

There is a ***kebele* health committee** of five members, including one HEW and religious leaders. It is chaired by the *kebele* chairman – who said that he often delegates to one religious leader as he has multiple responsibilities and spends on average three hours/week on health issues.

The committee closely works with the health promoters, the health army and the HEWs. Its main role is facilitation and coordination of the implementation of health activities in the *kebele*, and close follow-up of implementation. If there is a vaccination programme in the *kebele*, the health committee meets and instructs the health promoters and health army members, who then disseminate the information in every village and mobilise the community. The committee also plays a great role in fighting against harmful traditional practices alongside the HEWs and other partners like NGOs. The *kebele* chairman explained that in the course of the past year, the committee successfully achieved a large number of toilets to be constructed - by almost all households of the *kebele* and along the roadside for travellers. As a result, the *kebele* became a model in terms of environmental sanitation and was visited by HEWs and health professionals from other areas

Hygiene and environmental sanitation

According to *wereda* health officials, in the *wereda* 93% of the households have toilets, waste disposal, hand-washing, kitchen cupboards; and 80% are estimated to use them well. However, only 17% of the households have smoke free and separated rooms for human beings and animals.

According to the *kebele* administration, dozens of activities have been carried out by HEWs in relation to hygiene and environmental sanitation. Particular attention has been given to residential or home improvement – this is described below. In addition, a number of trainings, house to house visits and campaigns were carried out by HEWs, health professionals and staffs of NGOs towards hygiene and sanitation practices such as taking shower, using toilet, hand washing by soap before and after eating as well as after using the toilet.

In general, community respondents showed good awareness of the hygiene and environmental sanitation measures that HEWs teach and expressed their appreciation, as shown by the following excerpts from their interviews.

- One head and his wife had attended a two-day training programme on “*Personal Hygiene and Environmental Sanitation*”, organised at the *kebele* – there was a per diem. They dug their toilet and totally stopped defecating in open places. They also started to fetch water with a jerry can instead of using pottery containers, and started to take shower at least three times a week.
- One rich man explained that he and his family have been using the toilet since he got married some 40 years ago, but he dug a waste disposal in 2009. One middle wealth and one poor man constructed a toilet and waste disposal in their compound very recently.
- One man said that he found very important the continuous training and education by the HEWs on personal hygiene and cleanliness of the environment and on HIV/AIDS.
- The household wives said that they know about hygiene and environmental sanitation; they take care and clean their compound, put waste far away from her house, use the toilet, and take care of food when they prepare it. They keep the house clean, use clean water and handle it safely by keeping it in jerry cans, keep personal hygiene, wash hands before preparing food and after using toilet etc. However, only in the successful household did the wife mention that they are using household pest control. Several respondents said that they are not using it and not using water purifying tablets.
- Many explained that they are also aware of preventing malaria and correctly using the malaria net; they are trained to the fact that most of the diseases can be prevented by keeping personal hygiene and environmental sanitation.

Latrines

Wereda officials explained that latrine adoption is a big success in the *wereda*. Eight *kebele* have been declared ‘open defecation free’ recently – including Aze Debo’a - and there have been celebrations for this. There are even public latrines in many places in the *wereda*. This has had a big impact in that intestinal parasites and waterborne diseases, which were the top 2 (in 10) illnesses ten years ago are now in 5th and 7th in the list. However, the lack/shortage of safe water is a big constraint in many rural *kebele*.

In Aze Debo’a, as noted earlier according to the *kebele* officials all households have toilets for their families. In addition, there are 15 public toilets providing service for travellers. . The *kebele* has been recognised as free from open defecation, and there are 720 model health graduate households in relation to latrine construction and use. Community informants reported they are consistently using toilets and waste disposals. All households randomly visited during the research had toilets and waste disposals in their premises. Many of them were clean and well protected, while some of them were dirty and without adequate protection.

Waste disposal

Kebele officials explained that 670 households have waste disposal and hand washing. However, one of the HEWs recognised that it took people longer to actually use the waste disposals.

Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

Kebele officials explained that 670 households have waste disposal and hand washing. However, one

of the HEWs recognised that it took people longer to wash their hands after toilet. One of the household heads interviewed said that as a result of the training organised by the *kebele* he and his family members had started taking showers three times a week.

Water purification

A few household mentioned that they were not using water purification tablets. As noted earlier most of the households have access to safe drinking water from protected water points.

Kitchen cupboards

The only mention of kitchen cupboards was by the *kebele* chairman's wife. However, as researchers noted there is a shift towards more urbanised housing in Aze Debo'a at least among the wealthier households.

Healthy home environment

Livestock in the house

Data from the *kebele* administration shows that in Aze Debo'a 335 households have separate rooms for livestock and human beings – this seems to be much higher than the *wereda* average (17%).

Kebele officials explained that particular attention has been given to residential or home improvement in the rollout of the environmental hygiene and sanitation packages. Most rural people have lived since centuries in thatched roof huts shared by people and domestic animals, with extremely poor sanitary condition in most cases. This is found to be one of the causes for the prevalence of communicable diseases and it has therefore strongly affected rural households' well-being. HEWs are making concerted efforts along with the DAs to raise awareness about the need for having separate homes or partitions for livestock and human beings. In addition they promote home management techniques.

The researchers observed that there is a transition to having corrugated iron sheet roof houses for people while smaller homes are used for livestock. Moreover, a number of grass covered houses have partitions for cooking and livestock.

Smoke free houses

Pest control

As noted above, only one household mentioned that they use pest control. Two specified they do not. Houses are sprayed against malaria.

Illnesses and disease prevention and control

Wereda officials explained that nowadays there is a big emphasis on treatment of **pneumonia** through Integrated Community Care Management which assures close follow-up by community members. This was not mentioned by *kebele* or community informants.

Kebele officials and health workers explained that the HEWs and health army members provide continuous education to community members about **TB, measles, malaria, tetanus**, and other diseases. The health army members immediately report to the HEWs if any epidemic emerges in their village. In addition to malaria (see below) and HIV/AIDS, a number of community respondents said that they were aware about preventing different diseases and mentioned TB. The man heading a poor household explained that they know that most diseases are preventable by personal hygiene and environmental sanitation.

Malaria

Malaria is the first cause for illness in the *wereda* as a whole (followed by respiratory tract issues). However, *wereda* officials said that there had been no malaria epidemics for the last four years, which shows that prevention measures are working. Drugs against malaria are among those that are

supposed to be available at the health posts.

At the *kebele* level, health workers and officials of Aze Debo'as cited malaria diagnosis as one of the topics on which HEWs give continuous education to the community. However, achievements appear lower than with other packages. As the table above shows, HEWs had planned that 1,341 people out of the 6,705 inhabitants of the *kebele* would take a malaria test in 2003 EC. However, only 309 people did so, that is, 23% of the yearly plan and 5% of the population of the *kebele*.

People from Aze Debo'a do nonetheless show awareness about malaria. One man explained that one of the reasons why farmers prefer to plant eucalyptus trees in their woodlot is because they dry up the marshy areas and help eradicate mosquitoes. The fear that water harvesting structures would become hatching ground for mosquitoes was also cited as a reason why they were not used and had been let to fall in disrepair. One young man said he had been seriously sick with malaria for one week, three years ago. A 59-year old man explained that he had lost his father due to malaria but this was more than 40 years ago.

Bednets

Most of the community respondents asked about health issues mentioned that they have and are using bed nets. There was no information on the number of bed nets by family. The army health members and the HEWs explained that they work together to distribute bed nets, and provide continuous education on how to use them.

Spraying and removal of stagnant water

There was no mention of removal of stagnant water. Houses are sprayed and this was also mentioned as one of the roles of the health army members.

Immunisation

This is discussed under 'vaccination' below.

HIV/AIDS

Wereda officials said that they are aggressively working on HIV/AIDS, and VCT is available at *kebele* level. There is an association of 23 PLWHA in the *wereda*, assisted through the Global Fund. World Vision is assisting 325 OVC among whom several have lost parents to HIV/AIDS, giving clothes, food and school materials.

Officials in Aze Debo'a explained that orphans having lost their parents due to HIV/AIDS are among the most vulnerable groups in the *kebele*. The *iddir* play additional roles, including supporting people living with HIV/AIDS and as forum for community conversation. PLWHA were also among the targeted audiences for training and support in relation to income-generating activities.

Awareness creation about HIV/AIDS is one of the main focuses of the reproductive health services – through peer groups, anti-HIV clubs, community conversation, continuous education and others. One of the HEWs underlined that as a result, the community is well aware of the known modes of HIV transmission and means of its prevention:

The people in our kebele have high level of knowledge about HIV/AIDS; and misconceptions are no more a serious problem at this time. A few years ago, people considered HIV positive people to be wild, cannibal, and deserving extinction. However, that is no longer the case today. Currently, everyone recognises that HIV/AIDS can affect anyone in one way or the other, and it is no more an external problem of those contracted with the virus.

In the *kebele* 1,166 people were tested by the end of August 2011, which in the view of the HEWs is a tremendous achievement compared to others in the *wereda*. Among them seven individuals (3 men and 4 women) were identified to be HIV positive and disclosed their status. The HEWs explained that stigma and discrimination have declined over the last few years. Many respondents

highlighted that the HEWs can take the lion's share of the success regarding awareness creation towards HIV/AIDS and STIs in the *kebele*. However, these results are also the outcome of concerted efforts of many other partners and stakeholders working in the target area like KMG and others.

Among community people, one rich man mentioned several activities ongoing in the *kebele* towards HIV/AIDS, such as trainings, peer group discussions, community conversations and others. He stated

Nowadays, everybody is aware of its mode of transmission and means of prevention; and there is no serious stigma and discrimination. About five or six people of our kebele disclosed their status to the community and obtained assistance from World Vision and KMG. There is also mobile VCT service and several people of our kebele were tested. However, the majority of rich people are not yet tested for HIV, and seem to be unwilling to disclose their status. There is also a rumour that some of them are taking ART from the neighbouring Wolayita and Hossana towns.

Women informants were only aware of the existence of an anti-HIV Club organised by youth in the *kebele*. They also reported that NGOs like World Vision, the Ethiopian Kalehiwot Church, the Evangelical Church Mekaneyesus and others are providing assistance to HIV/AIDS-related orphans and others, and also involve in counselling People Living with HIV/AIDS. They provide food assistance for the 7 PLWHA who disclosed their sero-status to the community.

The *kebele* chairman expressed his fear that the many challenges faced by the youth (no land, no job, difficult to establish one's household, no recreation place) lead the youth to bad habits and enhance the risk that they get infected with HIV/AIDS. However, the YA has an anti HIV/AIDS club, and the club chairman was given a one-day training about this. In addition, the youth league members discuss tracts coming from the *wereda* youth league office about HIV/AIDS transmission and prevention. One mid-30s young man from a poor household and member of the health army explained that he teaches the community about HTPs and prevention methods of HIV/AIDS.

The wives in male-headed households and women heads of households interviewed all said that they know about HIV/AIDS prevention and control and two mentioned that to avoid infection one must never practise unsafe sex. One of them added that she knows it is impossible to cure HIV/AIDS once a person has contracted the virus. She explained that people are even taught in the church about HIV/AIDS after the Sunday church programme. One of them recognised that she did not get tested but she takes care of herself.

The two PLWHA interviewed both explained that stigma and discrimination had decreased as a result of better awareness among the community.

The 38-year old man explained how he was infected and made aware of it as follows:

I took my wife to KMG health centre in Durame town in 2008 because she was seriously ill. The doctor, suspecting the cause of her illness, requested her to take a blood test and she was found to be HIV positive. Shortly after I also got tested and was found to be HIV positive. I am sure that I am the one who brought HIV/AIDS to my family because I had unprotected sexual affairs out of marriage and I was not aware of HIV transmission at that time.

He and his wife are taking ART from Durame hospital since 2008 and their health status has much improved to the point that they can carry out their activities without problem. They get some supplementary food stuffs and vitamins from health institutions and NGOs although it is not enough. He said that lack of access to foodstuff and vitamins was a major issue for the PLWHA in the *kebele*.

The 40-year old female PLWHA explained that she was infected by her husband, who passed away without telling anything and after being seriously sick for more than six months in 2007. He had gone to Wolayta Hospital several times for unspecified health treatment, but she never suspected anything and thought he was going there because of better services. She realised later that he wanted to hide his status. Just a year after his death, she in turn became seriously sick and went to Durame hospital for treatment. She was counselled by the nurse, took a test, and was found positive. She began ART soon after. She had some knowledge about HIV/AIDS transmission, but in

the local culture it is just impossible to use condom within marriage – it is a cause for divorce. She is sure that her husband was infected years after their marriage, as all their children are HIV-negative including the youngest who was born ten years ago. She suspects that he had an affair with a lady in Durame, who passed away two years before her husband.

She is getting some food assistance through the HEWs and sometimes from KMG but she is finding it hard to support her children as she is no longer as strong as she was, she is often sick and easily tired without doing anything. Two of her children who were attending private college were forced to drop out because she could not afford their school fees. Her older son obtained a diploma two years ago from a private college but he is not yet employed in any organisation. There was stigma at the beginning in 2009, especially from women. But this is now better and at least her children are not discriminated because everyone in the *kebele* knows that they are HIV-negative.

TB

Most community respondents interviewed about health issues mentioned that they are aware of TB.

First Aid

This was not mentioned.

Food security, diet and malnutrition

Diet

Traditionally people in the Kembata zone have relied on an enset-based diet. Enset is also still the major staple food in the area, but many people do eat enset-based food much less frequently than in the past. Richer households have a more varied diet, although it continues to include enset too. Sweet potato also plays an important role. *Wereda* officials underlined that many families go hungry when it fails – as was the case in 2008.

In addition, having at least one milking cow within a household is widely held as a key criterion for a family to be in a good condition among the Kembata. Milk and butter are widely consumed. The importance of this is reflected in Kembata greetings. When adults exchange greetings with each other, they first ask about his/her wellbeing, and then they ask about their children and the availability of milk in the house. Share-rearing is practised among poor households so as to ensure that there is some milk and butter at home.

Households have been planting fruit trees and some of them have been planting some vegetables since more than a decade, and these are used partly for consumption. Meat is rarely eaten except for the main holidays, and in richer households. The box below gives an idea of the range of diet among the community members.

Box 8: Diet in Aze Debo'a (2012): differences between households

The family of the poor farmer – there has been no change in our feeding in the past five years. The price of goods is increasing and the amount of food we are eating is decreasing. Even though I and my family do not get nutritious food from any organisation, there is no malnutrition. I cannot implement all the (sanitation) packages but am trying to improve our nutrition.

The family of the politically important man (*kebele* chairman) - Regularly we use enset for consumption and occasionally other agricultural products such as maize, wheat, barley, peas and beans and fruits and vegetables as well as milk and milk products. There is no significant change in the way we eat.

The middle wealth male-headed household - I and my family use enset and grain mostly like maize, wheat and barley for food. We also eat vegetables, fruit, milk and milk products in a lesser degree. However, we eat meat rarely outside the main holidays such as Meskel, Easter and Christmas.

The successful woman head of household - I use agricultural products such as enset and grains for consumption. Sometimes we drink milk. We eat meat on holy days.

The successful farmer - In the last five years we have been using different grains, enset, vegetables, fruits, milk and milk products and meat.

A rich farmer with a three room house in Durame - The annual production I produce from my farm is enough for my family. I have two Jersey breed milking cows and two farm oxen. We always have milk in our house. We also eat fruit and vegetables produced on our own farm. As a result, all of my family members are found in a good condition.

Food in/security

Due to land scarcity the *wereda* is known for having a large food insecure population compared to others *weredas* in the zone such as Doyogana and Angacha; however, it is better off in those terms than some other *weredas* like T'embaro.

In Aze Debo'a a significant number of households face food gaps. As explained in the section on PSNP above, the productive safety net programme contributes to filling the gap for the beneficiary households. The extent of households' food insecurity is one of the criteria used to select PSNP beneficiaries. *Kebele* officials noted that even though so far they spread the support to more families through partial family targeting, there are households with food gaps who cannot be included. Most respondents said that PSNP had protected them from food insecurity and filled their food gap; some added that if there had not been PSNP, several households would be starved and exposed to death. At the same time, many beneficiaries explained that the PSNP transfers (all cash) had become insufficient in the past couple of years because of inflation – but this was somewhat ambiguous as several of them said in substance that PSNP was not sufficient to cover all of their food requirements but they had enough with PSNP and their own production or activities (like coffee sale).

Kebele officials and community respondents explained that there is no regular programme of food aid in the *kebele*. However, due to extreme drought in 2008, there was food aid and feeding programme in the *kebele* mainly by NGOs like Samaritan Purse and World Vision Ethiopia. The PSNP support was also extended but with delay and some people said that the delay led to 30 people dying in the *kebele*, among the elderly people and the children. Several respondents stressed that they had faced great problems in 2008. One young girl said that

In 2008 and 2010, we were starved and faced serious food shortage due to drought. Our life was saved by the assistance of NGOs like Samaritan's Purse and World Vision International.

Nutrition interventions

Wereda officials said that at the time of the research there was no feeding centre in the *wereda*. Nutritional education and food supplements for nutrition of children and pregnant and breast-feeding mothers are provided by the *wereda* Health Office and World Vision Ethiopia. During the drought of 2008, Samaritan Purse was the major NGO providing these services to needy people.

Kebele officials explained that the *wereda* health office channels all necessary vitamins and supplementary food stuffs for needy people through the HEWs, who give these to children, pregnant women and lactating mothers after measuring their weight. Items are provide by international and UN agencies like UNICEF and channelled through the government health structures.

In the *kebele* there are a number of children who were given food supplements after their growth was found to be too slow. HEWs reported that a number of children had been given Plumpynut in 2003 EC and explained that there was supply in stock. Growth monitoring and monitoring of the nutrition status of pregnant mothers is part of the regular tasks of the HEWs and volunteer health workers of the *kebele*. This activity was not mentioned by the community respondents interviewed.

Several NGOs have interventions which include nutritional goals – such as World Vision support to orphans through foster families, and KMG and World Vision provision of dairy cattle to vulnerable

households/women.

DAs encourage people to grow vegetables. One rich woman explained that seeds of improved crop varieties (maize, teff and wheat) were supplied to many households and households were encouraged to establish or expand vegetable gardens and provided with seeds of improved varieties of vegetables like tomato, cabbage, carrot, beetroot, Swiss chard, and new varieties of root crops like potato, sweet potato and taro. Since the introduction of these activities, her household's income has increased and her family's access to nutritional foodstuffs has been improved substantially.

However, based on community people's interviews and the HEWs' accounts, the HEWs appear to focus less on nutritional education than on other aspects of their multiple tasks. The *kebele* chairman mentioned that he had planted beetroot and tomato at some point, but had stopped because they were not trained on how to prepare them. Wives in male-headed households and women heads of households mentioned that they were 'aware of nutrition'.

HTPs affecting health

Wereda informants explained that FGM is the major HTP affecting health in the *wereda* and throughout the zone. However, thanks to various interventions on FGM and other HTPs by numerous NGOs like KMG, Kalehiwot, Mekaneyesus, World Vision and others, and by the government, in their opinion the practice of FGM seems to be abandoned.

KMG is working throughout the zone about FGM. KMG staff explained that they organise girls into groups in which they can support each other and to catalyse change. Over the past few years more than 100,000 uncircumcised girls were organised into groups. They were provided training on leadership and communication skills with a view to giving them 'ownership over their body'. They were encouraged to speak against HTPs beyond their community. In the past being uncircumcised was a taboo; for centuries it was considered as manifestation of dirtiness and shame. Currently, uncircumcised girls' sport clubs are organised, where girls play soccer and volleyball, build esteem and confidence. It is also expected that they can stand firm against violence and discrimination.

Box 9: The story of KMG and the fight against female circumcision in Aze Debo'a

KMG are active at *kebele* level through two facilitators, supervised by the *wereda* WA offices in each *wereda*. These facilitators focus on savings and credit and also FGM and in particular the uncut girls' club that exists in all *kebele*. They are not paid, just get training e.g. on Community Conversation (CC) and on how to organise the club activities etc. They also have a "CC step-by-step" manual. They have an "uncut girls' club" in every *kebele*, with 50 members in each club. They have recently changed the way the clubs are organised. Previously these were all girls only. Now they have 25 girls and 25 boys in each club as they have realised that it is very important to change boys' mindsets as well. They have to be willing to marry uncut girls.

In relation to FGM, the effects of the intensive activity undertaken by FGM and gradually, other actors, are very visible. UNICEF did a study three years ago which showed that fewer than 3% girls were still being circumcised, down from 100% some two decades ago.

However, there continues to be some influence from the "wider community". The work against FGM in neighbouring zones has not been as intensive and these zones continue to exert an influence. In *kebele* bordering the Kembata zone there are intermarriages and people from these *kebele* get their daughters circumcised when this is demanded by the bride's family. It has been showed that even when traditionally intermarriages are not that frequent like between Kembata and Halaba special *wereda*, in the border *kebele* there are intermarriages and FGM has increased again, lately. It is also a big issue in relation to Hadiya as intermarriages are extremely frequent and almost no serious work has been done in Hadiya zone.

The KMG official interviewed believes that this is mainly a question of resources. If they had enough resources they would succeed there as well. If they have succeeded in Kembata, which is one of the ethnic groups most strongly attached to its culture, they can succeed elsewhere.

The government recent emphasis against FGM is a significant boost. Before the new criminal code FGM was not even a crime, and it was perceived by the community as very rude to talk publicly about these issues. The criminalisation of FGM means that NGOs now have means of seeking enforcement. The police and justice have generally been extremely cooperative. For instance recently a woman in a neighbouring *wereda* circumcised a girl, and it did not take them three days to have her jailed for one and a half year. The dissuasion effect is useful. And the fact that FGM are being publicly talked about by government officials and employees help too.

As explained in the section 3, whereas the government and NGO and church campaign against FGM as a practice harming women, this is not how it used to be understood in Kembata society. On the contrary, customarily circumcision of a young woman before they marry is an indispensable event marking her admission as an adult woman. Uncircumcised girls used to face very serious stigma, they would be called names and would be subject to intense pressure by their families and friends and the society as a whole. Nowadays stigma is less serious - although in rural areas uncircumcised girls and women may still be insulted.

Community respondents explain that the common HTPs in Kembata society were **Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)**, abduction, uvula cutting, and others. There are a number of activities under way in the *kebele*, including trainings, distribution of leaflets, house to house visit, peer group discussions and community conversation. Many NGOs and faith-based organisations have been working on them and mainly FGM for more than a decade. The most important ones are KMG, the Ethiopian Kalehiwot Church, the Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekaneyesus and World Vision Ethiopia. In addition, health extension workers and other health professionals have also worked on this.

The DAs mentioned that they were involved in providing education and involving in campaigns against FGM and other HTPs. The Health Committee also plays a great role in fighting against HTPs with the HEWs and other partners like NGOs.

Several community respondents highlighted the importance of the training by both the government/ HEWs and NGOs, and the resulting awareness among the community - including the rich young man in his 30s, the male head of the middle wealth household and his wife, the *kebele* chairman, the male head of a poor household and his wife and several others. One woman explained that most of them in the community have been involved in one or more trainings, with a remarkable impact with regard to FGM. Another explained that as a result: first, there is no longer any ritual celebration to mark the occasion of FGM; secondly, most community members are aware of the health hazards caused by FGM; and thirdly, girls no longer feel ashamed of being uncircumcised.

Women explained that in Aze Debo'a there are a large number of uncircumcised girls approaching the date of marriage and who have committed to marry without undergoing FGM. They are organised in groups by KMG and the Kalehiwot Change Agents to resist pressure from the community and their age groups. However until now, only a few uncircumcised girls from the neighbouring *kebele* like Zato, Bezena-Benara and others got married in the last few years. Nevertheless, one woman reported a rumour that FGM is still been performed within the community by sending their daughters to the neighbouring zones.

A number of community respondents explained that there have been fluctuations in the intensity of efforts. Some years ago the government was very strong against HTPs and serious legal measures were taken against offenders. This was a boost to their earlier efforts by strong NGOs actively working against HTPs, like KMG and others. After the 2005 election, the government suspected some of these NGOs of having secretly supported the opposition and abruptly abandoned its previous support. This created a loophole as enforcement was no longer strong. It adversely affected the momentum of efforts against HTPs for two years. Currently, the government and NGOs are working together again.

The research team also found out that there had been prior attempts to stop FGM. One respondent

explains that

Dozens of uncircumcised girls got married and had children as a result of preaching against FGM by the evangelists and missionaries of the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) some 40 years ago. FGM was on the verge of disappearing but this was aborted as the SIM missionaries had to precipitately leave, chased by the Derg regime. However in those days the SIM missionaries were not educating about the health hazards of FGM; they were simply condemning it as a sin and not supported by the Bible. Their effort was also not backed by local leaders and members of other Christian denominations such as Orthodox and Catholic or by government officials and functionaries. As a result, the uncircumcised girls and women were exposed to insult, mockery and discrimination by the community.

As shown in section 3 the individual experiences and views of the women and young women from the community interviewed in the course of the research seem to suggest a shift in intention. Young mothers say that they intend not to circumcise their daughters; parents who circumcised their older daughters say that they will no longer do so for their younger daughters or their grand-daughters. It remains to be seen whether these intentions will indeed be transformed in reality.

Circumcision

Male circumcision is practised. There is some focus on getting households to make sure they do this at the health centre. There is no detail on this in the interviews.

Traditional medical practices

There was no mention of traditional medical practices.

Other practices harmful to health

In Kembata tradition, girls are not allowed to marry at an early age, and babies are never fed with solid food when they are too young. HTPs like bleeding, removal of milk teeth, burning with hot iron and others are no longer common. Cutting of uvula and tonsils has declined sharply thanks to government and NGO education. (One person said that this too had never been practised in the community).

Reproductive health and services

According to *kebele* officials, reproductive health services in the *kebele* mainly focus on intensive awareness creation on the prevention of HIV/AIDS and STIs, fighting against HTPs and improving access to family planning by organising women and youth groups like peer groups, anti-HIV clubs, community conversation groups and others.

Infertility

According to community informants, infertility is not a serious problem in the *kebele*. However, HEWs confirmed that there are two households who have no children due to fertility problem.

Contraception

At *wereda* level, last year 77% of the childbearing age women targeted in the plan effectively took some form of contraception. Awareness is very high, with HEWs going house-to-house, education given in schools, and very active local NGOs. There are even community-based distributors of contraceptives. *Wereda* officials also explained that pills for family planning were found at health post level – among the very few drugs available at that level.

Kebele officials explained that various types of family planning options are available in Aze Debo'a. Health professionals from the *wereda* also provide services to mothers through outreach programme. *Kebele* officials noted that the deployment of HEW played a significant role in enhancing knowledge about reproductive health in general and family planning in particular; moreover, collaboration between HEWs and NGO health professionals also plays a positive role in

this respect.

According to the HEWs most women are using pills. They explained that the intensive awareness creation activity under way in the *kebele* focuses among others on improving access to family planning by organising women and youth groups like peer groups, community conversation groups and others. They informed that as a result the number of mothers using family planning services has risen dramatically over the last few years. In 2003 EC among 1,562 mothers of childbearing age 1,274 were using family planning services (82% of the potential target population).

Respondents at the community level believe too that the use of family planning services has increased after the deployment of HEWs in their *kebele*.

Women from the community said that at the health post there are pills and injections for family planning. Men said that many women of reproductive age attend health facilities for family planning services. One middle wealth man said that his wife started to use family planning after their fourth child and was able to avoid unwanted pregnancy; in this way family planning contributed to improve the lifestyle of their household. Among the three women interviewed, two were presently using family planning. They explained that they are satisfied with the service and their health condition has improved since they started to use family planning. One of them explained the benefits of family planning as follows:

I got married at the age of 20 to my current husband and gave birth to three children within four years, but upbringing the children was very difficult because we were very poor compared to most of the households in the kebele. A few months after my third delivery in 2009, my husband insisted to conceive again and bear another child. I told one of the HEWs about this – as I had prior information about family planning from a woman of my neighbourhood. The next day she visited our house and thoroughly explained about family planning. My husband was convinced and allowed me to use contraceptives. Since I started I have avoided unwanted pregnancy. I was able to involve in petty trade in addition to my domestic duties. As a result, our household's income started to grow and our living condition has improved gradually. Furthermore, my health situation has been improved and we have been able to lead our life by plan and programme.

One young woman in her early 20s and who got married out of her own choice, decided with her husband not to have children for the moment as they are still young. She started taking contraception immediately after their marriage. Similarly, one young man in his late teens, who got married under pressure by his parents, does not have children because his wife is using contraceptives. One of the wives in the male-headed households said that she was not using contraception as she had reached menopause. Others did not give details.

Abortion

HEWs explained that there is no abortion service at health post level, but at health centre and hospital level. *Wereda* officials said that in the *wereda* it was available only at the hospital.

Mother and child services

The *wereda* health office data show that in the *wereda*, all women get prenatal advice and monitoring, 90% get maternal vaccinations, 33% get assisted delivery and 35% get advice on infant health. *Wereda* officials said that maternal mortality was “no longer a serious issue” in the *wereda*.

Community respondents were aware of various immunisation programmes targeting mothers and children. One major intervention was the delivery service provided by HEWs (see below). The HEWs stressed that the provision of delivery service, educating mothers to use and follow up antenatal care, postnatal care, family planning, and vaccination and immunisation programmes are among the packages that they give priority to.

Pre-natal care

The HEW data show that in the *kebele*, in 2003 EC 93% of the women who needed it got pre-natal

care, and 64% got post-natal care. There is little detail in the community respondents' interviews. The wife of the *kebele* chairman said that she goes to the health post for antenatal care and to hospital for delivery.

Vaccinations

Wereda officials explained that in the *wereda* they have attained full coverage in relation to under-five vaccination, and under-five mortality is very rare.

The health post data shows indeed very high achievements in terms of vaccination in Aze Debo'a, with 98% of the children being fully vaccinated in 2003 EC. TT2 vaccination for pregnant and non-pregnant women stood at 93% and 88% of the potential target population.

A number of community respondents, women usually, noted that vaccination is now available unlike in the past. One said that her child was not vaccinated last year because he was over-aged. Informing people on vaccination days and getting women to bring their children for vaccination are part of the tasks of the volunteer health workers in the *kebele*.

Delivery

Kebele officials explained that the HEWs mostly provide the delivery service within the homes of the pregnant mothers. If they face problems they write a referral to the health centre or directly to the hospital and facilitate the ambulance of KMG or Red Cross to come and take the mother in labour.

There are about six TBAs in the community. One of them explained that before the deployment of the HEWs great attention was given to train the TBAs and many were able to provide effective delivery service. She now has sour relations with the HEWs because they allegedly 'ignored' her when there was training for TBAs in Hawassa. She has totally stopped working with them but prior to this she would take women to the HEWs and assist in various ways. She would push down the abdomen of the mother and massage immediately after the baby comes out of her womb; dress the baby with clean cloth; tie the umbilical cord with a thread and cut it with a boiled and cooled razorblade. In the past she used to daily assist two women. Nowadays she explained that she is not attending even one in a month because many women are going to the health centre for delivery.

The wife of the *kebele* chairman said that she went to hospital or health centre during childbirth. The HEW data shows indeed a quite high percentage of the potential target population who had some delivery service (62%). One of the young men interviewed had recently lost his wife in childbirth. She had started to bleed severely as soon as her labour began; he called the Red Cross ambulance which came within half an hour; doctors at the hospital did their best to stop the bleeding, but she passed away a few minutes after delivering a male baby. The child is alive and found in a good condition so far.

Infant care

This was not mentioned.

Fistula

Kebele officials explained that a number of women with fistula problems due to 'severe type of excision' were taken to Fistula Hospital in Addis Ababa by KMG and Ethiopian Kalehiwot Church to have a treatment.

Other reproductive health

There was no other reproductive health service mentioned.

Curative health services

Government

Generally

Wereda officials said that there were four health centres in the *wereda*, against only one ten years ago. The current situation is in line with government standards: there is 100% theoretical coverage. However, there are major issues in relation to lack of adequate trained health professionals and lack of drugs throughout the zone. Most recently the trend has been better with regard to staffing: in the *wereda* as a whole there are 25 staff holding a degree or diploma (including health public officers) in the health centres.

In Durame there are two health centres and one hospital. One of the health centres belongs to KMG.

There is no health centre in Aze Debo'a. Patients visit either a health centre in the periphery of Durame town or the one in the neighbouring Bezena Benara *kebele* (at 3 and 2 km respectively). They are expected to get a referral from the health post although it is not mandatory. But having a referral from the health centre is mandatory to get treatment at the hospital.

Community respondents generally said that when they feel sick they consult swiftly. Many said that they are going directly to the health centre because they know that there are no drugs at the health post. As one woman explained,

"the service provided at the health post is predominantly focused on preventive medicine rather than curative. Accordingly, there are no antibiotics and other drugs at the health post except pills and injections for family planning and malaria drugs".

A few said that they first go to the health post, like the family of the poor woman head of household and of the mentally-ill man. In that family the mother said that they go to the health post because they do not charge anything, but there are no drugs. She said she does not understand why this is the case while the government has done so many other good things.

Wereda officials explain that health posts should have Quatem, ORS, folic acid, drugs of malaria and pills of family planning, but there are problems in getting reliable supply. Community respondents noted lack of drugs for some diseases, and also the high costs of them.

All those who talked about health service costs said that they had never had free treatment – except the PLWHA for ART. *Kebele* officials explained that poor people can be treated at a lower price and sometimes even free of charge in the government health institutions by producing a letter from the *kebele* administration – but they did not mention whether this was actually practised and for how many people in the *kebele*. They added that in relation to curative services, the costs and the lack of adequate drugs in the government health institutions are major issues. As a result, in some cases community people are forced to purchase drugs from private drug shops at a high price.

In relation to costs, *iddir* may in some cases help when someone is sick. According to the largest *iddir* leader, if a person is capable to sit and walk, he will go to the health post or health centre being accompanied by a few members of the *iddir*. Members will contribute one birr for transportation to Durame and two birr for places like Hawassa or Wolayitta Sodo in case this is needed. But this is not generalised and several community respondents explained that their *iddir* would assist financially only in case of death, though members might help carry the sick person on stretchers.

Churches also assist their members in relation to health costs. For instance, the woman potter explained that her church gave her 200 birr for treatment of her older daughter who was seriously sick in 2010; and her women prayer group gave her 40 birr for her own health treatment in 2009. As part of their assistance to Orphans and Vulnerable Children, World Vision covers the costs of the children's medical treatment in Durame or even Addis Ababa. In the *kebele* there are 80 families assisted by WV though it is not clear from the data whether they all get the whole range of support.

People in Aze Debo'a have access to ambulance services. There is a Red Cross ambulance for which all tax-paying households contribute 5 birr/year, but it is not dependable. People also use the KMG ambulance which is more dependable but expensive (they charge 50 birr for a transport). The extension of the phone service to the *kebele* has been important to facilitate this.

Health centre

No information.

Hospitals

Kebele officials and community respondents explained that while it is not mandatory to have a referral from the health post to go to the health centre, it is mandatory to have a referral from the health centre to go to hospital (in government institutions).

A number of community respondents mentioned that they used or are using hospital services. The PLWHA from the *kebele* go to Durame to take their ART.

Private clinics

There are two private clinics in the *wereda*, and one health centre run by KMG.

Traditional practices

Kebele officials noted that in general, the health seeking behaviour of the community has shifted dramatically after the deployment of HEWs, and very few people use traditional medicine at present. There was no information in community respondents' interviews.

NGOs

There is one health centre run by KMG in Durame, and KMG also has a 24 hour ambulance service which is used by Aze Debo'a people as they explained that the Red Cross ambulance was not dependable. KMG charges 50 birr for the fuel and cost of the ambulance service.

Child-rearing practices and changes

Kebele officials explained that parents have become aware of taking care of their children like only breast feeding until they get six months old and the importance of taking them to health facilities for vaccinations and other health treatments. They are also aware of when they should start providing supplementary food to children and how to keep their hygiene.

There was little information given by community respondents, apart from mentioning awareness of the importance of maternal and child health, child immunisation and nutrition, and that they did not discriminate between boys and girls.

The interviews suggest that there continues to be a mix of schooling and work for many children. While at schools boys assist their mother in farming when she is a widow; they substitute for parents in PSNP public works. In many families it seems that older children are expected to contribute to the household's income (e.g. grade 10 leaver girls still living with their parents and contributing through retail trade of fruits and coffee and working at the coffee plant) and their own costs (e.g. students for their books, clothes etc.).

Education

General

Wereda education officials explained that there is at least one primary school in each *kebele* in the *wereda*. However, only a limited number of students pass to high school; fewer still make it to preparatory and beyond. They insisted on the importance of strengthening the quality of education at this level. In the *wereda* there are two general secondary schools (Durale and Adilo) and one preparatory school (Durame). There is no government higher institution (college or university) in the zone as a whole, which Kembata people acutely resent, except one TVET college and a training centre for Health Extension Workers, in Durame. There is also one private college providing diplomas and degrees in certain fields (nursing and others) in Durame.

Kebele officials added that there is a private school in Durame, which offers primary and secondary education. They rate well the government high and preparatory school in Durame, saying that education quality is better than in most other schools in the zone: they have well qualified teachers and there is good access to facilities like libraries and laboratories.

However in the *kebele*, few students pass from grade eight to high school. And among those who join high school only one fifth join preparatory school. From those who join preparatory school, about one-fourth might join government universities and colleges in the country. Roughly, half of them might join the government TVET. So all in all, very few of those who take the matriculation examination succeed and get enough points to join a government university – which is due to low education quality in the primary schools at *kebele* level. In turn, many households cannot afford to send those students who failed to get enough points to private colleges and universities in towns like Hawassa, Hossana and Addis Ababa as this is very costly. There are a few students and government employees attending university studies through distance learning programmes. However, *kebele* officials insisted that if the government was to open a university in the zone it would be a big move for the zone and the development of the town itself.

There is also a problem of unemployment once students have completed university.

Pre-school

There is no kindergarten or independent pre-school in the *kebele*. There are 0-grade classes in the Aze Debo'a Junior First Cycle School (1-8) and Millennium Primary First Cycle School (1-4). Currently, children at preschool age learn the Amharic and English alphabets and numbers at home, in church programmes or in these schools. The former is just 100 meter from the main road crossing the *kebele*; the latter is two kilometres away from the main road in southern direction. In the successful female-headed household one of the sons was attending pre-school five years ago. There was no detail and no other mention of pre-school education by community respondents.

Primary education

As noted above in the *wereda* all *kebele* have at least one primary school. *Wereda* officials explained that generally there is a big improvement in teacher qualifications: they mostly have a diploma, and there also is teacher upgrading and Continuous Professional Development in schools. The PTR is improving but textbooks are still an issue. There is a big emphasis on improving education quality to raise the completion rate and decrease the number of dropouts. The *wereda* level exams show that there is improvement. They said that before 2003 EC a lot of children were dropping out to involve in trade and other jobs but that this has now improved – which diverges from the opinion of school staff and parents in Aze Debo'a as is further described below.

They further explained that in the *wereda* as a whole one major achievement is a decrease in repetition rate. The primary education coverage in the *wereda* is 101%. The major problems are shortage of skilled/well trained teachers, lack of text books, shortage of desks and adequate room facility. In the *wereda* the average number of students in a class is 80. The following points were suggested to improve the situation: building additional classrooms, printing additional text books and providing intensive training for teachers.

In Aze Debo'a there are two primary schools. The first is the Aze Debo'a School with grades from 0-8. It has more than 2,000 students. It was founded under the Derg. The second is the Millennium Primary School constructed with funds obtained from the Japan Embassy in Ethiopia. It started operating in 2010, after a ceremony of inauguration with the presence of Japanese officials. In terms of infrastructure, both schools are well furnished and have enough rooms including library facility. However, the libraries have a limited number of books and reading materials.

School staff and community people explained that the main problems adversely affecting education are: lack of job opportunities for high school and college graduates (which de-motivates students),

lack of adequate reading materials and shortage of text books (1 for 5 students), frequent curriculum change (books for some subjects in grade 7 and 8 were reportedly changed before they were properly disseminated) and others.

The Grade 1-8 primary school

The school, founded under the Derg, has a large and well maintained compound. The buildings are not all up to the standards. Some are made of hollow blocks and concrete; others are made of concrete and wood; one block is made of wood and mud. One block with five rooms was constructed by World Vision; most were constructed by the community with some budget by the government. Most classrooms have tiled floors. One teacher said that the school is well furnished, and has access to safe water. It is also convenient to be very near the health post. Teachers, male and female students have separate latrines. The school has electricity since one year. There are up-to-date statistics on the wall of the staff room.

The main problems according to school staff are lack of adequate rooms, texts and supporting books. In this regard, there is serious shortage of English and Kembatissa texts for grade seven and eight. On average, one textbook is for 5 and 10 students respectively. Besides that, the quality of education is very low due to various reasons. However, the deputy head teacher explained that in terms of textbooks the situation is improving. They have a 1:1 ratio in all grades except for books in Kembata language and civic education. In the opinion of the deputy head teacher generally there have been some positive changes in the past few years: the teaching-learning has improved, teacher qualifications as well, and they get some support from government, including more materials and books and some training on how to use them. Also they got training about how to plan for the school and how to use the funds they get transparently and in a better way.

The school staff do not like self-contained teaching for many reasons. He explained that it is unfair on students getting a weak teacher; one teacher cannot be good in all subjects; it is very tiresome and boring for the teachers; it is also boring for children who do not like to see always the same face; it is creating difficulties when one teacher is absent for some time. The staff from the other school also do not like this system. But they are powerless in front of the policy.

The teachers

The head teacher, 42 year old and male, was appointed to this school four years ago after he served more than eight years in another primary school. He obtained a BSc degree. He wants to look for other jobs which would bring more income than teaching.

The deputy head teacher is at this school and in this capacity since 4 years. Before this he was a teacher at another school in the *wereda*. He has 16 years' experience. He explained that he is not happy with the job. It is very time-demanding as, unlike the teachers, he must be at the school for the two shifts and the salary is not commensurate to the workload. He gets 2,050 birrs/month gross which makes 1,800 birrs/month net.

One of the teachers recalled that he was employed in 1976 as a primary school teacher immediately after he completed high school and without training – as there was a shortage of primary school teachers and limited number of high school graduates across the *wereda*. He obtained a Diploma through distance learning a few years ago and also trained in school management. Currently he has 33 years of service and he earns 2,500 birr.

One of the teachers (married, 50 years old and a father of four children) who upgraded to diploma as well is a member of the *wereda* council since the national election in 2010.

There used to be too few qualified teachers in the school but this is less the case nowadays. They would have enough teachers to teach all students at once (single longer shift) but they do not have enough classrooms to do this so there are two shifts, and teachers teach only one half day shift. They have 24 diploma teachers and 1 degree holder, and only 4 certificate teachers left. Out of the

24 diploma only 2 are female. The deputy head teacher explains that this is because teachers appointed to this school are those with some years of teaching experience as this is a rewarding place to be, and there are not many women with diploma and several years of experience.

Table 5: Pupil per classroom and pupil per teacher in Aze Debo'a Grade 1-8 school

	PCR 2003	PCR 2004	PTR 2003	PTR 2004
Gr1-4	36	45	36	45
Gr5-8	57	56	38	38

The increase in the Pupil: Classroom Ratio and Pupil: Teacher Ratio for Gr1-4 students from 2003 EC to 2004 EC is due to increased total enrolment while they have not been able to recruit more teachers and to build new classes between the two years.

According to the principal teachers are expected to actively involve in teaching and learning activities, and holding meetings and making discussions with the community.

Attendance

Staff in both schools explained that most of the eligible children are sent to schools by their parents without gender differences. As a result, the male-female ratio is 52-48 and 53-47 in the main and the smaller school respectively. Almost 95% of the school age children attend class. Another 3% of the school age children from the *kebele* attend class in private schools in Durame. The remaining 2% of children may not be sent to schools by their parents due to various reasons.

Like all schools in the zone, the primary schools in Aze Debo'a close one week at harvest time, to allow children to help for the harvest. They catch up through making-up classes in the weeks after. However, the head teacher of the main school explained that some students drop out to be employed on the coffee washing plant during the coffee harvesting season from October to December. Many students also do not attend classes as they are overwhelmed by the idea of migration to South Africa. But, he said, there is no serious problem of bad behaviour among students. One of the teachers said that even though almost all parents are able to send their children to school, they are not motivated and pay little attention to education because they daily observe that a large number of high school graduates are unemployed.

Quality of education

In the opinion of the head teacher the quality of education is not maintained. There can be more than 70 students attending in one room, which is very difficult for teachers. They presented a proposal to expand classrooms to different organisations and also insisted to the *wereda* education office to get some budget to construct additional rooms. This year they also plan to raise money from community members and businessmen.

Performance of students in grade 8 is discouraging: in 2011 more than half failed at the exam. However, there is a story behind this. It used to be the case that most were passing (90% or so) and going to high school to Durame. But last year the government changed policy. Gr 8 exams were much more strictly controlled (students can no longer 'cheat') and so this time, only 50% students passed. It is a new policy from the federal and regional governments but the deputy head teacher explained that in Kembata they decided to implement it very strictly immediately – while he does not know whether all zones have done the same. The objective is to raise quality i.e. ensure that those who pass have the required level. Students who fail are encouraged to return to school, repeat Grade 8 and sit again for the exam. Last September the school staff had to go house to house to explain this to the students and their families as few of them had re-registered. Most finally did, but only in November. There was also a big push for teachers to go house-to-house and bring all dropout children back to school in all grades. This was exceptional: they do not do this every year.

The head teacher added that the number of those passing Gr 10 with enough points to get to

preparatory is much smaller than those passing the grade 8 exams. He believes no more than a quarter of them pass at that level, and it could be even fewer.

So as said earlier, in the *kebele* very few students succeed and join universities compared to the number of students who take the grade 8 examination.

School management and budget

The PTA was established some years ago with 3 members from among teachers and 4 members from among parents. The man leading it since 2005 is a 48-year old priest, leader of church, married and with eight grown-up children. He was elected two times in this position as people trust him.

The main role of this association is counseling students having a discipline problem and closely following up the teaching and learning process at the school. The PTA also punishes students lacking discipline and can take the decision of firing out those who are not willing to accept advice and to respect the regulation of the school (they did so in 2010 for a student who had been advised many times and did not improve). The PTA supervises the performance of students, teachers, unit leaders and principal of the school. In normal times they meet once in a month or as needed when a problem arises. Members work for free and so, he said, there is some boredom among them. They do not like the fact that the school budget does not allow even a cup of tea or coffee during long hours of meeting. They also are fed up as there is not any kind of training.

In case of problem the committee first reports to the principal and they try to handle it at the school level. If they cannot do this they present the case to the community and *kebele* administration, for discussion. The head teacher confirms that he usually discusses with teachers and the school committee regarding problems, and makes efforts to solve them. For cases beyond the school community and committee, he invites the *wereda* or *kebele* officials to intervene. One of the teachers also confirmed, explaining that when they face problems they first discuss the issue with the school principal and education committee. If the case is not resolved at this level, they request the principal to report the case to *wereda* education office or *wereda* teachers association depending on the issue.

The head teacher explained that the school has different sources of income.

- They sell grass from the school land and also wood from the woodlot.
- They also contract-out some land to farmers. That provides an income every two years as they usually contract-out for two years. Last time they got 18,000 birr but this was a cheap deal. They will have a new contract this year and the head teacher expects that they could get up to 30,000 birr.
- They occasionally get contributions from *kebele* residents/parents, for special requirements. E.g. last year they got 5 birr from all households having children at the school. But that is not regular. With this they added on a donation by World Vision to build a library and get some benches and some books.
- They get support from the government – the ‘block grant’ which used to be 5,000 birr and last year was 7,000 birr
- They now also get another ‘school grant’ directly from the World Bank for the last two years and that was 20,000 birr last year.

So last year the total income of the school was 32,085 birr, including the government and WB grants; this was a year without income from the land contracts. The biggest issue is that their regular income is not sufficient to construct new rooms and they need that, for all the activities that the school is running (HIV club, sport club etc.). The WB grant cannot be used for any construction. They can just rely on outside help like that of World Vision. The two grants come separately and each requires a separate action plan indicating what the money will be spent on. They then have to report against these action plans and that is separate too. It is not accepted if they spend the money not in line with the plan. In addition to these action plans which are just about the grants, there is an

overall school plan with all the activities of the school.

Experiences of primary school

One woman of middle wealth with three children at the Aze Debo'a Primary School explained that they do not have any problem. The *kebele* chairman who also has three children at school agreed. The wife of one household said her grade four daughter enjoyed school, and there was no charge. However, one poor woman said that with three of her four children attending school, inflation was all the more a challenge although the children's education was fine. Another family had a grade 7 boy in private school. He likes it and is never absent. There is a monthly fee but as the school is private the teaching learning process is very good; there are well educated teachers and no problem.

Several families interviewed had some assistance in covering some of the costs. For instance the six orphans whose parents died after returning from resettlement, in addition to get direct support from the PSNP, get assistance from the Aze Debo'a Primary School with school materials like uniform and stationeries. One man said that he was covering the costs for two children but World Vision covers all school expenses of his older daughter (stationary, books, clothes) including her medication expenses. The physically disabled girl living with her family said that the Aze Debo'a Primary School provided her with school stationeries and some cloths like t-shirt and pants in 2010 and 2011. The poor 16-17 year old girl is assisted by World Vision (her case is described a bit more fully in the section on the role of NGOs in education – see below). The statistics of the HEWs show that in 2003 EC, 286 orphans were supported in the *kebele*: 135 of them got stationery from the *wereda* education office and 24 from the *wereda* health office.

Secondary education

Among the women interviewed, one rich woman explained that her son is in grade nine in ISSAC Private Primary and Secondary School in Durame. She explained that she made him join this school because it is known to give students good command of English and make them score high grades in matriculation. But it is a bit expensive for poor household.

Among the young people interviewed, the rich young woman in her 20s explained that she completed grade ten in 2008 but she does not have a job. She liked education and wishes to upgrade even up to university. All three young women working on the coffee washing plant were similarly grade 10 leavers with a score too low to continue. One of them, a little older (22) explained that in the *kebele*, those who pass Grade 10 with enough points continue to preparatory and even those who do not have enough points can continue if their families can afford to send them to private TVET or colleges. But all the others have to engage in some form of income-generating activity.

The investor in the coffee plant who also has trade and transport activities all based in Durame, explained that he completed grade 8 about 45 years ago. When his various businesses started to pick up he took four of his siblings (two brothers and two sisters) with him in Durame for them to be able to study. All of them were able to complete grade 12, but none of them were able to join university.

It is noteworthy that the two HEWs of Aze Debo'a are grade 12 leavers while the policy requires only grade 10. The *kebele* 'secretary' – a locally paid post – is a grade 12 man who also has a teacher certificate, but it seems from a private institution and anyway the policy now requires teachers to have a diploma.

Post-secondary education

The government employees like DAs and most of the primary school teachers have personally experienced post-secondary education. The DAs got their diploma before being posted in the *kebele*. One of them left the *kebele* to pursue his education in Wolayita university. The three others attend a BSc degree through distance education. As noted earlier they all three seem unhappy with their job, and studying is part of the strategy to try and get something else.

The *kebele* manager is a grade 12 +3 woman with a BSc in accounting from Hawassa. She worked one year in Hawassa but she wanted to return to live with her family, and a government job. She applied to the zone and the *wereda* and was selected. She got a one-month training in Hawassa. She would like to study an accountancy degree and get a job at *wereda* level.

In contrast, a good number of the teachers started with lower qualifications and got their diploma through the government upgrading programme when the policy regarding primary school teachers' academic qualification requirements changed.

Among the households interviewed, only one – the rich household – has some intensive experience of education, including at higher level. The head of household explained that:

They have one Gr 7 son who goes to private school and no one in secondary for the moment. But one of their sons has just got the opportunity to enter the government university. He joined Hawassa University. Government and family share his cost. He is an outstanding student and he has been scoring good results every semester thus far. Another son attended the government TVET. He studied natural sciences, did well, passed the exam with a good result, and lives in Durame. Their four daughters graduated from different universities. Three of them are working and got married and live in Hawassa and Addis Ababa. One of them left for the US as she won on the lottery. All of them are helping the family.

The household head's educational background may be a factor in this trajectory. He explained that as a result of attending his primary education in Durame Missionary School, he has a better command of English than even the current high school graduates. He has a radio and TV with international channels. He mostly watches spiritual programmes broadcast from abroad through God's/spiritual channels in Amharic and English, but sometime he watches Aljazeera and BBC.

The man who was interviewed for his success without taking credit explained that he has a three room house in Durame; two of his children studying in Durame Preparatory School live in one room and he rents the other two rooms. Two other children have graduated from Addis Ababa University and are employed in Hawassa. Although he does not need anything, they send some money, especially for the Meskel ceremony.

Government TVET

There is a Government TVET in Durame but no specific information about it although some families have students attending government TVET institutions. There are not enough opportunities for young people from Aze Debo'a to join TVET education and this is part of the overall issue with the lack of prospects for grade 10 and grade 12 educated youth.

Government universities

There is no Government university in the Kembata zone, which people complain about even though the government policy is to send students from any area anywhere depending on the option that they are going to study. The same issue of restricted access applies as for access to TVET.

Private colleges

There is one private college in Durame. No one gave any information about it. People generally mentioned that educating one's children in private colleges was possible only for richer families. For most students of Aze Debo'a, not scoring enough to join a government TVET or university means returning back home.

The role of NGOs and faith-based organisations

In Aze Debo'a various NGOs and faith-based organisations play a big role in supporting youth and children to go further in their education.

Several of the younger people interviewed mentioned World Vision. An example is this poor 16-17 year old girl who is able to attend grade eight even though her family's livelihood is a struggle. She

explained that

Her ambition is to join university and have a good job. She has the chance to continue her study because she is assisted by World Vision. She likes school and attends it regularly and her parents also advise her to learn effectively. She has work at home to assist her mother, but it does not interfere with her education as she does it after school hours. She has no interest in boyfriends or getting married for the moment because she wants to finish her education and get her own job. Her parents support her and do not want to see her married before she joins the university. She is good in all subjects and she hopes to score a good grade in the examination.

Among the young men, the middle wealth boy in his late teens said that he is attending school regularly and his parents encourage him to learn effectively. He does not have a girlfriend. He is good in all subjects and he hopes to score a good grade in the examination. His plan is to join the university.

There are some exceptional cases of support to handicapped people from the *kebele*, like the two blind men (who are now 32 and 35 year old) who were able to attend school thanks to the support of their churches. They attended primary school in Benara Missionary School and attended high school in Addis Ababa. Both of them obtained degrees in different subjects. One has a BA in Law from Addis Ababa University since 2007 and he is presently working in Addis Ababa. The other has a BSc and he is currently teaching in Durame High School.

KMG also has a big role. In the zone as a whole, they support 1,200 very poor girls to attend secondary school and 80 girls at university level (providing them stationary and covering transport and accommodation costs). These 80 girls return in their community in the summer, and they undertake to give tutorial classes to help the girls who are at high school. They are also expected to engage in the environmental protection activities that KMG is supporting in these communities.

Other training

There are numerous other training programmes taking place at the *kebele* and *wereda* level, for government employees working at the *kebele*, the *kebele* administration, the farmers, the health volunteer workers etc. There are also many sensitisation and community awareness-raising activities (on credit, HTPs, HIV AIDS etc.), and numerous meetings in which developmental messages are passed. The more specific training programmes or events that were mentioned by people in Aze Debo'a included:

- The DA crop who was involved in a training organised by World Vision entitled "the Rights of Children and their Circumstances in Ethiopia"
- The health promoter (grade 10) who received one week training at the *wereda* health office
- Training for TBAs though there were more opportunities before the deployment of HEWs; e.g. the TBA interviewed said that she participated in a training organised by KMG on "Hazards of FGM and Delivery Assistance"
- The development team leader who got training for three days
- The YA leader who as chairman of the anti-HIV/AIDS club took one day training
- The PTA chairman got training on the role and responsibilities of the PTA
- The head of the security committee who took fifteen days of training
- The guard of the water point who took a one-day training
- The training given on PSNP, which the *kebele* chairman who is also the leader of the PSNP Task Force did not attend as he was not yet in the position
- Training on income-generating activities by KMG and Mekaneyesus (petty trade, embroidery, pottery and wood work) for 31 individuals
- Training on various topics for farmers at the FTC (see section on FTC)
- Numerous training sessions on income-generating activities for PLWHA
- The 'teachings' by the HEWs, some of which include structured events like a two-day training

entitled “Personal Hygiene and Environmental Sanitation” organised at the *kebele* for farmers, and for which they got a per diem.

Attitudes to education

The community’ attitudes are underpinned by mixed expectations. On the one hand, the Kembata society has a tradition of valuing education, which many people link to the early conversion to Protestantism and the establishment of strong missionary schools in the area. Several of the stories told above speak to this (e.g. the two blind people; the successful farmer and his many educated children). Those people have high expectations that education will lead to a better life. There are many examples of such expectations (and some examples of them being fulfilled) among the parents and the children or youth of Aze Debo’a – and not all of them are wealthy people as shown by the case of the poor girl supported by World Vision. For instance:

- One of the few Amhara descendants living in the *kebele* had the chance of attending school up to grade eight in one of the first (missionary) schools constructed on Kembata soil. He too has many children (2 sons and 4 daughters) and makes sure that they study. His older son and daughter both completed high school and obtained a teacher training diploma. Both of them are teachers in primary schools in Kedida Gamela *wereda*.
- The grade four leader of the largest *iddir*, who is also chairperson of the health army and of the land measuring committee, has the ambition of sending his children to university, in addition to buying a Holstein Friesian cow and build a new house.
- One physically disabled girl explained that four years ago, her family had a dairy cow of Holstein Frisian, but her parents sold it to cover her expense for education and school materials. They purchased a local cow, less expensive but also with a lower production.
- One middle wealth man with 7 children is investing 6,000 birr/year in his children’s education. Himself did not have a chance to study as he lost his father when he was 15 and had to drop out to take over the farm (he was in grade 10) – while his younger brother was able to complete grade 12 and is working as primary school teacher. His older daughter and his son joined Hawassa and Jimma universities, respectively. She is a third year student in Management; his son is a second year student in Civil Engineering. Three other children are in high school and expected to finish this year and in the coming year.
- In addition to the young woman mentioned earlier, a middle wealth youth in his late teens also explained that his plan was to join university. His parents are supportive of this. He concentrates on his studies and so does not have a girlfriend.

On the other hand, there is widespread disillusion due to the growing unemployment of graduates at different levels, and the difficulties that many children and youth face to reach higher education levels before this. As the deputy head teacher explained, among those who fail, some stay and help their families until they get married; boys may get involved in stone collection, girls in petty trade or work for the coffee processing plant. Examples include the three girls/young women whom the researchers interviewed at the coffee plant; or the twenty year old small-scale coffee trader who explained that she turned to this as she obtained a low grade and needed to help her parents.

Others may leave for other places as there are no job opportunities around. As discussed earlier, migration abroad is reported to be fast increasing, and very many respondents link this to the disillusion about the prospects linked to higher education and getting a job ‘at home’.

The school staff in Aze Debo’a explained that there are more than 100 high school and 20 college graduates from the *kebele* who are unemployed. This situation highly discourages most students once they get a little older. They then start dreaming of going to South Africa as many of their neighbours did, who earned a lot of money in a short period of time. They get the money needed by first engaging in a local activity like stone collection, coffee trading, work at the plant etc., and as soon as they have enough money they go. Some are assisted by their parents who go up to selling some of their land or their woodlot, as the youngsters nag them until they agree to assist. In other

cases youth help each other in small groups. One youth talks to a few others and together they pool resources for one of them to go and then he sends money for his friends to be able to join. As the impact of remittances is very visible (with families of migrants being able to buy cars, build houses in town etc.) there is a big incentive for the youth to go.

Both the head teacher and one of the teachers confirmed this trend. Other informants explained:

Until a few years ago graduates of higher institutions were given job opportunities. But since two years there is no access to jobs for many graduates in the area. What can be expected from the young generation, except leaving the country to look for jobs? This is very sad as it pushes young people who would have done well in continuing their studies, to migrate instead.

Several youth indeed said that the situation was making them feel helpless. One 18-year old man who was encouraged by his father (a teacher in Aze Debo'a Primary School) to be successful in his education and continue up to university, explained that this ambition became a dream as he failed in the grade 10 exam in 2010. This was the trigger for him to decide to migrate to South Africa (which he did, convincing his father to give him all his savings for this). The rich young man in his 30s explained that school children have no motivation due to lack of job opportunities after graduation. They can see that there are a number of youth graduates with no job in the *kebele* – including one who is a veterinary doctor, and he is still in his parents' house in Aze Debo'a. Several others among the young men said similar things. One of them, in his mid-20s, has a diploma but he is jobless; another completed grade 10 and is jobless too.

The deputy head teacher explained that he is really hoping that his son, for instance, will be able to continue his education until university and get a job and live a good life in this country. He said

This migration is a big issue and it cannot be solved overnight. There needs to be a lot more job opportunities and government and other agencies should put priority on this. That might slowly change people's minds. Government attitude to migration is ambiguous. On the one hand there is a legal route for migration but this is very difficult and officials may be really suspicious. On the other hand, they seem to "look the other way round" on all the illegal migration.

In the *kebele* several families get some form of support to meet the costs of educating their children. However, this does not reach all those who might need it. As a result, poverty or lack of adult labour in the household are still factors which prevent some parents from sending some of their children to school. For instance, a 35-year old widow with eight children explains that she tries to make them attend their classes in Aze Debo'a and Durame Preparatory School, but sometimes when she cannot go to the PSNP public works her older son has to participate on her behalf. She also believes that because her sons are at school most of the day they cannot utilise their land adequately.

In one household returning from resettlement after a few unsuccessful years, one of the daughters who is now in her 30s had to drop out of school due to economic problems, and she got married in the same year. She said that she could not benefit even though she wished to learn, due to poverty. In the same household, her younger brother has been allowed to continue. He is in grade eight and contributing to the family's income by working on the market. This is ok when the class is in the morning as he can go to the market in the afternoon, but when the class is in the afternoon he misses the market. He wants to go up to college level but there is no one who would assist him.

Marriage is competing with further education for girls in particular. The rich young woman in her 30s explains that she was a grade eight student when she dropped out of school 'without any problem to perform marriage'. But while she does not seem to have any regret, a younger woman in her mid-20s explained that she is no longer attending school because she is married, even though she would like to continue – and is not pregnant and she and her husband do not want children immediately.

Community management

Wereda structure

Wereda Administration and the party

There is no information on the **wereda administration**. It is noteworthy that Durame, which hosts the offices of Kedida Gemela *wereda*, has its own separate administration and Council with a status of town equivalent to that of a *wereda*. In addition Durame is the zonal capital thus also hosts the offices of the zonal administration. There are therefore three separate administrations in the town.

Most government employees working in Aze Debo'a and *kebele* officials explained that they refer to the relevant *wereda* officials when there are problems that they cannot solve at the *kebele* level. The *wereda* is also a source of information and a place where they go for training. The relationships are sectoral. The school head teacher and PTA liaise with the *wereda* education office; the HEWs with the health office including for supplies; the WA and women's representative at *kebele* level with the WA office; the YA with the Youth office; the DAs with subject matter specialists in the *wereda* Agriculture and Rural Development Office; the *kebele* chairman as head of the PSNP Task Force with the Food Security desk in the ARDO; the militia with the police office etc.

The investor who established the coffee washing plant in the *kebele* had to pass its proposal through the zonal Trade and Industry Office. The *wereda* then just 'facilitated'.

In relation to the **party**, one person in Aze Debo'a explained that all *wereda* officials are party members but not all employees. *Kebele* leaders are party officials too; the chair of the *kebele* basic party structure also reports 'sectorally' to the *wereda* party structure.

DAs, commenting on the way they had been selected for the job some five-six years ago, described it as fairly fair. But, they said, nowadays there is a high degree of nepotism in the recruitment process for any job in the *wereda*. One of them explained that if one misses the chance of going for higher education, "getting a job in the *wereda* without having a relative or a friend in a decision-making position in one of the government offices is unthinkable".

According to one of the *wereda* Councilors representing Aze Debo'a, there is a close relationship between the **wereda council** and the *kebele* council. In his capacity of *wereda* councillor he attends in most cases the meetings of the *kebele* council to brief them about recent issues discussed at *wereda* level. In the same way, he reports the situation of the *kebele* to the *wereda*.

Justice and security

The *wereda* police and court have a presence in Aze Debo'a. This is discussed in the justice and security section on the *kebele* level community management. *Wereda* officials had few comments on justice and security generally in the *wereda*. The head of the Women Affairs' office highlighted the role of the law-enforcing bodies in protecting women's rights and helping to drastically curb down harmful practices like abduction and FGM after they were criminalised by the new family code; and the progress made in raising women's awareness of their rights and 'where and how to go'. She gave the example of the *wereda* court ruling a 15-year imprisonment for an abduction case in 2002 and this having had a significant effect on the community. However, the judge of the *wereda* explained that to his knowledge, accusations related to property issues between husband and wife rarely come to court. This is further described in the section on women's rights.

Kebele and party structures

The Council

The *kebele* Council has 200 members. *Kebele* officials explained that it holds the *kebele* administration to account. In general, there is at least one Gimgema programme in a year at which the *kebele* officials are evaluated for their performance in front of 200 members of the Council. They

explained that in this way many officials were reshuffled from one position to another and demoted to lower ones in the *kebele*. Some *kebele* officials like the chairman and others were removed from their position due to nepotism, corruption and weaknesses in assuming their responsibilities.

The *wereda* councillor interviewed explained that in his capacity of *wereda* councillor he usually attends the meetings of the *kebele* council. He said that

He briefs them about the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and recent issues discussed at wereda level. He also makes an effort to promote the capacity of kebele council members in providing information about MDGs in the kebele like education, potable water, rural roads and packages of health and agriculture extension programmes. He advises the kebele and sub-kebele officials and closely follows up the implementation of the government programmes and interventions in the kebele. He is closely connected with the wereda and the kebele. Accordingly, he writes and sends a report to the wereda once in a week and gives a call once in a day concerning his duties and activities in the kebele. He communicates every two days with the kebele administration and at least once (in ?) with members of the kebele council.

There are very few mentions of the *kebele* Council in community respondents' interviews. One poor man said that he generally was not participating to *kebele* meetings as these were attended mostly by those members of the *kebele* Council.

The *kebele* Cabinet

There is a *kebele* Cabinet with seven members, including one of the DAs, one HEW, the (main) school head teacher, one youth representative and one women affairs' representative from among the youth and the women in the community. The Cabinet is led by the *kebele* chairman and there is a deputy chairman. The *kebele* manager works closely with the chairman and with the Cabinet. There is also a *kebele* Secretary – accounts differ as to whether he is paid out of the *kebele* budget, or not paid. He is a young man who assists the *kebele* chairman in many tasks including tax collection. He was also actively involved in (and is commensurately rather disillusioned with) the efforts in trying to set up youth cooperatives.

The Cabinet members are not paid except the government employees, as such. The Cabinet meets weekly on Thursday (though in one instance the chairman mentioned monthly meetings). At the last meeting, they discussed and made decision to collect land use tax and other contributions, how to start the terracing work, and getting people to pay back their debts for fertiliser. The school director, health cabinet and women affairs representative occasionally have attendance problems as they are busy with their own job. The *kebele* chairman is also the leader of the *kebele* food security task force and most of the members of the task force are also in the *kebele* administration, so that issues of PSNP are mostly discussed along with other issues concerning the *kebele* in the same meetings.

Community respondents do not appear to know much about how the different structures of the *kebele* work. Women said that they know that the *kebele* is led by the chairman but little else.

The *kebele* chairman

The ***kebele* chairman**, a grade nine leaver, was appointed in 2010. He has multiple responsibilities in the *kebele* as he is also the chairman of the food security task force, the development committee and the health committee of the *kebele*, and he is involved in tax collection. He is also the chair of the *kebele* basic structure of the party. He is a *kebele* Council member, and a member of an *iddir*.

There seems to be a fair degree of turnover in the position as he succeeded to a man who was dismissed in 2007 after two years (2005-7) on grounds of poor performance and capacity limitation, a man who stayed just one year (2007-8) and moved on to be employed in a government office in Durame then another man who also stayed a year or so (2008-9) and was dismissed for poor performance as he had too many responsibility (he was also an evangelist and church leader), and finally a man who also stayed roughly one year (2009-10) and was dismissed because he provided

land to an investor without consulting anyone in the *kebele* (it is not clear whether this is the land for the coffee plant). The current chairman has therefore been in post longer than any of his three immediate predecessors.

As explained earlier, community respondents highlighted that the *kebele* Council is demoting people when needed. But they also said that there is competition for power among members of EPRDF in the *kebele*. Being a member of the *kebele* administration is said to create economic and other advantages because there are “*huge natural resources such as communal lands covered by forest, pasture and highly demanded construction rocks*”. There is also a big chance of sharing something from the resources provided for the poor like relief during the drought periods. However, there is no mention of this in the interviews on the PSNP and food aid, whereas there are people who gave specific examples in relation to the *kebele* administration exploiting the community forest.

There also is some competition among clans although within informal rules which see the *kebele* chairmanship rotating between the three largest clans, the Galla (descendants from Oromo), the Dubbo and the Nurto. There usually is no conflict about this. The Galla are said to be politically dominant just because they have the largest number of people in the *kebele*.

The *kebele* vice-chairman

The **vice chairman** was appointed shortly after the 2010 election. He explained that he was nominated by the *kebele* council and elected by the inhabitants of the *kebele* because of his good behaviour and high reputation. He is grade eight and participated in various trainings at *kebele* and *wereda* levels. He is also church leader and propaganda officer for his church, and his wife is a member of women association and serving their church in various responsibilities. His aspiration is ‘*to perform all his responsibilities in the kebele in a fair way without any nepotism*’.

He is involved in all activities in the *kebele* together with the chairman. In the absence of the chairman he leads the *kebele* and all letters are released by his signature. As specific responsibility, he focuses on peace and security as well as militia issues in the *kebele*, and he mobilises the community to pay the tax. He is also the propaganda officer for the *kebele*. He explained that:

His main activities in this capacity are to mobilise the community mainly during election. In normal times he involves in various issues such as development activities, good governance, peace and security and education. He evaluates the progress in activities undertaken in the kebele along with the chair of the development committee, and tries to identify the strengths and weaknesses and the good experiences and lessons that could be used in future to better implement activities in the kebele. He also propagates the politics of the ruling party in all party and kebele council meetings.

On average, he works 10 hours every day for six days except Sunday. He explained that sometimes they even hold meeting on Sunday after the church hours. There is no reward or salary for his services. He is left with little time to cultivate his land and assume his household responsibilities, but gets some assistance by relatives and neighbours.

Kebele manager

The current **kebele manager** in Aze Debo'a started her job in April 2008. She is a grade 10+3 in accounting and has some experience of working in the private sector in Hawassa. She was the first person assigned in this job.

She has multiple relations and interactions with different people in the community, but mainly works very closely with the administrator and other cabinet members. She writes letters in consultation with the administrator and the invitation to Cabinet members for the weekly Cabinet meeting (held on Thursday). She is responsible to do all office works, to keep the records and archives. She collects the land use and other taxes from the *kebele* to bring them to the *wereda*, provides identity cards for members of the *kebele*.

She links the *kebele* with sectoral offices and NGOs. She is also involved with the *kebele* planning

process. She compiles the plans from the different sectors and approves them together with the *kebele* administrator and then the plan is sent to the *wereda*. She said that all sectors send their plans to the *kebele* manager, although the DA NRM seemed to say that the school might not do this and send their plans straight to the *wereda* education office.

She left the *kebele* shortly after the research team came to the *kebele* and she was going to be away for a few months (it was not said why). Her role was filled by the *kebele* chairman with the assistance of the *kebele* secretary who is the YA leader.

The ruling party

It is not entirely clear whether the chairman of the *kebele* is also the chairman of the *kebele* party 'basic structure' (local EPRDF party leader) or if it is a different person. The local party leader explained that there is 547 heads of households and all are members of EPRDF party. However, a number of heads of households said that they are not members (see below).

The party leader added that in the party structure, in each village there are three **cells**; in each cell there are 20-25 members; all cells report to the *kebele* **basic party structure**; and in the party structures there are only party members. In contrast in the *kebele* structures, all members of community are grouped into **development teams** (under which come the **1-to-5 groups**). All *kebele* officials are party members. "*Paying membership fee and accomplishing the party programme are core issues for one to gain power and position in the kebele.*" One of the development team leaders confirm that, in the development teams there can be (EPRDF) party members and non-members, although all leaders must be members.

However on the whole, the distinction between party and *kebele* structures is fuzzy. If all household heads are party members the structures must overlap considerably or even totally; yet some confusion also persists on whether EPRDF membership is 'universal' in the *kebele*, or not. Things are confused even for development team leaders: the one interviewed by the research team explained that when problems brought up from 1-to-5 networks cannot be solved at the team level they report them to the party basic structure of the *kebele*. The 1-to-5 network leader also explained his role as a purely political one as follows:

I do the work of public relation, I am a mediator and I create relation between government and people. I teach government policy, election and I take the requests of the people to government officials. During election, I work in mobilising the community by propaganda. No salary and other benefits. During election there could be disagreements with opposition party members. Because I do not accept what they say and they do not accept what I say. The work can be improved by training and by making smooth communication with all opposition party members.

The party membership fee is 12 birr annually and is collected at the same time as the land use tax and other regular contributions, like the 10 birr for *Gogota* (the Kembata Development Association) that all community respondents asked about taxes mentioned.

Party membership

All those in any position or with any responsibility in the *kebele* affairs are members of the ruling party (e.g. the chairman; the vice-chairman who is also propaganda officer; the youth representative who is Cabinet member; the chairman of the PSNP appeal committee; the chairman of the land administration; the grade 12 woman head of the WA and league, also Cabinet member).

Among the government employees the school and health staff and the *kebele* manager did not mention their political affiliation. Among the three DAs two are party members and assigned political mobilisation tasks that they resent but feel that they cannot refuse.

He was assigned to mobilise the community for election and to make them cast their vote for EPRDF by making visits from house to house. Otherwise, he would be in trouble. He is a member of the ruling party and pays membership fee every month.

One DA was not a member but he thought that he could be fired off because of this and this was one of the reasons why he was studying to try and find another job.

I have not yet been involved in mobilising the community during election unlike the other DAs because I am not a member of EPRDF or of any other political party. However, they frequently insist to make me a member of EPRDF. Currently, I am aggressively looking for another job in NGOs fearing that I may be fired out from my job any time because of my resistance to be a member of EPRDF.

Community people explicitly hinted that there is pressure to become a party member. One person explained that the government practice of directly and indirectly enforcing everyone to be a member of its party was one of two things they resented (the other being the ethnic regionalisation policy). Another mentioned that community members *'are not comfortable with the pretentious policy of government towards democracy and the measures it has been taking against opposition party members'*. The DAs and propaganda officer talked about house-to-house visits and the latter added that in his capacity, he *'checks whether there is any other propaganda underway in the kebele, which would be defaming the image of the ruling party. If this happens he counters this to divert the attention of the community from the propaganda of the opposition party'*. However, he added that:

He is not that much happy with the responsibilities of being a propaganda officer because too often the government is making too much promises during the election time and they are not implemented after the election. His aspiration is to handover this position to another member of the party in the kebele and to focus on his other responsibilities starting from the end of this year.

The champion model farmer explained that he is a party member and involved in a 1-to-5 network but his participation in the *kebele* and other political meetings is very limited *'because I mostly pass the time within my farm and refuse spending precious time in meetings'*.

People in positions of responsibility in customary and faith-based organisations (church leader, *equb* and *iddir* leader, clan leader) do not mention the party at all, except for the church leader. Generally, according to one key informant, party membership is one of the factors that distinguish formal and customary governance structures. You have to be an EPRDF member to be a leader in the formal structures, whereas clan leaders and elders do not have to be members. But the EPRDF party is trying to co-opt them.

People who said that they were not members include the elderly woman and the young woman heading the household in which both parents died and she is alone with five siblings, both getting PSNP direct support. In contrast, a younger widow (not beneficiary and not taking this as an issue) is member. So is an elderly man but visibly quite influential. People like the male and female PLWHA, the deaf and blind persons interviewed, did not mention party membership. A man who served the Derg regime as a military from 1977 to its fall and was given some land by his brothers when he returned to Aze Debo'a explained that he is not a member of EPRDF; so far, he did not face any problem although he is suspected to be a member of opposition party. Another non-member is a divorcé, who used to migrate seasonally for several months at once. He said that he is not a supporter of any party, but no one trusts that he is neutral, and members of the ruling party frequently *'insist him'* to join their party and to involve in 1 to 5 group.

Women are generally less likely to be closely informed of party issues. The middle wealth woman in her mid-30s explained that she is a member of the *kebele* women's association (although it has no benefit), but she does not have any knowledge about politics apart from *'hearing different things about politics during the election time'*.

For the young men and youngsters, party membership (and participation to development teams and/or 1-to-5 networks) seems to go together with having some land and paying land use tax. But they do not mention anything more than paying the membership fee.

Box 10: Young men: tax payment and contributions

The rich young man 30s - I pay 20 birr for land use tax, 5 birr for Red Cross, 5 birr for sport, 12 birr for party membership and 1 birr for *kebele* administration. I am a member of 1-5, cell, development team and *iddir* in the community.

The middle wealth young man 30s - I pay 20 birr for land use tax, 5 birr for Red Cross, 5 birr for sport and 12 birr for party membership, 1 birr to run the activities of the *kebele*. I am a member of 1-5 group, cell and youth association.

Poor young man 30s - I am a member of the youth association. I am a member of the health army. I pay 20 birr for land use tax, 5 birr for Red Cross, 5 birr for sport and 12 birr for party membership and 1 birr for *kebele*.

Rich young man mid-20s - I do not participate in the community because I do not have land and I do not pay any tax. I do not know anything about the *kebele* or sub-*kebele*. I have no participation in development team, 1-5 group or youth organisation.

Middle wealth young man mid-20s – I do not pay land use tax because I do not have land.

Poor young man mid-20s - I am not a member of any group of people in the community. I do not pay land use tax because I do not have land.

Poor young man in late teens - I am not a member of any association in my community. Formerly, I was a member of the youth association, but now I am not because it has no benefit.

Among the households, the more vulnerable and less likely to be influential are not members. The woman head of a poor household is not a member even though she pays land use tax and her daughter is a member of the YA. She does not participate to meetings. The woman head of the relatively more successful household is also not a member and not participating to meetings though she is paying taxes. The poor household head is not a member and therefore does not attend government or party meetings. However, the cadres insist on making him an EPRDF member.

The head of the middle wealth household is a party member. He explained that they meet occasionally (more than four times in a year) and discuss the government plan and members' role in implementing the policy of the government. There is no benefit in being a party member and no problem so far. However, he believes that to improve its works the government should hold continuous discussions and meetings with the wider community members at least once in a semester instead of consulting only its party members for every issue. His wife is not a member.

The *kebele* chairman is of course an active party member and his wife is too. In his views all meetings are useful. Party meetings and government meetings are different: party meetings include only party members; government meetings include party members and people who are not. His wife attends the meetings too.

The successful head of household (model farmer) is a member of the ruling party. He believes that *“there are too many political meetings in the kebele and wereda that adversely affect our working hours and productivity. There must be some kind of mechanism that reverses this in the coming years”*. He is the only member from his household. So far there is no benefit or problem in being a party member. He tries to attend the party meetings if he is available in the *kebele* but no one is making noises if he is not. He has attended many (like once in a month) and would be happy if there were fewer meetings (like once in four months or three times in a year). In his views most of the issues raised in the party meetings are not relevant in changing their livelihood.

Advantages of being a party member

In terms of general benefits in party membership or arising from the party's activity, views are generally agnostic with a few exceptions like the *kebele* chairman.

The relationship between party membership and PSNP is not straightforward. The chairman of the

kebele said that all the PSNP beneficiaries are EPRDF members, as all households in the *kebele* are members of the ruling party; he added nonetheless that no one is selected on the basis of political affiliation (or of links with the *kebele* officials). But one man, whose household never benefited from PSNP but who does not see this as an issue, mentioned that there were rare cases of selection linked to political affiliation and nepotism. One of the male interviewees, whose household was selected to graduate, is a party member; his status did not protect him from this unwelcome measure, against which he actually appealed.

People explained that together with large households and *kebele* administrators, party members were able to obtain relatively large plots of land compared to other households, when land was distributed at the fall of the Derg.

One key informant explained that the man interviewed as 1-to-5 network leader used to be an opposition member. He was convinced to change allegiance as he was promised some position in the *kebele* structure.

Party activities and other links

The local party chair explained:

I agitate and control the cell and basic party meetings. I also report to the wereda party officials. The cell discusses about development issues three times in a week; and once in a month on issues in the newspapers and magazines like "Abyotawi-democracy/revolutionary democracy". The basic party members' meeting is held once in a week.

The party is seen as the engine behind the promotion of the new ideas like the Growth and Transformation Plan. Alongside the *kebele* administration, party members and the party cell structure extending up to individual level (one for five persons) are an effective means whereby the government passes its policies and programmes. Almost all respondents linked being an EPRDF member or not, and 'being organised' in a 1-to-5 network or group.

As explained earlier, the combination of the new 'NGO law' and suspicions that KMG and other locally active NGOs might have secretly supported the opposition in 2005 allegedly led to an apparently temporary lull in the collaboration between them and the government – most notably in the anti-HTP activities.

Kebele officials noted that the regional head of EPRDF came to inaugurate the Millennium school in August 2010, together with the Ambassador of Japan in Ethiopia and other Embassy officials.

Committees

Natural Resources Committee

There is some confusion between land administration, land conservation and NRM committees.

The three-member land conservation administration was established and its leader was selected three years ago in 2009. The leader was involved in several trainings organised at *kebele* and *wereda* levels by the *wereda* Agriculture and Rural Development Office. The committee serves the community for free. At peak time in the tree planting campaign they spend a minimum of 5-8 hours, three days in a week for three months. The leader of the committee explained that it is a very difficult task but he could not refuse as he was selected by the community. He also has to show the example and so he has done some soil and water conservation activities on his own land. He mainly consults the DAs and the *kebele* administration if there are issues.

The NRM committee is led by the DA NRM since three years. He explained that they do not spend a lot of time in meetings and may have one within 15 days during the busy months in relation with NRM activities. The committee also works for free and in its current form was organised in September 2011. Members were elected by the community because they have high reputation and acceptance in the community and they have better awareness towards NRM compared to other

members of the community.

It is not clear whether these are two different committees or the same. The former might have been the land administration committee in charge of land measurement and registration, which was mentioned by some community respondents. They could turn their attention to environmental protection as the land registration is completed in the *kebele*.

Development Committee

There is a Development Committee with nine members, chaired by the *kebele* chairman. They discuss development issues and the *kebele's* annual work plan and what kinds of activities are implemented by NGOs and by the community, and assign responsible persons for each activity. For instance, the Committee organised training for farmers on environmental rehabilitation issues, farming practices and hygiene and sanitation for four days in the *kebele*. The Committee visited the farms of model farmers and encouraged them to dig their own hand dug wells in their homestead and use it for irrigation. It mobilised the community so that large areas of terraces were constructed and gullies were rehabilitated.

According to its leader, the *kebele* chairman, the committee is successful in its work so far, and has no problem. The Committee is busy especially at peak time for the PSNP public works, and at the beginning of the new year. Community respondents did not mention the development committee, except for the forest guard who explained that when he faced a problem he consulted first with the NRM and development committee first then the *kebele* administration if required.

Drinking water committee

There does not seem to be one *kebele* level drinking water committee. There are water committees managing at least for some of the water points. However, as noted earlier there also does not seem to be a standard 'local policy' with regard to fee payment for water.

The person interviewed in relation to drinking water management was the guard of the water point situated just outside the compound of the *kebele* administration. He said that there was a five-member committee managing the water point and collecting one birr/month from every household for maintenance and repair of spare parts. The committee ensures that everyone takes care of the water point and if not, gives warnings, and in case of problems they report the case to the *kebele* administration. There has been no problem so far and no action needed recently. He suggested that the work could be improved if the committee provided training on the maintenance of water points and other issues to community. As guard of the water point, he is paid. (He is also a 'controller' on one of the development teams, for which there is no payment).

Education committee

There was no mention of a *kebele* education committee. There is a PTA in the main school, the activities of which have been described in the education section above.

Health committee

There is a *kebele* health committee which is chaired by the *kebele* chairman. He explained that he often delegates to the religious leader who is one of the members. The health committee has five members including one of the HEWs and religious leaders. It closely works with health promoters, health army and the HEWs. It facilitates, coordinates and closely follows up the implementation of health activities in the *kebele* (e.g. instructing the health army to mobilise the community when there is vaccination campaign, mobilising the community for toilet construction). It also plays a great role in fighting HTPs. It is working 'for free'. It has been very active, and as explained earlier the *kebele* chairman is proud of the fact that the *kebele* is a model for health and sanitation issues.

Food aid committee

There was no mention of a food aid committee. There is a food security task force but as explained

earlier, its membership overlaps with the *kebele* Cabinet, so that issues that the task force should address (mainly PSNP issues) are in fact addressed at the *kebele* Cabinet meetings. Issues of appeals are also addressed by the same group.

Development groups and one-to-five groups

As noted earlier, the **development teams** have replaced the earlier sub-*kebele* structures. There are 27 of them in Aze Debo'a, all directly under the *kebele* chairman. The development team leader interviewed described the role of the teams in terms of mobilising members to improve their lives, through various kinds of training and the example of the leaders. In addition, the leaders must work hard in getting the 1 to 5 networks organised and they '*teach their followers*'.

Development teams include people who are party members and others who are not. He explained that there is no great difference between members, except during election time. As noted earlier (section on *kebele* party), in principle the development teams are not party structures but *kebele* structures. However according to the development team leader, these structures are all interlinked:

If there is any problem in one to five group the group transfers it to development leaders. If the problem is not solved by the development team it goes to the cell and then to the kebele basic party structure; if it is not yet solved it is transferred to the wereda basic party office.

He added that opposition party members do not have the right to propagate.

Under the development teams there are 1-5 cells or networks reporting to them, with five households in each. The leaders of these small structures are said to be quite busy as they 'patrol' the households that are under them. The *wereda* Women Affairs Office representative explained that women are represented at all levels of government structures, starting from **the 1-5 network** level. It is not clear whether this means that in Aze Debo'a the 1-5 networks are gender mixed, or separate for men and women.

From the community respondents' interviews there is very little information on the 1-5 networks except who is and is not a member. One man (who is a member) said that they see each other daily but formal meetings are once in a week. No one mentioned what the 1-5 networks were doing. Government employees also did not mention the 1-5 networks in relation to their work.

As said earlier usually community respondents seemed to closely associate 1-5 network membership and EPRDF membership. I.e. the respondents who indicated that they were not EPRDF members were also "*not organised in a 1-5 network*". The remarks made earlier in relation to EPRDF membership therefore also hold here in relation to who is in one network, who is not, and who did not mention it. The World Vision animator did not mention the party but indicated that he is not a member of a 1 to 5 network.

One man who used to be an opposition party member and is an influential character is now the leader of a 1 to 5 network. He quitted the opposition in 2000 EC and in the campaign for the last election he was '*ordered to teach people and convert them from supporting the opposition*'. Now in his position of 1 to 5 network leader he explained that he is a '*mediator between the government and the people*'. He '*teaches government policy, teaches people about the election and whom to vote for, and take the requests from the people to the government*'.

Governance interventions

The *wereda* council

There is no woman from the *kebele* who is a *wereda* Councilor. Two of the men interviewed were on the *wereda* Council. One is the head of the successful household who is also an elder, a model farmer, and an educated man for his generation. He did not expand on the *wereda* Council's role. The other man is a teacher at the primary school. He was elected in 2010. As noted earlier, he described his role as linking the *wereda* and the *kebele* Councils through informing the *kebele*

Council on *wereda* policies and debates and reporting on the *kebele* activities to the *wereda* level (in writing and on phone), and strengthening the *kebele* Council and administration by bringing them information and advising. He did not say anything specific on the workings of the *wereda* Council.

He is a third year student in a summer programme and hopes to obtain his degree next year. He would like to transfer to a public school in Durame and involve in small business like opening a shop.

Accountability

Kebele officials explained that in the area the tradition of evaluation (criticism and self-criticism) became common at all levels including in the *kebele* structures. It is locally called “*gimgema*” by its Amharic name. As mentioned earlier in relation to the *kebele* Council, it is through *gimgema* sessions occurring at least annually that the Council holds the administration to account. The officials explained that this is how several times in the past officials have been reshuffled or removed from their position. However, they added that some officials left their position out of their own will whereas there are individuals who ‘*want to stay many years in power*’.

Some of the informants argued that this exercise is not genuine and officials who are accused lobby to defend themselves during *gimgema*. However in general, *gimgema* creates an opportunity for community members to expose the weaknesses of the officials and ‘*make them accountable for their achievements while being in power*’. Appeals against *kebele* officials’ decisions are possible - as illustrated by the example of the PSNP graduation. However, citizen's report cards, suggestion boxes and posting the budget on the *kebele* board are not practised in Aze Debo'a – even though there is a suggestion box outside of the administration office as shown in the picture below.

The *kebele* chairman mentioned that there was ‘governmental accountability’ (to the *wereda* level?) through processes like *gimgema* and reporting on all governmental works – as well as in relation to the land tax collection system and so on.

Some of the committees mentioned earlier (NRM, development and health committee) have monitoring roles. In relation to the NRM committee the DA who chairs it reckoned that it had been rather weak and there was a lack of close follow-up and delays in conducting evaluations.

Community respondents did not have much to say on accountability. The head of the middle wealth household thought that the context was good for the community to appeal and present its grievance to the government officials. He added that there are also changes in ‘*making government officials to be accountable for what they did, which is a good move by itself*’. But the more critical head of the successful household (elder, model farmer and *wereda* Councilor) said that that he has ‘*not seen when government officials are worried about their accountability*’.

Planning and consultation

Kebele officials explained that once a year community members are invited for a one day meeting to discuss the annual plan of the *kebele*. People from the *wereda* consult them mostly during election time and to mobilise them for tax payment.

Community respondents described the planning process as follows:

First, the kebele cabinet and kebele administration discuss about the activities to be implemented in the kebele in detail, based on the issues directly forwarded from the wereda administration office. Then all groups of people, including women and youth, participate in one day orientation and discussion about the annual plan of activities in the kebele. Most of the planned activities are implemented by free community labour, PSNP and other possible resources from NGOs.

The new trend in this regard is that NGOs are expected to submit in advance to the wereda Administration their annual plans for the next year, including the budget. Thereafter, NGOs and staffs of sectoral offices hold a meeting and prepare the breakdown of the budget and activities, including where and when these activities would be implemented. Then, the wereda introduces what is going to be implemented in each kebele by the NGOs and by the participation of the community.

There was no mention of a role for the *kebele* Council in relation to planning. Within the year the more operational planning of activities is led by the concerned committees (e.g. health for health issues, NRM for the NRM activities). The development committee is the one to discuss what kinds of activities are implemented by NGOs and by the community respectively and assign responsible persons for each activity.

Several bodies are involved in planning the PSNP public works through which most of the NRM activities are carried out in the *kebele*. This includes the development committee, the DAs, the PSNP committee and the *kebele* administration. At the beginning of the annual PW period these people identify where activities will be carried out by going in person on the potential sites. It takes them about a week to do this. The work is followed including through the regular Cabinet meetings.

It is not entirely clear how the processes just described fit with the sectoral planning process that the *kebele* manager talked about (see section on *kebele* manager).

Community respondents had very little to say about planning and consultation apart from the general description above. The head of the middle wealth household (who is quite satisfied with the present situation with regard to accountability) believed that *'to improve its works the government should hold continuous discussions and meetings with the wider community members at least once in a semester instead of consulting only its party members for every issue'*. Indeed *kebele* officials explained that among ideas coming from NGOs, the idea of 'planning with the community' (participatory planning?) is very well accepted.

From several respondents including the young people themselves there is a sense that the planning and consultation process just described is not really relevant to their needs and aspirations – even for those who are members of the youth association.

Security and policing

The community's security is assured by three bodies: the militia, the *kebele* security committee and two policemen assigned by the *wereda* as in all *kebele*. The *kebele* vice-chairman is the person in charge of security on the Cabinet.

According to its leader (a 35-year old grade 12 man in the post since 2005) the main duties of **the militia** are the protection of peace and security in the community. They also play a significant role in mobilising the community to pay land use and other taxes as well as to pay their debts for loans that they have taken to buy agricultural inputs and for other purposes. This is confirmed by the *kebele* chairman. They assist the two policemen of the *kebele* when the need arises. They also guard the *kebele* office, by turn. There are about 56 militia but only 8 are directly involved in day to day duties. Most of the time each of them work half a day for two days in a week.

The *wereda* police are responsible to select, coordinate and train the militia. The main problem faced by the militia has been lack of time to perform the activities of their own household and shortage of uniforms, shoes and weapons. They have no compensation; and there are many days in which *'they are not even invited for a cup of tea or coffee let alone the per diem'*. The *kebele* chairman explained that he and the Cabinet are the ones to address issues of performance and any bias in the activities of the militia.

The **security committee** comprises 52 members (42 men and 10 women) including two leaders. One of the leaders (a 35-year old grade 6 man who is also a guard for the *kebele*) explained that he was selected for the position in 1999 EC and had 15 days of training. The role of the security committee is to intervene and bring peace wherever there is conflict or quarrel in the community. They can be instructed to go somewhere and address a quarrel by the *kebele* administration. He gives as an example the collection of repayments for fertiliser: when instructed by the *kebele* they bring the person who must pay to the *kebele* office. He said that there has been no recent action, but stressed that the committee members would work better if there was some payment for their work.

There are also **two wereda policemen** assigned to the *kebele* to support the local militia. They have an office in the *kebele* compound, which is one of the buildings constructed recently. *Kebele* officials explained that they patrol the *kebele* at night and watch the school environment at the beginning of class hours and when students leave the school once classes are over. They are of the view that the presence of the policemen in the *kebele* contribute to maintain peace and order and to easily control robbery of crops. Some women confirmed this and added that the police is effective in the protection of girls from any attack.

Community respondents were in agreement to say that the *kebele* is a safe place to live. They explained that there are no violent fights between men, no serious or violent crime, no attack against girls and women, and no robberies or homicides. The woman head of a poor household said that in drought years there can be crop thefts but it is not very serious. Most of them knew little about either the militia or the police – except for their presence in the community. The head of the middle wealth household explained that the militia serve the community during election time but he does not know their role outside of this. Some of those interviewed knew about the role of the *wereda* police (keeping the peace of the community, following up the criminals and bringing them to the court), others not.

It was also explained that while some years ago, all conflict and crime cases including homicide were handled through customary processes (elders and blood price payment described later), nowadays cases like homicide, arson and abduction have to be reported immediately to the *kebele* administration and the *wereda* police.

The *wereda* police was mentioned among the *wereda* law-enforcing bodies that had a significant role in deterring people from practices like abduction and FGM. Thanks to the lobbying of NGOs like KMG in collaboration with the *wereda* Women Affairs' office, offenders were taken to court with the help of the police and sentenced according to the criminal code of the country instead of cases being handled by elders as in the past. Deterrent measures of up to 10 or 15 years of imprisonment are said to have been taken – which was a big lesson and is said to have largely contributed to families and youth abandoning such practices.

Justice

Justice in Aze Debo'a involves the social court and the *wereda* court, as well as strong customary institutions. There is no formal peace committee. Key informants explained that in the community '*nobody wants to go to the formal court system*'. There is a *kebele* social court but it is 'nominal' and few cases are referred to the *wereda* court. There is no formal elder committee in the *kebele* but elders play a very important role in conflict resolution (and many other respects).

In relation to women's issues and defense of their rights, since two years there is a high school graduate girl assigned to the *kebele* by the *wereda* Woman and Children Affairs office. She is working in collaboration with the chairperson of the *kebele* women association, the *kebele* chairperson and members of the *kebele* administration. She is responsible to report on all issues regarding women to the *wereda* Women and Children Affairs Office. *Kebele* officials explain that the extent of gender-based violence substantially decreased after women became aware of their rights.

An official from KMG explained that in particular, the government recent emphasis against FGM was helping significantly in reducing it further. Before the new criminal code FGM was not even a crime, and it was perceived by the community as very rude to talk publicly about these issues. The criminalisation of FGM means that NGOs now have means of seeking enforcement. The police and justice have generally been extremely cooperative. The dissuasion effect is useful. And the fact that FGM are being publicly talked about by government officials and employees helps too.

In relation to women's rights, several respondents both male and female stated that there was no bias against women – be it by the social court, the *wereda* court or the elders.

Social court

The **social court** exists, formally. It sits every Friday afternoon from 2.00 to 4.00 pm. The members are two men; there are no women. According to the court leader, the court investigates cases of insults or refusals to pay debt between quarrelling people. The court works based on evidence brought by witnesses; once it has heard the witnesses the court asks the accused to prepare his defence. The court never decides on its own, and elders may also come and take the case to handle it. The social court leader explained that while it would be necessary to have some relation with the *wereda* court this is not the case (*'they do not make any linkage with us'*). The court leader is a grade 9 leaver. He has been appointed in 2008 in his absence; he was reluctant to accept at first but was finally convinced. He explained that there is no payment, and no problem with the court.

Community respondents either did not know the role of the social court, or explained that its role was quite minor. The head of the poor household said that some land-related cases are reported to the court but most of the conflicts are primarily reported to and managed by elders. This is also what the successful farmer said. *'The role of the social court is very minimal compared to the role of elders in the kebele'*.

Respondents did not mention any link between the social court and the **wereda court** except one woman who said that the *wereda* court had more authority: conflicts that cannot get resolution at the social court are transferred to the *wereda* court. Generally community people knew little about the *wereda* court, else than the fact that it is supposed to punish the criminals according to the rules and regulations of the country, and was working like the social court, based on evidence by witnesses and documents prepared by the accused and plaintiff. The wife in the middle wealth household explained that she could not say anything about the *wereda* court because she has never been accused and gone there. She added that in the community many people prefer their cases to be handled and resolved by elders *'according to our "Serra" traditional administrative system'*.

Among the interviewees only the head of the successful household knew about the court by experience. As described earlier he is a highly respected and influential person in the *kebele*, one of the elders in the community, and a person consulted for legal advice. He also is an elder in Church and sits on the *wereda* council. He has been in the *wereda* court many times in the past one year, in relation to the court case between Orthodox and Protestant Christians over land. In his view the *wereda* court is not effective in making decisions and in investigating the case. The main problem is that no decision has been made even after a year.

All those who mentioned the topic said that there was no bias against women by any of the justice body, including the elders.

Elders and dispute resolution

The *wereda* Women Affairs officials had a slightly ambiguous position vis-à-vis elders – as representatives of the 'tradition' which by some of its practices has been harmful for Kembata women for centuries. On one hand they explained that criminalising certain practices like abduction and enforcing the law against offenders by the formal law-enforcing bodies, whereas formerly these cases were handled by elders and resolved without any serious punishment, had been critical in the almost complete elimination of these practices. On the other hand, they explained rather appreciatively that most household violence and conflicts are not reported to law enforcing bodies but handled locally by elders, neighbours and church leaders.

Actually, one case in Aze Debo'a shows that elders do not always make 'conservative' or 'traditional' decisions. In this case, they pronounced that there should be divorce even if divorce is extremely rare and usually strongly frowned upon in Kembata society. The man concerned explained his case as follows:

I used to migrate for temporary work to Metahara Sugar Plantation for 15 years. Four years ago after staying nine months away, I returned home and was told by a cousin that my wife has a

relationship with a person living in another village. I convinced my wife to undertake some test at the Durame hospital with me. She was found to be pregnant of three months. I told the case to elders in the community, and they immediately made an appointment for the next day. They held two subsequent meetings with the two spouses and reached a consensus that we should be divorced after they identified that she was pregnant. I equally divided all my household property by my own decision and gave her the only heifer in our house as a gift even before the elders say something. But she couldn't stay a single day in my house.

Community respondents explained that some years ago, all conflict and crime cases including homicide were handled by **elders** and were resolved by paying *Gumma* (blood money). In principle, nowadays cases like homicide, arson and abduction have to be reported immediately to the *kebele* administration and the *wereda* police. However even today, elders can handle cases that the *wereda* police fail to handle. Perhaps only the very rare homicide cases are taken to the *wereda*. Even the *kebele* chairman emphasised that

Not only simple crimes, but also serious cases like homicide cases which are complex to investigate by law enforcement bodies are handled by elders. In addition, they have respect in the community, more than the government officials. Because elders can bless or curse, people, youth, women, children, and the whole generation.

Other community members agreed: elders succeed where government bodies may fail because they are respected, they 'know many things because of their age', and they use curses that everyone is afraid of. They can ostracise a criminal from the community. Elders are also appreciated because they have many stories to tell and share their experience with the community.

In the Kembata administrative structure there is also a sort of appeal bodies called '**serra**' – which is an alternative to the elders with respect to dispute resolution. The '**serra**' have their own by-laws. One woman mentioned that the community preferred the '**serra**' to the formal justice system. The **clan leaders** are also very important in handling issues such as violence, land border conflict, family disputes and violence together with the elders. There is some overlap as most clan leaders are elders but not all elders are clan leaders. Together, clan leaders and elders deal with all social issues in the community – except homicides which if they are known, attract immediately the police intervention.

The head of the successful household, who is an elder, explained that some of the elders support the government because it starts to recognise the role of elders and encourages them to participate in all affairs in the *kebele*. As for him, his other statements show that he maintains some distance with the government and the party as explained earlier.

He and other community members also explain that there is little benefit in being an elder. When elders punish someone with a fine, some of the money is being used for their meetings (drinks?). They can also request assistance (for farming activities) from anyone and no one would dare refusing except if the person had a prior arranged other programme. But there is no other advantage.

Peace committee

There is no peace committee in the *kebele*.

NGOs

A number of NGOs of different types are active in the *wereda* as a whole and in the *kebele*, in a number of different fields. World Vision Ethiopia is an International NGO and has been focusing on food security through an integrated approach described below; Farm Africa and Samaritan Purse, also INGOs, are no longer active but have been for long years. According to *kebele* officials Farm Africa phased out about one year ago; whereas Samaritan Purse which was a major provider of humanitarian support and nutrition support during the 2008 drought left the country suddenly when the new NGO law was proclaimed. These three INGOs were/are active in Aze Debo'a. *Wereda* officials mentioned that World Vision also initiated the Wisdom microfinance institution – which as

explained elsewhere (see section credit) has a plan to start work in Aze Debo'a in the near future.

World Vision Ethiopia has a branch office in Durame and (at least) one local facilitator in Aze Debo'a. He is from the community and was recruited in 2001 EC through open advertisement. He has a diploma in management. He describes the activities of World Vision as follows

World Vision works to achieve food security through its integrated activities such as education, health, agriculture, IGAs, water and sanitation as well as child sponsorship program. Its target groups are disabled people, orphan and vulnerable children as well as the poorest households or parents of children. World Vision intervened on OVC after it identified that they are the most vulnerable groups in society with the highest risk of being excluded from services. It selected the kebele with the highest number of poor households and OVC population in the wereda.

Support for OVC is channelled through a community-based approach in which the target children are supported while they are living with their parents, relatives or guardians, with close supervision and follow up by the project staff and the community.

So far in Aze Debo'a there are 80 beneficiary households (disabled people, OVC and very poor households). They get improved seeds, commercial fertiliser and improved varieties of vegetables as well as small ruminants and dairy cattle. WV also cover their medical expenses and facilitate their access to health treatment in Durame and even in Addis Ababa depending on the type of illness. In terms of education, WV provide school uniforms and education materials to school children from these households on an annual basis.

WV always plan and work in collaboration with the community and the kebele administration. As a result, there is no problem in performing the activities in the kebele. If we face a problem we first consult the kebele administration, then our project office in Durame for advice and other support.

One very important NGO is the locally founded KMG. KMG activities as summarised by the KMG staff are summarised in the box below.

Box 11: KMG activities in the Kembata zone

KMG is a women self-help organisation founded by Bogaletch and Fikirte Gebre, sisters born in a rural Kembata family. It is well-known internationally especially for its hard work against female genital mutilation (FGM). Its zonal centre in Durame is a nicely maintained large compound with offices, a community conversation hall, a local museum, a guest house, a large traditional Kembata hut and a beautiful garden overlooking the surroundings including Mount Hambaricho.

They are active in all seven *weredas* of the zone and have started activities against FGM in some other zones including Gurage and Wolayita, and even in Oromia, but not yet in Hadiya. They have different branches of activity, including environmental rehabilitation (seedling production and distribution, support to community level NRM activities), women economic empowerment (support to IGA start-up, credit & saving associations and women associations – including stationeries etc., scholarships for secondary and university girl students), and the fight against HTPs affecting women and in particular, FGM.

They are active at *kebele* level through two facilitators in each, supervised by the *wereda* branch offices in each *wereda*. These facilitators focus on savings & credit and also FGM and in particular the uncut girls' club that exists in all *kebele*. They are not paid, they just get training e.g. on Community Conversation (CC) and on how to organise the club activities etc. They also have a "CC step-by-step" manual.

In addition there are numerous activities similar to those of the NGOs that are carried out by the churches, and some of them are considered as NGOs by *wereda* and *kebele* officials. This is the case in particular for the Ethiopian Kalehiwot Church and the Evangelical Church of Mekaneyesus. They provide various forms of assistance to vulnerable groups (IGA for PLWHA, support to orphans etc.) and are also involved in the construction of drinking water points. UNICEF is also active in the *wereda*, among others in the health and drinking water supply areas. (It is likely that they are the

ones to finance the *wereda* education office support to orphans and other vulnerable children in the form of school supplies, which are distributed through the schools themselves).

KMG and the church-related organisations are present in Aze Debo'a as well.

As said earlier one new element is that NGOs are said to be formally requested to coordinate with the government structures and present their plan and budget to the *wereda* authorities. Various community respondents mentioned that they are beneficiary of one or another type of NGO support. From the interviews the best known or most appreciated forms of support seem to be: food aid in time of drought as in 2008, support to students (who find it 'very important for their life'), support to the PLWHA and other vulnerable groups, and their work on 'changing perceptions on women' and against HTPs affecting women.

In relation to gender work, some educated women from the community explained that they are unhappy with the government policy of restricting NGOs like KMG from working on gender and human rights issues because it used to play a big role in raising awareness of both the community at large and women themselves in relation to women's rights. They believe that KMG is not intervening as strongly, and the women association is not as active as it was during the Derg regime and when KMG was working on human rights - before the new NGO legislation. Some other respondents agree that there have been a couple of years during which there were problems (government suspicion leading it to stop supporting these NGOs in taking legal measures against people practicing HTPs) but in their view this is now overcome and they work together again.

Kebele officials explained that ideas from NGOs are also highly accepted by the community – such as 'planning together with the community' which is a new trend.

One man who came back successful from migration explained that he was renting the house he had bought in Durame a good price, to an NGO staff.

Community structures involved in implementation of government policies

Elders involvement in implementation of government policies

The main role of elders in relation to government policies is their importance in conflict resolution. Not as a formal group but as individuals they are also 'co-opted' in various ways – to show examples e.g. in relation to build SWC structures on one's private land and other such things.

Iddir involvement in implementation of government policies

Iddir have some involvement in the implementation of government policies but it does not seem to be a very strong one. One respondent explained that most of the community initiated organisations serve their purpose in the same way as in the past. However, *iddir* play some additional roles in supporting people living with HIV/AIDS and being an audience for community conversation on FGM and other HTPs. *Iddir* are themselves a relatively recent institution as the *Kembata* used to have their own form of social protection institution called '*herra*' – this is further described in the social reproduction section.

Church involvement in implementation of government policies

Churches are very important social actors in Aze Debo'a and the area at large. As explained in more detail in the social reproduction section, there are 11 protestant denominations present in the *kebele* and which represent almost 99% of the population whereas Catholic and Orthodox Christians are very few and there is one Muslim household. It seems that the Protestant churches have very similar positions in relation to involvement in the implementation of government policies.

In some cases they channel the government messages, like in the case of awareness about HIV AIDS: the wife in the middle wealth household explained that they are taught about it on Sundays after the church service. In other cases churches reinforce a government message - which would have been a church message even if government was not paying attention, like in the case of combating

discrimination against groups like craft workers and ex-slaves. Or they carry out service delivery activities that strengthen the implementation of a government policy but they would have done this even if it had not been a government priority because it is a priority for their congregation – like in the cases of construction of drinking water points, and of attempting to organise income-generating activities for women, youth and PLWHA. Finally, in getting their members to organise to provide support to the most vulnerable individuals in the community either financially or, more often, in the form of labour, they seem to have preceded the government.

Key informants discussing about FGM also implied that the role of the churches (and of local leaders) in backing the strong campaign against it has been very important – by contrasting the success of the campaign of the last two decades in which the churches were involved, with the lesser success of the much earlier attempts of the Sudan Interior Mission. As explained earlier the SIM were ousted by the Derg, which put an end to their efforts. But among others one weakness in their approach was that they did not try and get the support of local leaders and members of other Christian denominations – and of government officials and functionaries. As a result, the uncircumcised girls and women were exposed to insult, mockery and discrimination by the community.

Community contributions for the implementation of government policies

In early 2012 there were 725 households paying land use tax and other contributions in the *kebele*. *Kebele* officials and community members explained that there are no new taxes or contributions recently decided by the government.

Tax

Kebele officials and community members explained that the main tax is the land use tax, and it is paid depending on income. There are three categories of households (rich, middle and poor) and they pay 50, 30, and 20 birr respectively. The tax collector said that the rate depends on the area of land that an individual holds and which is registered at the *kebele*. He gave the same categorisation in three groups but four rates: 20, 30, 40 and 50 birr. He added that the rates are decided by the *wereda* administration whereas it is the *kebele* which decides in which category each household is. The land of each household was measured by people selected from the *kebele* and some issues arose that are still not solved as some households complain that the measurement was not fair and land was wrongly recorded deliberately. In addition to the land use tax there are other contributions uniformly paid by all households (see next section).

The tax collector explained that they have shortened the period to collect taxes. It used to be from early November (harvesting season) to end of April; since one year tax collection must be completed by end of January. The process is well organised. There is a schedule village by village, which is announced to people in advance. Tax collectors go to the homestead of the development team leader and people from that village come and pay their taxes there. The people involved in tax collection (and loan repayment) include the DAs (to mobilise people), the *kebele* chairman and vice-chairman (to move with the tax collectors), the *kebele* manager and secretary (to write the receipts) and the militia (to enforce people to pay).

Members of the *kebele* administration explained that the land use tax and other contributions are paid by most households promptly and without complaint. But the tax collector highlights that the main problem is that some people refuse to pay the tax on time. First they try to convince them. Those who could not pay when the tax collector came to them should go to the *kebele* office and settle their tax payment. For those who refused to come and pay at the village and *kebele* level, the *kebele* administration enforce them by sending the militia to their houses.

Households get a receipt. Taxes are handed over to the *wereda* each time they have been collected for 50 households. The tax collectors get 30 birr for each 1,000 birr that they collect – which the tax collector said, is not even enough to cover the cost of their transport to and breakfast at the *wereda*.

Community respondents' interviews confirm that people who do not have land do not pay land use tax, and they do not either pay any other fixed contribution.

Other contributions in cash and kind

The other contributions in cash include: 5 birr for Red Cross, another 5 birr for Sport, 10 birr for *Gogota* (Kembata Development Association), 1 birr for *kebele* office, and 12 birr for party membership. The tax collector explained that these have been paid since many years though the amounts may change from one year to another. They collect the land use tax and all contributions at the same time. Indeed, many households mention only a total amount for the whole.

It seems that only households paying land tax also pay these other contributions. Those household mentioned all the land use tax, Red Cross and sports. Most (but not all) also mentioned the Kembata Development Association contribution. Most (but not all) mentioned the party membership fee as part of the same array of items to pay. A few (mostly young men) mentioned the payment of 1 birr for the *kebele* administration. A few household heads also mentioned 7 birr for the land-related case that their church is involved in.

The amount of fixed contribution is in fact higher than the lowest rate of land use tax. So for instance, the poor household pays 20 birr as land use tax but 22 birr for all other contributions. The lowest amounts mentioned are 40-42 birr in total (land use tax and others); the head of the successful household pays the highest amount of 90 birr. The woman potter with only 0.1 ha land pays 58 birr in total including 30 birr of land tax use - i.e. not the lowest rate although her land is very small, which suggests indeed that the rate depends on income and not land size.

A few people mentioned contributions to *iddir* or *equb* that are considerably higher than these charges. For instance one poor man in his mid-20s said that he does not pay any tax or any contribution of cash, kind or work, but he participates in an *equb* with 22 members and contributes 103 birr per week.

Voluntary public works

There are two types of voluntary public works. Firstly, the community complements the tax and charges outlined above by contributing to its own development through voluntary public works. These focus on environmental rehabilitation and basically are the same tasks as those carried out under the PSNP PWs and food-/cash-for-work in years where some additional food aid is provided. There is no detail on how much such work is expected or effectively taking place in a year, and who is due to contribute in this way.

Secondly, most of the protestant churches have a tradition of providing free labour service to elders, patients, orphans and female-headed households of their church members every Wednesday throughout the year. Some of the community members perceive Wednesday as a day offered to assist such people, and rarely perform their personal duties on these days.

Finally, people may also be asked to assist officials and elders in their farming activities, as a sort of compensation for the official duties that they perform for the community.

Social re/production

Social institutions and organisations

Religions

As *wereda* officials explain, among all zones in SNNPR and throughout the country Kembata is known to have the highest number of Protestant Community members. This is the result of several combined trends. First, with the establishment of strong missions and the first conversions Kembata opposed to the Emperor's policy of expansion of Orthodox Christianity. They paid the price for this as recalled by a woman from Aze Debo'a who explained that:

Thanks to God, there is no conflict over religion at this time. We never forget the past experience. Our parents were persecuted and paid a lot of sacrifices and even died in the Asella prison in Oromia, being sentenced to life imprisonment because of being the followers of Protestant Christianity.

Second, in the more recent past and following the Derg fall, Protestant denominations multiplied and there was a steady trend of conversion from traditional religions to Protestantism.

As a result, nowadays in Aze Debo'a almost all households are Protestant followers (95%). There are six or seven Orthodox Christian households, five Catholic households and one Muslim widow with three children (the neighbouring *wereda* Halaba has a strong Muslim community). Kalehiwot is the largest denomination. In the recent past they added new churches and churches of other Protestant denominations like Muluwongel (Full Gospel Church), Seventh Day Adventist, and Church of Christ were implanted in the *kebele*. In total there are 11 churches in the *kebele*.

Key community informants explained that Protestant leaders (mainly Kalehiwot and) and their missionaries are influential and highly regarded by the community for several reasons.

First, the community is aware of their role in converting them from traditional religions to Protestant Christianity. Secondly, they are the first to have opened schools and built health institutions on Kembata soil, since the 1920s; in this way they highly contributed to the success of many individuals from the area.

In the views of *wereda*, *kebele* and community respondents the influence of the Protestant doctrine on people's lives explains various features of the society. For instance, polygyny is very rare; widow inheritance has virtually disappeared; divorce is very strongly frowned upon and seen as 'refusing God'. Local traditional drinks like *selo* and *gesho* which used to be sold on all markets and along the roads have been replaced with a barley-based non-alcoholic drink called *shaimeta* – and the *gesho* plant (*Rhannus Prinoides*) has almost disappeared from people's farms in the area.

Traditional ceremonies and other institutions have also undergone change under the influence of Protestantism, as shown in the case of the Masaala (Meskel) celebration.

Box 12: Meskel in Aze Debo'a

The biggest cultural event in the community is *Masaala* (Meskel in Amharic) - a festival celebrated for centuries by the Kembata, and an annual holy day commemorating the discovery of the true cross of Jesus Christ by all Christian denominations.

The celebration includes the burning of a large bonfire, locally called *Marisho/Demera*. This is based on the legend that Queen Eleni had a revelation in her dream. She was told that she should make a bonfire and the smoke would show her where the true cross was buried. So she ordered the people of Jerusalem to build a huge bonfire. They added frankincense, the bonfire was lit, and the smoke rose high up to the sky and returned to the ground, exactly to the spot where the cross had been buried. Since then, in the local Kembata tradition a *Marisho/Demera* procession takes place in the early evening the day before Meskel. The firewood is decorated with daisies.

However, many features of cultural events including *Masaala* have changed, mainly under influence of the Protestant religion. In Kembata there used to be '*ghifaata*' cultural chant/dance taking place one week after *Masaala* and when the *Marisho/Demera* procession was taking place. But this has become very rare, and most of the cultural songs of Kembata have totally disappeared. In 'lieu et place', huge spiritual conferences and prayer days take place in Kembata. One important prayer date is 6th January when a celebration takes place at the top of Hambaricho Mountain. More than hundred thousand people coming from Kembata, other places in the country and even from abroad, gather for prayers and songs.

The various Protestant churches differ in some respects but have a similar outlook on many issues, and they 'work together'. For instance, churches differ in how strict they are with regard to alcohol: the Kalehiwot church is very strict while is a little less - they will advise you and try to convince you

but not expel you if you drink. In common, they strongly support the message against marginalisation etc. and they support these people. Most protestant churches have a tradition of providing free labour service to vulnerable or weak members.

There are also strong ties among members of the same Christian Denomination in different *kebele*. For instance, Protestant followers in Aze Debo'a raise money and assist Protestant followers in other areas. They also organise spiritual conferences together.

Respondents generally explained that there is no conflict related to religion in the *kebele* or the area. One of the leaders of the 30-follower Catholic Church in the *kebele* insisted on this and added that he has a good relationship with the *kebele* officials.

However, there is one quite bitter land-related conflict between one of the Protestant Churches and the Orthodox Church, which illustrates both the persistence of the memories of the past that the woman cited above recalled, and the solidarity between Protestant Churches that people from Aze Debo'a highlighted (as explained elsewhere, *every Protestant follower from all churches contribute 7 birr to help pushing the case through the justice system*). This conflict has been described in the land related section.

Moreover, *kebele* and community respondents explained that nowadays Protestant Christians intermarry with members of their faith only. Their leaders forbid marriage with Orthodox Christians because they are permitted to consume alcohol, and with followers of traditional religions as they worship "evil" spirits - Whereas evangelists and church leaders encourage the young generation to intermarry with anybody irrespective of his/ her clan background or ethnic origin. As a result, the youth are said to pay more attention to economic achievement than in the past. Protestant followers of different churches can intermarry (except with the Jehovah Witnesses) and there are also a few cases of marriages between followers of Protestant and Catholic churches.

The interviews of community respondents of all groups (vulnerable and not, rich, poor and middle wealth households, elderly people and young generation) reflect the importance of religion in people's life. Church leaders are called upon, alongside clan leaders and elders, to handle social issues in the community. Moreover, many respondents indicated that their church and church members are their main support in life – spiritually and otherwise. Those living in South Africa are sending money not only to their families, but also to their mother churches as offerings. As a result, some churches constructed huge buildings for their congregation.

The churches' influence in relation to traditionally marginalised groups is illustrated by the case of this woman potter (see section on vulnerability and social exclusion).

As noted in various sections above (see e.g. section 3.5), churches are actively providing various types of support to their members. The case of the two blind men, now university graduates, is a case in point. Community respondents mentioned that they assist orphans and vulnerable children (who lost their parents due to HIV/AIDS and other reasons), counsel People Living with HIV/AIDS and provide food assistance for them, and have a regular programme to assist old people, women/child-headed households, disabled people, and orphans and vulnerable people on every Wednesday '*by farming their plot of land, decorticating their enset, building their houses and performing other duties*'. Besides that, members of these churches assist migrants and destitute people.

Holidays

There are three major holidays in the community: Christmas, Easter and Masaala - celebrated for one, two and seven days respectively. People also do not work on Sundays. This small number of holy days is due to the fact that most people in the *kebele* are Protestant Christians. Orthodox Christians have additional holidays (Saint Mary's Day, Saint Michael's Day, Saint Gabriel's Day and others). However, the Amhara descendent interviewed, who has remained Orthodox Christian, does not celebrate these other holy days. Hence, as explained by the head of the successful household for

instance, there are no religious rules forbidding work on certain days like in other communities - except for Sunday. *'For us all days are working days. We support the position of the government in this regard'*.

Key informants explained that of the holy days *Masaala* (Meskel) is the biggest. Easter and Christmas are moderately celebrated. Rich and middle wealth households celebrate these by slaughtering a sheep or a goat and the poor slaughter a chicken. Whereas for *Masaala* a fattened ox is slaughtered and its meat is shared among four to six rich and middle wealth households, or eight to ten poorer households. Poor households may actually not eat meat any other time of the year – as said the head of the poor household interviewed. Local drinks are prepared and households invite each other. During the *Masaala* week markets do not function properly as most people do not go to markets or anywhere for one and two weeks. No one goes to school.

Some informants argued that the *Masaala* ceremony exposes many households to unnecessary expenses that cannot be paid back easily. However, households having family members in South Africa can manage because they get remittances sent for the celebration of *Masaala*. Indeed the Christian Orthodox man (middle wealth) explained that he mostly uses his income for his children's education, to pay taxes, and to celebrate the holidays. It is the time of the year when people need their children's remittances to 'celebrate Meskel in a good way' as this man explained:

I decided to send my older son to South Africa. I covered the cost of his travel by investing all my savings and by selling all my valuable property and livestock, including my farm oxen and milk cows... The first six months were very difficult for my family and we could not celebrate Easter in the same way as before because we did not have any money. We were even exposed to food shortage until we got the first remittance of 15,000 birr at the end of August 2005. With this money, I immediately purchased two oxen and a milking cow, and we were able to celebrate Meskel in a good way.

Even those households whose heads say that they do not need anything or are very successful in their own activities (like the successful household) get some money from their grown-up children living abroad or elsewhere in the country for Meskel. Meskel is also an occasion for good business, small and large. This is the time of the year when the leading businessman who buys up to 20 oxen and get them fattened by other farmers, sell them back on the market; or women who bought butter or kept their own sell it back.

Marriage, divorce, widowhood

Wereda officials from the women affairs office explained that (compared to e.g. FGM) they pay less attention to marriage issues. **Early marriage** has never been a tradition in Kembata society.

There is no early marriage in Kembata: since the antiquity boys and girls marry after the age of 18. Even if they wanted it, families would never allow them to marry before the age of 18.

Abduction used to be a big issue but is also on the verge of disappearing as it was criminalised and the law was strongly enforced in the *wereda* and the zone as a whole.

The practice of marriage through abduction was totally abandoned after it was considered as a crime and put in the criminal code, and for the last 15 years local enforcing bodies started to take deterrent legal measures against offenders. For example, a person convicted for abducting a girl in 2002 was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment by the Kedida Gamela wereda court. This and other similar cases were widely disseminated and reached the ears of the wider community in the wereda. Since then, abduction is not an issue and there is no any sign of abduction throughout the zone.

Key informants explained that KMG played a significant role in this trend, by taking cases of abduction to court and by accusing the offenders on behalf of the girl and her family. Moreover, they influenced law-enforcing bodies like the police and prosecutors by working in collaboration with zone and *wereda* Women and Children Affairs Offices. During the last two decades a number of individuals guilty of abduction in the *wereda* were taken to court and sentenced according to the criminal code of the country. This big contrast with the past when such cases were handled by elders

and resolved without any serious punishment largely contributed to what they say is the complete eradication of abduction since a few years.

Finally under the growing influence of Protestantism **widow inheritance** has all but disappeared. In the past this and **polygyny** were practised so that a married man could take his brother's widow as second wife. However, with the mass conversion to Protestant Christianity polygyny decreased. Widow inheritance is therefore not feasible unless an unmarried young man is willing to marry a widow as his only marriage partner. For widows this is one of the few possible options to remarry. They can also remarry someone who lost his wife by death or divorced in a convicted case of promiscuity. So, it is very difficult for a widow to remarry among the Protestants.

Circumcision, which used to be the main rite to get married for a girl, continues to be very strongly combated as described in the relevant section. There will be a big test in Aze Debo'a in the next few years as informants explained that many girls who vowed to marry uncircumcised approach the right age. Informants discussing about FGM also noted that there was a recent realisation of the need to reach out to young men so that they would be ready to marry uncircumcised girls.

On their part, *kebele* officials and community members highlighted a number of changes in relation with marriage in the community. First as explained in relation to religions and clans, the young generation pays less attention to clan/lineage and more attention to religious affiliation and wealth status (acquired status vs. innate).

Second, although this is not yet 'early marriage', girls have started to marry below the age of twenty – which used to be the limit under which no marriage was allowed. Informants linked this to the greater mobility of adolescent girls and the emergence of opportunities for adolescents/youngsters of both sexes to have 'unsupervised contact'. As one woman stated:

In the former time, unmarried girls were not allowed to go to markets and funeral ceremonies whether the place was in walking distance or far away. Moreover, there was no unsupervised contact between adolescents for instance when they presented "Zararut" (a flower) to their neighbours during Masaala and when they collected firewood. Currently, there are many occasions for both sexes to be together and meet openly such as market places, schools, youth meetings, funeral and mourning ceremonies, spiritual conferences and Sunday church programmes in the neighbourhood or in distant places.

Third, marriages have started to happen by agreement between the partners themselves whereas in the past it was arranged between families. In particular, the parents of a boy were responsible to choose a girl for their son and to send elders to the girl's house. Engagement also took place when a girl's parents agreed to give their daughter to a boy. Today, a boy has the right to choose a girl but his decision must be supported by his parents because the bride price is still paid by them.

The stories of young people show that young women get to choose their partners as well (e.g. the mid-30s rich young woman, the mid-20s middle wealth young woman who with her husband decided not to have children for the moment, the middle wealth younger woman who married just after 18 out of her own interest). But this is not yet generalised especially when there is poverty in the family. For instance the now middle wealth young woman in her 30s explains that when her parents decided to return to Aze Debo'a in 2006 after a few years of unsuccessful resettlement, she was forced to drop out of school due to economic problems and got married in the same year.

Fourth, the bride price has also tremendously increased, from 2 birr in the 1890s up to 2,000 birr depending on the income of the boy and his family. In contrast the tradition of the girl's parents giving one heifer and one young bullock to the new spouse has been maintained without any change. One man of middle wealth described even costlier trends. He explained that:

Some well-to-do families, individuals returned from abroad and youth whose brothers or sisters live abroad like USA and South Africa started to celebrate their wedding in big cities like Addis Ababa and Hawassa by investing a huge amount of money. The trend is rapidly expanding, as a fashion and

taking the nature of competition among these kind of people. Even the moderate weddings that take place in the kebele by middle income group are estimated to cost more than 30,000 birr on average, due to high price of food stuffs and other commodities.

He deplored that there was little attention given to control such extravagancies that adversely affect the life of couples and their families after the wedding. Some families in Aze Debo'a find ways of avoiding wedding costs. For instance, the head of the middle health household explained that two of his daughters married in the past five years, both by elopement and without any wedding ceremony so that they had no costs. The poor young man in his late teens similarly explained that he married his wife by elopement because both families were poor.

At the same time, due to land scarcity, lack of employment opportunities and generally difficulties in establishing an independent livelihood, getting married at all is increasingly difficult for young men and women. This was highlighted by many of those interviewed. They explained that getting married 'at the normal age' is impossible because young people, as they are unemployed, cannot get any of the basic items necessary to set up a households. As a result, there are a large number of unmarried male and female youth, like the middle wealth young man in his mid-20s who explained that he is still single and does not even have a girlfriend because he does not have any property to marry.

Another trend in Aze Debo'a is that young couples may live in their own house but share their parents' land in order to 'produce something', like the poor mid-20s woman and the rich young man in his 30s. Having access to some land continues to be important – as it was for these two men who explained that when they came back from the army where they had served under the Derg with nothing, they were given land and assisted by their brothers and relatives to get married. Or, because of the lack of an independent livelihood young couples may marry but delay having their first child like the young woman already cited above.

Finally, a number of young people do not want to marry or get engaged in relationship because they want to be successful in their studies. Several of those who said that this was not compatible were sponsored by an organisation (like the poor 16-17 year old girl attending grade eight and who ambitions to join the university). On the other side, young married women do not seem to be allowed to continue their education when they say that they would like this – even though the one interviewed in this case said that she was still childless.

The new trends in **migration** have started to influence marriage practices as well, in Aze Debo'a and other places in the zone. Firstly, a growing number of young men migrate abroad. Secondly, girls who in the past would not leave their home area except for marriage or to visit relatives have also started to migrate themselves, in the country and in the Gulf countries.

In addition, most recently some arranged marriages have taken place again. Parents, siblings and relatives send a picture of one girl to their children and relatives in South Africa. If the two partners agreed the boy's father gives a bride price of 60,000 or 80,000 birr to the girl's father. As a result, most girls are highly eager to marry those returned from South Africa or living in this country. There are a number of girls who have engaged to boys in South Africa; and are waiting until their visas and air tickets are arranged by brokers. Young women also go to South Africa under 'fake' marriages.

There are cases of **extramarital affairs** in Aze Debo'a - e.g. for male migrants. This was the cause of HIV AIDS infection for the two PLWHA interviewed. In one case the woman, left widow, explained that when married it is impossible to use condom.

Weddings are occasions for which people from the same clan, church, family and neighbourhood visit and help each other. Marriage can both reinforce and contribute to breach divides in the community's social fabric. The blind woman interviewed married a blind man (who died after she had two children). The woman potter interviewed married a potter too. In contrast, the Amhara descendent explained that he and his children feel Kembata as they had Kembata mothers and his children now have also married Kembata women.

Key informants and community people explained that **divorce** is 'not a serious problem' in the *kebele* because most of the community members are Protestant Christians and divorce is considered as refusing the rule of God written in the Bible. In principle, divorcees are automatically expelled from the church. Women would also have to leave the community. So on one hand practically all household heads and wives interviewed mentioned changes in the community's perceptions about women, and highlighted the right for '*women to share land and other property after divorce*'. At the same time, several added that '*Divorce is not accepted and rarely occurs because the community is Protestant*'.

In rare cases elders can agree that divorce is the only solution, like in the case of that 42-year old poor man who came back from seasonal migration to find his wife pregnant from another man. He says that he shared his property and gave to his wife the only heifer of the household even before the elders said anything. Since then his children live with him. He stopped travelling to Metahara once and for all. Two of his children are at school (grade five and three) and the other two not yet. He has '*no serious problem*' in terms of food and taking care of the children as his mother is living with him and is taking these roles.

Death ceremonies

Funerals of one's clan member, church member or neighbor are events to which it is normal to try to attend. Parents send children to work on PSNP PWs when this happens. For *iddir* members it is compulsory. Many people said that they cooperate with the family of the deceased – although some people also said that the trend is for fewer people to attend – mainly relatives and the members of the deceased's *iddir*. Clan members are expected to attend the funeral of their fellow clan members anywhere, even outside of the zone. If they cannot, they send some money to the family.

Funerals are also among the opportunities for young people of both sexes to meet. According to all community respondents including the young people themselves, participating to funerals and weddings is one of the few ways for them to participate in the community, together with church services and worshipping.

One tradition which is lost is that of sending messengers in cases of deaths or marriage, because people can call each other.

Key informants and *kebele* officials explained that some rich people have started to prepare extravagant feasts for funerals and this recent trend of 'wasting money on wedding and funeral ceremonies' have become a major HTP affecting the livelihood of the community. One poor man explained that in the past, boiled or parched grain with a cup of coffee was all which was prepared for attendants of the funerals. But since about three years, attendants of funeral are invited to eat injera and wot. This extravagancy is especially the case for rich people – and in addition their funerals are attended by many people so that a large amount of food is needed. Some rich individuals have started to provide soft drinks and packed water for funeral attendants, which '*costs a huge amount of financial resources and is beyond the capacity of the majority*'.

The emergence of *iddir* has accompanied this shift in mourning practices. Previously mourning could last a long time and many people from the community would be there, but it would not cost a lot as there was no tradition of preparing huge food and drink quantities. Now, on the one hand mourning is briefer and fewer people engage (mainly a few people from the *iddir*, beyond the relatives); on the other hand these huge costs have become common and therefore *iddir* support is critical.

The poor elderly widow who lost her husband twelve years ago after a three month illness explained that since then, the household could not show any improvement because they spent a lot of money on his medication and were exposed to additional expenses during his funeral ceremony.

The 28-year old man who recently lost his wife during childbirth said that he spent 4,500 birr for her medication and funerals - which he borrowed from neighbours. He has not yet finished repaying this

debt even though a significant portion of the expenses (2,600 birrs) was covered by the *Iddir*. He too said that this situation means that he cannot bring any change in his life.

Inheritance

Wereda officials explained that unlike in the past women have equal rights of land and property inheritance. They have become much aware of their property rights and efficient legal protection is given to them by the local enforcing bodies. KMG again was mentioned for their gender-related awareness creation on gender, property and human rights issues. However according to the *wereda* judge, accusations on property issues between husband and wife rarely come to court.

Community respondents explained that no new inheritance laws have been implemented, but there is a new trend in that women have better awareness regarding their rights towards land and other properties. They explained that in the former time, women and girls had no right of claiming the land and property of their parents whereas now they are aware of their own and property rights and started to inherit property equally with men and male children.

They added that in most cases, if a widow had no children from her deceased husband, her husband's brothers would insist for her to leave the house and go to her parents' house. At present as the *kebele* manager explained, women are aware of their rights towards land and property inheritance, and where and how to apply to *wereda* court. She added that the *wereda* women affairs office is very active in providing support for women having court land or property inheritance cases. As a result, no widow is uprooted from the land, especially since the last one decade.

The women association leader of Aze Debo'a explained that in the course of the last year the association reported the case of a widow whose plot of land was taken away by the brother of her deceased husband. With the support of the *wereda* women association and the *kebele* administration, they were able to return the land to the woman. There was no mention of any other case for instance in relation to inheritance from parents.

Dispute resolution

Respondents at all levels (*wereda*, *kebele* and community) emphasised the importance of dispute resolution by clan leaders, religious leaders and elders. This is described in the respective sections on clans, religions, elders, and justice in the community management field/section.

Customary organisations

Clans and lineages

In Aze Debo'a there are 47 clan but some have a very small number of members in the *kebele* (one clan has just one member).

The three largest and most powerful clans represent more than 65% of the population. They are the Galla (descendants from Oromo), the Dubbo and the Nurto. Political power somewhat rotates between these three clans. There usually is no conflict about this. The Galla are in fact politically dominant (even though compared to the others they are somewhat late-comers, and there still are some Oromo links e.g. with the names of some villages etc.), just because they have the largest number of people. The Dubbo are the most powerful economically, and the most educated. They were the first to convert to Protestantism and so had the first schools built on their land.

Nonetheless, key informants from the community explained that nowadays '*all clans have equal status and nobody uses the term "upper and lower clan"*'. There is intermarriage among all clans except with potters and craft makers. Even the descendants of war captives started to intermarry with members of other clans - although there is a resistance from aged people and clan leaders. As noted elsewhere the churches encourage the young generation to intermarry with anybody irrespective of his/her clan background or ethnic origin. Others explained that indeed practice with regard to marriage and clan was rapidly changing in Aze Debo'a. In the former time, genealogies of

the would-be spouses would be traced up to the 7th generation – whereas nowadays they are expected not to marry with anyone from their father's and mother's clan only (one generation).

The clan leader interviewed explained that the clan organisation has its own rules and regulations. If somebody dies or there is a grief in a family, the clan leader collects money from clan members and gives it to that household. If there is quarrel between clan members, he is responsible to reconcile them – as he did recently. There are five individuals elected to serve the clan: chairman, secretary, cashier, assistant and one member. As clan leader he gives order to men who are responsible to accomplish certain duties.

They gather once in a month and discuss about issues of the clan and lineages. They also meet as soon as needed if there is a problem, like a case of death among clan members. He explained that there is no salary for assuming these multiples duties and responsibilities. However, there is no problem because all members of the clan participate voluntarily and are governed by the established rules and regulations.

He was appointed in 2004 by the clan because he lives a good Christian life, he is economically strong and they saw that he could teach others. He completed grade six and was trained on development in the *kebele* but there is no training about clan leadership. He is also the chairperson of his *iddir*. There is no anyone from my family who has a role in the community. If the clan committee want any advice and something is beyond their capacity, the clan members in this *kebele* and in other places make appointment and hold a meeting to discuss the problem. The clan has no relation to *kebele* or *wereda* officials. But sometimes they get an advice from other clan leaders.

One key informant explained that the clan leaders are also very important in handling issues such as violence, land border conflict, family disputes and violence, together with the elders. There is some overlap in that most clan leaders are elders, but not all elders are clan leaders. Moreover, to be a clan leader (or an elder) one does not have to be an EPRDF member, unlike for positions of responsibility in the formal government structures. However, EPRDF is trying to convince them to be members.

Every clan member in Aze Debo'a has a link with his clan members in other *kebele*. In most cases, one clan may have at least one or two meetings in a year which are attended by all clan members from different *kebele*. All clan members are expected to attend the funeral of their clan members in Aze Debo'a or other places and even outside the zone. If they cannot attend the funeral of their clan member, they send some money to the family of the deceased person.

Elders

Like clans, elders are very important in Aze Debo'a. There is no formal elders' committee. There is some overlap between elders and clan leaders as just explained, and in the same way as for the clan leaders, the ruling party is trying enlist elders as party members. One of Aze Debo'a's elders explained that indeed some elders have started supporting the government because it has begun to recognise the role of elders and involve them in the affairs of the *kebele*.

Elders also can no longer handle certain cases (homicide, rape, arson) which should immediately be reported to the *wereda* police. However as described in the section on 'justice', they continue to have a very important role in conflict resolution. According to the *kebele* chairman and several community respondents they even handle cases in which government bodies fail. In the past, elders played a role in marriages being arranged between two families: the boy's family was sending elders to the house of the girl's family. Marriages now are more often arranged by mutual consent of the two partners. Elders and clan leaders would also intervene when someone who has been away from the community for instance because of resettlement, returns and has no land: they would ensure that the person gets some land – and as a result there is no homeless person in Aze Debo'a.

People from the community speak respectfully of elders:

Elders are highly respected and playing a great role in resolving the disputes in the community. They do not charge anything for their service and make peace between the conflict groups. They also provide advice which is very essential in shaping the individuals... they bless, advise. (Middle wealth household head and his wife)

In addition to this, they have respect in the community, more than the government officials. Because elders can bless or curse, people, youth, women, children, and the whole generation. Elders tell different stories and share their good experience with the community. (Kebele chairman and his wife)

Elders tell different stories and share their good experience with the community. They are also respected by the community. If any conflict happens in the community, elders are the first people in the community to resolve the problem even before any governmental bodies. (Poor household head and his wife)

Iddir

In Kembata society generally there has been some shift between customary self-help organisations and 'modern' ones. In the past there used to be organisations called *serra*, which basically served like *iddir* with a wider role. They would intervene to help not only in cases of death but also when animals died to support the affected household. Many people still talk about *serra*.

The leader of one *serra* explained that the *serra* has forty eight households, a leader, a secretary and a cashier. It works in cases of grief, sickness and risk. If someone is sick the members carry him/her to the health centre. Women boil coffee for those who carry the sick and elders prepare the chairs at the house of the sick person waiting until they come. If a cow of a member of the organisation dies they bury the body of the cow and each one contributes twenty birr. In the view of its leader, the organisation is very successful because it has rules and regulations which make everyone to work carefully. The *serra* has no relation with the *wereda*, the *kebele* or other community leaders.

Key informants explained that *iddir* have emerged relatively recently and most often focus on funerals. As explained in the relevant section, the emergence of *iddir* has accompanied a shift from long, community-wide but frugal funeral ceremonies to briefer ones with fewer people but huge costs linked to food and drinks being provided. This shift came about from people's greater mobility and exposure to town. Also, after 1991 a large number of teachers (3,000 to 4,000) came back from areas elsewhere in the country, with wives from other areas, so the *Kembata* culture started becoming much more mixed with others/the wider Ethiopian culture.

The chairman of one large *iddir* with 529 members explained that the *iddir* has a chairman, a secretary and a cashier. If somebody dies, the *iddir* provides 2,508 birr to the family of the deceased person for the funeral ceremony. If any member gets sick, the other members carry him to the nearest health facility by stretcher, or if he is capable to walk a few *iddir* members will accompany him or her. In this *iddir*, members contribute 1 or 2 birr for transport costs of the sick person depending on whether she goes to Durame or farther like Hawassa. The *iddir* also provides loans to members. They can borrow to pay back within a year with a 30% interest rate. Chronically ill members do not pay the interest. The *iddir* has no problem of relations with government officials as it is an independent organisation. The 45-year old chairman was appointed ten years ago. He is also chairperson of the health army and of the land measuring committee of the *kebele*.

The head of the successful household said that there are many *iddir* in Aze Debo'a. Most community respondents explained that they are members of one and often two *iddir*. There seems to be *iddir* for richer and for poorer people, smaller *iddir* and at last one larger *iddir*, and also women's contributions are smaller than men's. Two people explained that the larger *iddir* to which they contribute is a sort of federation of several smaller *iddir* including the small *iddir* to which they also contribute. Smaller *iddir* seem to have between 40 and 45 members.

In one *iddir* to which belong the head of the successful household and the rich young woman in her 30s, members contribute 30 birr in case of a member's death. In the cases of men belonging to a

smaller and a larger *iddir* the contributions are 5 and 10 birr respectively, whereas women belonging to two *iddir* pay 3 and 4 birr respectively. None of those *iddir* provide financial assistance in case of illnesses except helping with transport by stretcher if need be, or in the form of a loan that the sick person or his/her family repay later on. In an *iddir* for poorer persons the interest rate is 10%.

In all *iddir*, all members are expected to attend the funeral of anyone of the *iddir* members and to treat the attendants at the funeral who are not *iddir* members. As noted in the section of funerals, the *iddir* payments in case of death, although relatively substantial in some cases, were not sufficient to cover all costs related to the funerals.

Iddir are the only community-initiated organisation mentioned to play 'additional roles' (to their past ones), in supporting people living with HIV/AIDS and being an audience for community conversation.

Equb and other savings

Equb are relatively new in Kembata society. Pooling resources and rotating the pool among members has been practised in Kembata culture, but these were small groups of women (five or six households) and they were largely livestock-related resources like milk and butter. These (*wijjo*) were the butter groups also found in other Southern cultures. Nowadays in Aze Debo'a the chairman explained that there are very few people who have an *equb* because most people have a small income. '*Those who have equb are business people and merchants*'. The other savings organisations found in Aze Debo'a – which are not customary ones – are described in the section about credit.

The leader of the largest *equb* explained in his *equb* of 27 members they each contribute 100 birr/ week – although this can decrease to 50 or even 30 during winter when people's income is smaller. But it never stops. They collect the money every Sunday from 11:30-12:30 after the church programme and give it to the cashier. There is a three-member committee leading the *equb* (chairman, secretary and cashier). Anyone who does not pay his *equb* on time will be punished and fined according to the rules and regulations of the *equb*. Other people on the *equb* pay for the defaulter (so that the one who takes the *equb* has the full amount), but he will have to add the fine to his payment on the next Sunday. On the other hand if someone faces a problem and makes an application, the *equb* committee can decide to pay him the next round of *equb* as a priority.

For himself, he sells firewood. When he takes the *equb*, he '*buys and sells something*' to get a profit and with this he buys clothes for his children and pay the remaining debt (including the 100 birr/ week contribution). He wishes to have a donkey-drawn cart to bring a bigger income to his family.

A rich young man in his mid-20s, who quitted school on a quarrel with a teacher and went for his military service, came back, married and now lives in a house built on his parents' land, explained that as he does not have land he does not participate in the community (he is not a member of development team, 1-5 group or youth organisation). Rather, he participates in an *equb* of 22 members to which he contributes 103 birr/ week. They collect 2,200 birr that can be used to do something. Both he and the leader said that the *equb* had nothing to do with government.

Mehaber

There are no Mehaber in Aze Debo'a as today there are very few Orthodox Christian households.

Other customary organisations

Community members mentioned *serra* and *herra*, two customary Kembata institutions. The '*serra*' is a justice-making institution and has been described in the section on 'justice'. The *herra* is somewhat similar to an *iddir* and has been described in that section.

Local informal security regime

Together, families, clans, churches, *iddir* and their earlier customary form (*serra*) and the generosity of wealthier people form the backbone of the local informal security regime. It is hard to say

whether this system is more or less active or able to cope with the needs than in the past. There may be some shift – with churches having taken an increasing role. There does not seem to be patterns of adverse incorporation.

New community-initiated organisations

There are no new community-initiated organisations in Aze Debo'a, although *iddir* and *equb* are relatively recent as explained in the relevant sections.

Key social actors and their networks

Government employees

Kebele manager

She is 24 years old, was born in the *kebele* and worked for three years. She is a grade 10+3 in management from Hawassa. She has some experience of working in the private sector. She is highly regarded mainly because of her punctuality of being in her office during working hours and because of her quick response for every request from the community members. Her mother is a quite successful woman. She has multiple relations and interactions with different people in the community.

DA Crops

There were two DAs crops during the research period.

The first one, younger, is 30, single and born in Hambo *Kebele* bordering the Durame town in the eastern direction. One month after getting his high school certificate he applied for the DA training and after three years he got his diploma in Plant Sciences from the College of Agriculture in Wolayta Sodo, in 2006. He says that the competition was fair. *'I succeeded because my performance in High School and my grade in Matriculation exam was better than most of the individuals who competed for the job. Secondly, I scored a good mark in the exam prepared for the job and answered all questions interviewed by the recruitment committee'*. Now he believes that the recruitment process at *wereda* level is *'filled with nepotism'*. He has been involved in various activities in addition to his professional responsibilities including visiting house to house to mobilise the community for election and make them support the EPRDF in the election. Otherwise, he would be in trouble.

He is not happy with this job and *'desperately needs to change'* - because they are often assigned to involve in activities outside of their profession like politics, election, and other affairs. He would *'not hesitate and would leave in a matter of minutes'* if he was getting another job. When he faces any problem, he first consults the *kebele* administration. If it is beyond his capacity, he reports to the *wereda*. When he needs expert support he directly contacts the subject matter specialist in the *Wereda* Agriculture and Rural Development Office.

During the fieldwork he left for further studies. The other is an older man (45), born in Bezena Benara, a neighbouring *kebele* in the same *wereda* and worked for four years in the *kebele*. Key informants explained that he is less appreciated by the community.

DA Livestock

He is 27 years old, single and born in another *kebele* the other side of Durame town. He applied for DA training after high school and got his diploma in Animal Sciences from the College of Agriculture in Ardayita. He also obtained a BSc degree in Rural Development through distance learning in 2010. Key informants say that he is highly regarded by the community. Unlike his colleagues he has not been involved in mobilising the community during election because he is not a member of EPRDF or from any other political party. However, they frequently insist to make him a member of EPRDF. He too is aggressively looking for another job in NGOs fearing that he might be fired out from his job any time because of his resistance to be a member of EPRDF. Like his colleagues he explains that he works longer than the expected eight hours per day, and often also on Saturdays and Sundays

without any additional benefit. *'The burden is too much and unexplainable in words'*. He too said that the *wereda* pay them in time as opposed to some years ago.

The DA livestock is also the Aze Debo'a Farmers Saving and Credit Association leader. He is unhappy with the job as the organisation has limited potential to change people's life because it has not enough lending capital while there is high demand for credit from the community. In this capacity when he faces an issue he reports to the *wereda* cooperative section.

He is not comfortable with his current job and desperately wants to change it. In addition to the issues raised by his colleagues, he added that *'Sometimes, we do not know who our boss is and who is not because anyone from the wereda can order us whether he is from our office or not'*. He said that the government should hear the DAs' voice, and become flexible and willing to change its policy in the long run.

Mobile veterinarian

There is no veterinarian assigned to Aze Debo'a *kebele*. One vet stationed in the neighbouring *kebele* serves this one through outreach. He immediately comes if any household gives him a phone call to treat his livestock. All informants confirmed that the veterinarian is very cooperative and responsible person, he provides a good support and he is effective.

DA NRM

He is 30 years old and he was born in Dega K'edida *kebele* of Kedida Gamela *wereda*. He work in Aze Debo'a since one year. He graduated as a DA from one of the AgTVET in SNNPRS. The process of recruiting the candidates was fair and free from nepotism. He obtained his Diploma in Natural Resources and he is now second year summer programme student to get a BSc in Geography. He is a member of the ruling party. He appreciates that no one has forced the DAs to live in the *kebele* so far as they should be doing in principle. He lives in Durame. He also appreciates that since a few years his salary is paid timely. When he faces an issue he does like his colleague DA crop.

He is not comfortable with his job and wishes to change the job mainly because he is expected to perform various activities outside his area of specialisation – including political mobilisation activities. Secondly, the salary is very small compared to the magnitude of the job. He is also in charge of organising the PSNP public works. There is no any incentive and no other reward for the public work organiser except his normal salary. He is not motivated for the job. Key informants said that he has good reputation and acceptance in the community.

The two DAs who mentioned their salary earned 1,427 birr/month.

School director

He is 42 and married. He is quite discouraged with regard to the recently decreasing performance of the students. He works on average seven hours a day without additional rewards except his salary. Teachers in general are not motivated because they work for a low salary and what they earn is adversely affected by the inflation which reached up to 35 percent. He was appointed to this school four years ago after he served more than eight years in another primary school. He has a BSc degree. None of his family members has a role in the *kebele*. His aspiration is to look for another job which would bring a better income. He discusses with teachers and the school committee regarding problems in the school and makes efforts to solve them. For cases beyond the school community and committee, he invites the *wereda* or *kebele* officials to intervene and bring a solution.

Primary school teacher

He is 40, has a diploma in English and is left with one Semester to obtain his degree in the same field. He was employed in 1976 as a primary school teacher immediately after he completed high school without any training (there was a shortage of primary school teachers and limited number of high school graduates across the *wereda*). He obtained his diploma a few years ago through distance

education and also trained in school management. Currently, he has 33 years of service (not consistent with his age, 40) and he earns 2,500 birr salary. As he is left with few years before retiring he explained that he has no alternative other than staying in this job.

Health Extension Worker 1

The first HEW is a 30 year old woman, with grade 12 + 1. She is proud of the work that they have accomplished in the *kebele* (which is a model for sanitation issues as reported elsewhere). She earns 1,427 birr/month.

Health Extension Worker 2

The other HEW explains that on average, she works 10 hours/day for 6 days/week and sometimes, even on Sunday. Also, she stays as long as is needed to treat all patients who have come to the health post. She is 34 years old, married and mother of two children. She also is a grade 12 + 1. She completed grade 12 eight years ago, then got one year health extension training and was assigned to this job four years ago. She also earns 1,427 birr and there is no other reward. No one from her family has a role in the *kebele*. She wishes to upgrade to degree level and transfer to Durame town.

Kebele office-holders recruited from within the community (and recent changes)

Kebele chairs

He is 48 years old and a father of 7 children. (His age varies in different interviews – he sometimes reportedly said that he was 50 or even 55 years old). He was appointed in 2009 by the choice of people of the *kebele*. He completed grade nine/eight. Sometimes, he gets a chance of training. He also collects tax from the community and he is the leader of the development committee, the health committee and the food security task force (which in effect is the same as the Cabinet). For the future, he wishes to send his children to school, to build a new house and to change the life of his family. If he wants any advice, he goes to the *wereda* administrator and other party officials in the *wereda*. He has been in the post for more than two years which is longer than his predecessors as explained earlier.

Vice chair

He is 48 years old and a father of five children. He is a grade eight. He focuses on peace and security, issues of militia and tax collection. On average, he works 10 hours every day for six days except Sunday and sometimes they even have meeting on Sunday after the church hours. There is no reward or salary. He became vice chairman shortly after the election of the 2010. He was nominated by member of the *kebele* council and elected by the inhabitants of the *kebele* because of his good behaviour and the reputation he has. He is also church leader and propaganda officer for his church. His wife is a member of the women association and serving their church in various responsibilities. His aspiration is performing all his responsibilities in the *kebele* in a fair way without any nepotism. He is networked with the *kebele* and *wereda* officials and the community.

Kebele council chair

No information

Political party appointee

The chair of the local political party structure is 38 years old and was appointed in 2005. The reason was that he is a member of the Party. He completed grade nine. If they want any advice or problem they can go to *wereda* party officials. (It is not clear whether he is the same person as the *kebele* chairman or not).

Information/Propaganda

He is 48, married, grade eight complete and a father of five children. He is also the vice chairperson for the *kebele*. If he faces any problem in relation to his work, he first discusses with the chairman

and other members of the *kebele* administration. He is networked with the *kebele* and *wereda* officials and the community.

Militia head

He is 36, grade 12 complete, and he was assigned to work as a militia in 2005. Most of the time the 8 militia involved in the daily work (out of 56 militia members) work for two days in a week from 9 am to 12 am. They all work on free basis; and there are many days they are not even invited for a cup of tea or coffee let alone the per diem.

Women's Association leader

She is 37 year old, married and mother of 3 children. She leads the association and league meetings. As head of women association and league as well as a committee member in the *kebele* administration, she spends at least three days/week around the office of the *kebele* (30 to 40 hours in a week). There is no salary. She was elected chairwoman in 2010 due to her academic background (she is grade 12). She is also a committee member of the *kebele* administration and party member. There is no one from her family who has a role in the *kebele*. Her aspiration is to see an active women association to enhance the awareness of women and protect their rights in the near future. Her network is mainly with the *wereda* women association office, the *wereda* women affairs office and the *kebele* administration.

She is mentioned by key informants as one of the two influential women in the *kebele*. The other influential woman is the women's representative on the *kebele* Cabinet. It therefore seems that they both participate to the *kebele* administration work.

Women's League leader

Same as WA leader

Youth Association/Federation leader

He is 28 and was appointed in 2011 by the *kebele* Administration and the youth association. He completed grade ten. He is also the chairman of the anti HIV/AIDS club and he used to be a student leader in Aze Debo'a primary school from 2003-2012. There is no anyone from his family who has a role in the community. He wishes to build a youth generation which is good in their education and spiritual life. If he needs something or an advice, he goes to the youth information office leader in the *kebele*.

Holders of customary office

Clan leaders

The four clan leaders named by key informants all play a mediation role among their clan members. One of them was also involved in the *kebele* administration.

The clan leader interviewed is 48, was appointed in 2004 by the clan lineage because he has a good Christian life, is economically better-off and they saw that he could teach others. He completed grade six and was trained on development but there is no training about clan/lineage leadership. He is also a chairperson in his *iddir*. There is no anyone from my family who has a role in the community. If he wants any advice and something is beyond the clan committee's capacity they meet as a clan including with members from other places to discuss the problem. The clan has no relation to *kebele* or *wereda* officials. But sometimes they get an advice from other clan leaders.

Elders holding office

There is no formal elders' committee. The four elders who were mentioned are all involved in conflict resolution. One is a civil servant in the *kebele* administration. Another is a pastor and clan leader, and is also involved in the *kebele* administration. His main networks are his church and clan members. The other two are both also model farmers. One of them is the head of the successful

household, a man with a good command of English even though he did not go beyond primary school but it was a missionary school. He is often consulted for legal advice and among others often goes to the *wereda* court on the land-related conflict case that his church has with the Orthodox Church. The fourth one is also a famous Evangelist and chairman of his congregation.

The *serra* leader

The leader of the *serra* is 46 years old. He was appointed in 2009, because he was better than the ones who worked before him. He completed grade eight. He did not take any training and no other role in the community. He plans to change his life by working hard, 'if God is willing'. If there is any problem beyond the capacity of the committee of the *serra*, they report to the organisation. There is no relation with *wereda*, *kebele* and other community leaders.

***Iddir* leader**

The *iddir* leader is 45 year old and he was appointed leader ten years ago in 1991. He completed grade four. He is also the chairperson of the health army and of the land measuring committee in the *kebele*. No one of his family has responsibilities in the community. He wishes to buy a breed of Holstein Friesian; to build a new house and to make his children join university.

***Equb* leader**

He is 30 years old and was appointed in 2008 because he is '*capable to influence and control others*'. He completed grade five and he was selected by the *equb* members, but he does not have training. There is no one from his family who has a role in the community. He wishes he would have a donkey-draw cart in future, to bring additional income to his family and be successful.

***Meskel* savings group organiser**

Not mentioned.

***Mehaber* leader**

Does not exist in the *keeled*.

Religious leaders

Among the four religious leaders named by key informants, one is also teaching his church members and the community generally on FGM and HTP. Another prays for sick people and people possessed by demons; he also reads announcements in *kebele* meetings. The third is the vice-chairman of the *kebele* and so he also mobilises the community for all activities that should involve the *kebele* people. The fourth has a role of mediation among his church members.

One Catholic Church leader was interviewed. He is 48 years old. He teaches the life of Christ from 8:30-9:30 and from 9:35-1:00 every Friday by making a visit to the homes of those (of the 30 members of the congregation) who are not regularly attending the church. There is no any reward, salary or payment so there is little commitment. He was chosen by the higher leaders of the congregation because he had better academic performance than the other two candidates who applied for the position (he completed grade eleven, and gets one week training in a year). He is a member of the party and a representative of two development teams. From his family, no one has a role in the community.

Other notable people

Rich and successful farmers

The two rich and successful farmers named by key informants were interviewed as model farmer and as head of a successful household, respectively. They were mentioned to be able to assist poor people by lending them money without interest. The head of the successful household has all the characteristics of an opinion leader – as a model farmer but who allows himself to not attend

meetings if he 'is not available', elder in the *kebele* and in his church, educated in a missionary school hence with a good command of English, and someone who is consulted for legal advice.

One other man and one woman interviewed as successful farmers seemed to do well. The man is a model farmer, he is also leader of his church and his wife is a committee member in the *kebele* women association. He is a member of EPRDF and of a 1:5 group. However, like the other model farmer his participation in the *kebele* and other political meetings is limited because he mostly passes the time within his farm and '*refuses spending precious time in meetings*'. The woman is the mother of the *kebele* manager and she also serves her church in an administrative position.

Businessmen and traders

The two most known businessmen in the *kebele* are highly regarded. One of them occasionally takes sick people to the hospital in Durame town with his vehicle, free of charge.

One leading cash-crop trader, 50 and a trader of coffee since his young age (and now maize, in addition to his farming), did not mention any specific relationship with the *kebele* administration. The woman trader who has her shop next to the *kebele* office and is quite successful with it, whose husband is a strong farmer, said that she does not have any participation at the *kebele* because she got a lot of problems during the Derg regime. So now she only serves her church. Another male coffee trader also since his young age and who is involved in ox fattening and trading on a relatively large scale, also does not have any participation in the *kebele*. He is serving his church as a cashier. His life is quite orientated towards Durame. He opened two cafés and other commodity shops for his son and daughter there and they are doing good business. He advises the people who have similar business in his *kebele*.

Investors

The largest investor in the *kebele* is the owner of the coffee washing plant. He is not from the *kebele*, was born in another *wereda* and now lives in Durame. He does not have any role in his community except as a committee member in the *iddir* of his neighbourhood. His wife is a committee member in the Christian women association in Durame. He would like to invest in a similar business in another *kebele* if the world market for Ethiopian coffee continues to flourish. He has a good relationship with all government functionaries and the DAs assist the plant in mobilising the community to bring the coffee to their washing machine.

Skilled workers

The man interviewed who built the Millennium school and several houses in the *kebele* does not mention whether he has any other role or special relation with other notable people in the *kebele*.

Traditional healer

Not mentioned

Traditional birth attendant

The TBA interviewed has a sour relationship with the HEWs because they allegedly ignored her when a training programme was organised in Hawassa for TBAs.

Ex-soldiers

Two ex-soldiers were interviewed. They are not really notable people as they both served under the Derg. The first one is 44 years old and he served the Derg in the military from 1977 to 1991 GC. He joined the military when he was in grade nine. As he explained:

*One day, I and my classmate saw an announcement for employment in the Ministry of Defence with a salary of 300 birr, posted on the board in the centre of town. Immediately, we registered at the *wereda* administration because our academic performance was poor. After three days, we were taken to a military institution in Harar, trained for one year, then taken to Eritrea where I stayed 14 years.*

He returned to Aze Debo'a in 1991 with 155 birr in his pocket. His brothers gave him some land to live on, and he married in 1992 with the assistance of his brothers and other relatives in Aze Debo'a and other places. He is living as a farmer now. He does not take advice from anyone and does not have that much relationship with other people in the *kebele* or the *wereda* except his brothers, and his parents who he gives advice to, as they are illiterate and old. He only goes to the *kebele* to pay the land tax. He is not a member of EPRDF and 1:5 group. So far he did not face any problem for this, but he is suspected to be a member of opposition party.

The other man is 48 years old. He was selected by the Derg government to work in the *wereda* 'revolutionary militia', as guard and peace-maker, but he did not go to battle. He left the militia work when the Derg fell, returned home and was given land by his parents. He married in 1983 and has eight children. He does not have any participation in the *kebele* and community, but serves in the church. His main network is with those who worked with him at the *wereda* revolutionary militia.

Youth opinion leaders

Not mentioned

Elite network map

The above suggests that there are three 'elite' groups in Aze Debo'a: (i) the government/political elite whose fortunes are closely associated with administrative office and political affiliation to the ruling party; (ii) the clan and religious leaders and elders; (iii) the wealthy people – farmers, traders and businessmen. When they are from the community the government employees at *kebele* level may be linked to one of these groups (like the *kebele* manager whose mother is a quite successful woman) but not always (e.g. the HEWs). The DAs and the head teacher are not from the *kebele*. These people are notable but not really part of the local elite.

The **first elite group (formal government/party positions)** has become more important in the run up to the 2010 election. Their elite status is linked to, on the *wereda's* side, the government expectations of developmental performance and political loyalty (in turn, the *wereda* is ranked by the zone) and on the side of the community, to the inevitability of contact with the government for various benefits and with regard to being 'awared' and involved in developmental activities.

People in this group may or may not be wealthy. The *kebele* chairman is not a wealthy farmer, rather a middle wealth one. Wealthy farmers appear to be loosely part of these elite as model farmers, but keeping some distance when they can. There are a few 'influential women' in this group though much fewer than men if all development team and 1-5 group leaders are counted (there is no information on their gender but a quite strong presumption that most are men).

The **second elite group (customary and religious leadership)** has remained important in Aze Debo'a - notably with regard to social reproduction and aspects of non-government community management. People belonging to it may or may not also belong to the first and the third elite groups. EPRDF membership is not required to be part of this group whereas it is, to be part of the first group. Women may be linked to this group (as wives or serving the church in some positions) but there was no case mentioned of a woman occupying a position of clan leader or elder.

The **third elite group (wealth-based)** partly overlaps with the other two elite groups but there are wealthy people who are member of neither. People whose wealth depends mainly on non-farm activities are less likely to be part of or associated to the government/party-related elite. People in this group are also mainly men. They all have contacts with the first group as they pay taxes.

Educated people from the community who work elsewhere are admired but they are not part of the local elite. They may contribute to the wealth of their parents or relatives through financial assistance. Similarly, families with successful migrants or successfully returned migrants are likely to be part of the wealthy elite. The wealthy elite (especially when wealth is mainly based on trade, remittances or savings from migration) is only partly 'local' in that those people often have or

establish strong connections with Durame town as a place where to live and where to invest.

Network exclusion

People who were closely associated with the Derg have at best distant relations with the *kebele* administration – like the first soldier above.

The data does not suggest that this leads to exclusion from services or benefits like PSNP. A few of the respondents interviewed on the topic of exclusion, specifically of PSNP, questioned whether relationships with *kebele* leaders might play a role. However, there did not seem to be a generalised perception that this is the case. The respondent who had been selected for graduation said that this was unfair and that those concerned had been selected because they were not the relatives of the *kebele* leadership. However, several others highlighted how complicated it is to be fair while differences between households are sometimes tiny and households allegedly hide their wealth.

There was no allegation that other 'benefit-providing initiatives' like food supplements or assistance to OVC by NGOs had been unfairly targeted.

Exclusion from the party exists i.e. there are people who are not party members. For some people this seems to be voluntary (like one of the DAs and the ex-soldier); for others not necessarily so (like elderly and weaker household heads). It is not clear that party exclusion matters even for those that are voluntarily excluded. The DA concerned said that he feared he might be fired off but he had been in the job for several years.

The networks around the other two types of elites (customary/religious and wealth-based elite) are by nature selective; they have criteria for the leadership positions and clear membership criteria too. The data does not suggest that there is exclusion which would violate these criteria.

Social interactions within the community

Government-people relations – co-operation, non-co-operation and complexity

Key informants explained that '*a considerable number of people in the community are not comfortable*' with some of the government policies (ethnic regionalisation, EPRDF membership drive and measures against opposition parties). However, this unease or unhappiness appears to be directed beyond or above the *kebele* and even *wereda* level.

There is also a sense that the zone is marginalised (by the Regional government?) and for instance, people complain that for university studies children have to go outside of the zone which few parents can afford. Conversely, there is appreciation of the fact that the main road crossing the *kebele* and the *wereda* is being asphalted (decades after its construction under the Derg).

People are generally appreciative and the community on the whole cooperates in relation to most of the health/ sanitation policies of the government. HEWs explained that some measures are harder than others to gain acceptance (e.g. hand washing after using toilet) and some groups are harder to reach (e.g. older and/or uneducated women). But voluntary health workers said there is not much resistance and to some extent some of the results speak for themselves (e.g. that there are 15 public toilets). There was no mention of threats if people do not do things and anyway, PSNP beneficiary status concerns a relatively small proportion of the *kebele* population.

Attitudes to education have become ambiguous with the increasing attraction of migration abroad – but this mainly concerns education levels beyond those for which there might be government pressure for enrolling children and resistance against it.

There is high appreciation of the provision of drinking water.

There is no sign of resistance against farm productivity enhancing initiatives, with the exception of soil and water conservation activities on private land. People do not use the right quantities of fertiliser and improved seeds (though there is progress) but the DAs recognise that this has to do

with lack of financial capacity. There was no mention that the use of fertiliser was enforced on people. But those involved in collecting fertiliser-related loan repayments stressed that this was a difficult and it seemed, time-consuming task.

At least a few members of the community blame government officials for being slow in assessing/reporting on the 2008 crop failure and resulting food crisis situation in the community, which according to them led to 30 deaths among the children and elderly people from the community. It is not entirely clear whether the blame is on the *kebele* officials, the *wereda* officials, or both.

There is a sense that the government does not do enough in some areas, most notably in relation to youth. In turn, that is why most resistance against the government is said to come from the youth:

The major resistance against the government is coming from the youth because many of them have no job opportunity and nothing has been done to reverse the existing situation... The government should create job opportunities or access to credit for youth. (Head of successful household)

The community appears to be cooperating as well in relation to recognising women's rights and abandoning HTPs harming women like abduction and FGM. There again, a generational effect is at play (e.g. younger women said to be 'ready to marry' uncircumcised while their sisters were circumcised; younger mothers saying that they would not circumcise their daughters). Moreover, acceptance may also be facilitated by the fact that many people in the community (especially among the most educated ones) seem to highly appreciate KMG generally (as a local but internationally known organisation). But the big test for some of this has yet to come (most of these girls are yet to marry, and there has not been many cases of land rights to be enforced – notably as divorce remains highly unacceptable on religious grounds).

There is a demarcation between formal government institutions and customary and religious institutions (with regard to leadership, roles and responsibilities), but there is overlap as well. There is no sign that community people would on purpose 'use' customary/religious organisations 'against' formal government ones. In some instances though, leaders of customary organisations made clear that they had no business with government (*equb*, clan) or that they were an independent organisation (*iddir*).

Wereda-community relations

The DAs are quite critical of the *wereda*, accusing officials of nepotism in recruitment processes and giving them tasks 'that should be given to party officials'.

People without special responsibilities in the community seldom mention *wereda* officials or the *wereda* level except as a source of information and new directives passed onto the *kebele* administration and government employees. Occasionally they appeal at *wereda* level (as for the PSNP graduation) and go to court or for other administrative issues.

There is appreciation of *wereda*-facilitated infrastructure developments such as the relatively recent new access to electricity and mobile phone network – though people link this to post-2005 election strategies (as the area had voted opposition and needed to be 'recaptured').

Kebele-community relations

As explained earlier, in one interview key informants explained that competition for leadership positions in the *kebele* level government structures is linked to access to economic and other advantages (e.g. communal forest exploitation and a '*chance to get a share of the relief assistance*'). There was only one instance of this type of allegation.

The PSNP graduation process has the potential of straining the relations between the *kebele* and a part of the community (allegation of nepotism in selection of who does not graduate). But this is important only for a quarter of the community which in addition, is itself not too well perceived by at least some of those in the other (non-PSNP beneficiary) group.

There are a few people who underlined that they do not have a lot of to do with the *kebele* administration/structures – with an undertone that they would rather keep it this way (e.g. the ex-Derg soldier who goes just to pay his taxes).

Tax payment and loan repayment seem to generate their lot of tension. This is highlighted by all those involved in collecting them an area in which they have to exert a lot of effort. On the other side, people mention what they pay but do not raise issues with it.

Local elite-people relations

This section must be read together with these on the 'elite network map' and 'network exclusion'.

Raising people awareness, making them contribute/ participate and making decision on in/exclusion in/from certain initiatives (notably, PSNP inclusion and graduation) are the ways in which the formal government/party-related elite reach out to the non-elite people. This can and does make them unpopular with those excluded, or who do not want to contribute/participate/be convinced.

The customary/religious leadership elite reach out to non-elite people as part of their responsibility as elite. Clan and religious leaders have a responsibility towards the wellbeing of their clan/ congregation members; elders advise them and help to maintain the society's wellbeing. Key informants outlined that being an elder has some advantages: the costs of their meetings to resolve conflicts are paid out of the fines they give, and they can demand assistance e.g. for farming activities and would expect that people will oblige.

The wealthy elite reach out to their fellow (non-elite) community members by helping them in small services (like bringing them to Durame for free, offering phone calls to an elderly neighbour etc.) and through (at least sometimes interest-free) loans. They also can have business relations with them (buying their coffee, getting oxen to fatten on their land etc.).

Ethnic/clan relations

Internal clan relations are important and strong – including in relation to social protection of other clan members and their families (e.g. giving land to returned settlers, support in weddings and mourning, dispute resolution). These relations presumably are all the more dense for people who belong to a locally important/large clan (of which there are three as said earlier). Clan-based relations extend beyond the community.

In Aze Debo'a clans seem to coexist peacefully, with some competition for political power but not to the point of damaging inter-clan relationships. Clan leaders may seek/get advice from other clans.

Relations among different religious groups

This has been described in the section on religion. Relations are harmonious between Protestant churches – competing for enlarging their own denomination but 'working together' and pulling together when this is needed as in the land-related conflict with the Orthodox Church. Followers of other religions are few. Relations at the individual level do not seem to be problematic. Relations between institutions may be tense at times – as is the case about this piece of land. The historic relationship of oppression of early Protestant converts by the Emperor-linked Orthodox Church is still evoked by some with words like 'we cannot forget'.

Class relations

There is an evolution in class formation in Aze Debo'a, with wealth no longer linked exclusively to successful subsistence farming but now also to cash crops, trade, business, links with urban areas, and migration. It is not clear how this affects the relations between the different classes.

Interactions affecting gender relations

Interactions affecting gender relations have been described in various sections above, including on 'growing up male' and 'growing up female' in Aze Debo'a (in 3.4), and 'promoting equity for women'

(in 3.5). In a nutshell, girls and women have greater freedom and are more aware of their rights. They go to school, engage in income-generating activities, and even migrate outside of the community, in some instances chose their marriage partner, and have various rights to land and property and this has started to be enforced. However, except for a few of them women are not yet often seen in leadership positions and seem to be more at a distance from government and party structures (apart from the WA, league and federation). Much of this is only unfolding now.

Interactions affecting inter-generational relations

Land scarcity leads to youth sharing land with their parents and/or, combined with lack of job opportunities, they remain dependent for longer than in the past. However, there is no mention of this creating high inter-generational tension. Presumably some of the potential tension is eased by the growing youth migration. In turn, migration can be a cause for friction. In any instance it likely affects intergenerational relations in several ways: youth nagging their parents for them to finance their trip; parents pushing their children to emigrate in the hope that they will be able to substantially assist their family; expectations that migrants will send remittances.

The data suggest that on the whole the community is troubled by the lack of opportunities for the young generation.

External relations

Relations with other communities

People from Aze Debo'a have relations outside of Aze Debo'a with fellow clan members and members from their religious denomination (for the many Protestant followers), through these institutions. These are about joint celebrations and worshipping, discussions of common interest issues, moral and financial support.

At individual level they have relations with relatives (including working or studying children or siblings) and friends in other communities and cities in Ethiopia. There was no mention of an institutional relation of the community as such with another community as such.

Many households in Aze Debo'a have links with urban areas in the country, and Durame in particular. This has increased over time, as Durame slowly but steadily developed and offers services, market and business and investment opportunities for the richer households of the *kebele*. This was facilitated by better transport services – and will presumably further increase thanks to the ongoing asphaltting of the road linking Aze Debo'a to Durame. It is also being fuelled by the trend of increased international migration as successful migrants and their families invest in Durame or in businesses straddling rural and urban areas.

Community – NGO relations

There are a number of NGOs active in the *kebele* as described earlier. Community people generally appear to appreciate their presence and their activities. In some areas they are perceived as a very important support to government (e.g. drinking water supply, gender equality, support to vulnerable people). In a few instances community respondents singled out the role of NGOs in stepping in more timely than government or being the main provider of relief, in relation to the 2008 crop failure/ food crisis. As said above, KMG appears to be highly regarded.

A few people in the community seemed to be uneasy with the NGO law of the government as it was seen as undermining NGOs' ability to conduct useful right-related awareness raising and defence activities. Although one of the people who mentioned this issue also said that the lull that this had created in anti-FGM activities had been overcome.

Social cohesion in the community and beyond

Most community respondents highlighted that social cohesion is and has remained strong

(cooperation between neighbours and relatives in farming activities and celebrations, church- and clan-based social support, sharing of farm equipment and financial assistance by wealthier people to poorer ones, children's remittances etc.).

However, a few respondents said that because *'life became very difficult for everybody'* or *'everyone is busy on his/her own affairs and struggling to improve his/her life'*, households are more individualistic and the cooperation especially with people outside of the *kebele* is decreasing over time (elderly man with young children and worrying for them; head of middle wealth household and *kebele* chairman).

As already noted, with regard to PSNP and other targeted assistance there is no overt conflict and the research team did not find anyone bitter against other community members because of his or her exclusion (the unwillingly 'PSNP graduates' were angry at the *kebele* and *wereda* officials). However PSNP, in particular, has introduced a 'fault line' with one part of the community (hardworking and relying on themselves to improve their life) severely judging at least some of the other part benefiting from assistance and having developed a culture of dependence.

Ideas in the community

Local customary repertoire

In the local customary repertoire girls marry when they are mature (20 and above) and get circumcised beforehand; marriages are arranged by the families; and one is careful tracing the would-be spouses' lineage up to the seventh generation. The box on FGM, in the section *'growing up female in Aze Debo'a'*, illustrates some of the aspects of the local customary repertoire on women. Women do not work outside of the household. It is not clear whether anyone in the community would overtly hold to these ideas, but equally, it is not clear that they have completely disappeared.

In the local customary repertoire, having a large area of enset is a sign of being wealthy. In less wealthy households men may migrate seasonally to bring an income. Strong links with clan members in the community and beyond are very important.

Local modern repertoire

One example of the local modern repertoire is the case of the 16-17 year old girl from a poor family who vowed to marry uncircumcised, who studies with the help of World Vision and is supported by her parents in her ambition to join university.

Partners choose each other to marry. The young generation are encouraged by religious leaders to intermarry with anybody irrespective of his/ her clan background or ethnic origin. They are more sensible to wealth in making their choice. For the Protestant followers who are the majority in the *kebele*, couples should not divorce except in extreme cases.

Much more diversified livelihood portfolios and different sources of income are legitimate, including trade and business, and are actually necessary to become wealthy – which is valued.

Various types of links with urban areas and with abroad through migration are important. Living or investing in town is desirable.

Investing in one's children higher education used to be desirable but this is now challenged by the lack of jobs, even for educated youth.

Migration abroad for several years is a dream for many youngsters, a blessing for some families and a huge issue in the view of some community members - including among the young generation. For some of the progressives holding the local modern repertoire, successful migrants who send remittances and can lift their family out of poverty are a welcome development. They keep links with their families, and the community and their church in particular. For others, migrants risk their life unnecessarily; they should stay and *'live for their country'* instead. But the government should do

more for the young generation.

Clan links remain important, but church-based links have become very important too, especially for the Protestant majority. Ideas from NGOs and Protestant religious leaders and missionaries are highly influential.

Government ideology and interventions

The new ideas currently being promoted by politicians and government cadres are the Growth and Transformation Plan and the Renaissance Dam. They are said to be highly influential – although apart from key informants, no community member mentioned the GTP in an individual interview. In contrast, the government's ideas and policies in relation to ethnic-based federalism and to 'democracy' but taking measures against any opposition are not liked.

Many of the government interventions are well accepted. Several community respondents explained that they are ready to accept new ideas if they are helpful or relevant to the community and/or if they can improve the community's living conditions. One woman explained that sometimes it may take some time to adapt.

The government ideology and its interventions reach the community through *wereda* and *kebele* officials, training and awareness raising carried out mainly by the sector professionals working at kebele levels (DAs, HEWs), experience sharing among communities, the example of the development team and 1-5 group leaders, party reading materials that members discuss in meetings, and government and party meetings.

For instance, a focus group discussion on FGM mentioned that for the past two decades people had been educated through

... continuous education, sensitisation workshops, information dissemination through the mass media, distribution of written materials, house-to-house visits and one-to-one communication.

People's explanations reflect once more the government-party overlap:

The government passes its policies and programmes through the kebele administration, party members and the cell structure channeled up to individual (one for five persons) (group of community men of different wealth status).

For some people most of these meetings and discussions are not relevant to help changing people's livelihoods. For others (notably the kebele chairman) they all are useful.

Messages are also relayed by local leaders and churches (e.g. on FGM, HIV/AIDS), and this is considered as a much effective and even indispensable channel.

Rewards may matter too – e.g. the official recognition of the *kebele's* high achievements with regard to sanitation and prevention may be a motivation for community members – in addition to giving a motive for pride for the *kebele* officials and HEWs.

Radio and television

Radio is much more common than television. The rich household has its own TV. Many community respondents explained that they mostly listen to religious broadcasts. Several noted that they also listen to the radio (in Kembatissa or Amharic) to get information and new ideas. The head of the successful household who understands English well watches international news on BBC and Aljazeera, and he listens to VOA and 'German' and sometimes Ethiopian channels. All other community people interviewed mentioned Ethiopian channels only. There was no mention of drama or wrestling matches.

A number of household respondents said that some members of the family read – for their religious edification and prayers, but also that '*it is useful to get and understand new ideas*'. They read tracts and any other written materials (especially in Amharic and Kembatissa) like newspapers and

textbooks. People read newspapers when they go to town (head of successful household). One man said that they would like to have access to more reading materials.

Ethnic ideologies

There are no ethnic ideologies in Aze Debo'a.

Religious ideologies

There are no religious ideologies in Aze Debo'a, but the Protestant doctrine strongly prevails and makes a quite strict society (divorce and drinking are not allowed) – although as said elsewhere extramarital affairs do take place.

Urban connections and ideas

Urban connections and ideas are very important and recognised as such in Aze Debo'a. They influence livelihoods, human reproduction (schooling in town is better because it is private education or it is the only option anyway, once above primary education), aspirations, and even social institutions (such as marriages, mourning ceremonies, *iddir* replacing or coexisting with the traditional *serra*).

Diaspora connections and ideas

Diaspora connections and ideas are also very important and recognised as such in Aze Debo'a, although the only concrete example given by community respondents was that migrants were sending or bringing back music instruments like electronic keyboards and others, for their church.

Migrants probably reinforce the influence of urban areas as when they return they tend to live or invest in towns or in businesses straddling rural areas and towns (like transport), and their family may do the same with the remittances.

Globalisation

There is no discourse on globalisation in Aze Debo'a. To a certain extent the community is influenced by globalisation logics. For instance, the local coffee growers and traders bargain their sale of coffee to the local coffee processing investor based on their understanding that the Kembata coffee reaches a good price on the international market and could instead choose to sell their coffee to traders directly connected to Addis Ababa and/or export chains (although it would presumably be more complex hence the trade-off).

Similarly, the growing international migration influences the way the younger generations think about 'changing their life'. Moreover, migrants carry with them influences from the countries in which they have stayed. Migrants to South Africa send electronic musical instruments for their churches for instance.

When they return most migrants invest in businesses straddling rural and urban livelihoods, which is also a characteristic of the more globalised world of ideas.