# Do’oma site-specific topic: Cultural diffusion as a way out from recurrent drought

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## Informants: earlier settlers and knowledgeable people

### Description of background information about the kebele

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| Topics for the group discussion | | |
| When the village established, no. of households, population, resettlement related issues | Environment (climate, rainfall), geography, livelihood, etc. any change | Culture ( religion, ethnic, way of life |

The seven FGD participants here are from the local community who are earlier settlers, most of them being owners of irrigated land, having adopted the new crops and way of farming from the in-migrants. They mentioned that though there was an attempt to resettle people from the highlands to Do'oma kebele in 1979, it was made real after 1983 and two of the participants settled here in 1985, and the rest in 1988. All of them have irrigation access though the size of the land varies from 2 to 3.5 hectares. The wereda together with the newly established kebele administration, administered the land distribution to the settlers.

The irrigation dam and the canals were established by UNICEF when the resettlement began as one provision with other supports like modern beehives. They don’t have the exact figure of the population by then, but the discussants said that periodic resettlement and gradual migration of people expanded the villages.

When they mention about environmental changes, they said that the area had forest cover on the edges, wild animals, relatively better amount of rain and less hot climate. These are changed now, the rain fluctuates, and its amount is getting smaller, livelihood is changing from maize, potato, banana etc production to mixing new items like vegetables and spices though still the expansion is underway. Petty trade is another option for females, and there are a few craft workers.

The issues related to the relocation from the highland to the lowland were: its very hot climate, malaria, lack of drinking water etc. However, the issue of drinking water was resolved in 2004, and the government is trying to control malaria though still it is a problem.

### Changes introduced by the Amhara immigrants

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| **Earlier production, storage, and consumption history and culture** | **New changes and adaptation in farming** | **The importance of the new changes** | **Who is benefited/who is marginalized** | **Challenges** |
| Common crop, way of doing, working hours, storage, saving, consumption etc. | New products, the scale of adaptation, new technology/tools, new ideas etc. | Impact on food security, better life, housing, medication, asset building etc. | Access to irrigation, large family size, oxen | In farming, market, resources etc |

The main product since the beginning was maize, and still it is the common food item being produced widely. They mentioned that in 2005 and 2006 the Amhara came to the area and began to take their land for sharecropping and used it to plant vegetables like onions, and advised the land owners as vegetables are more valuable than crops like maize. Ato BB, the model farmer, said that migrants know well about how to do vegetables, and they are fast and devoted to work on them, but we/the local people prefer easy crops like maize which doesn’t need day to day follow up and hard work. Ato B also added that these people showed them that it is possible to harvest high product within ¼ hectare of land and the community learned about this product and in how to do it, the DAs never educated about this, the credit should be given to the Amhara, says Ato B. There were two local farmers, who tried onions in 2003, but they were not successful in doing it, the technique and skills of doing it came later with the migrants. People at first were saying it is hard work, and discarded it, but gradually everyone is going into it. The assumption here was that dry land doesn’t grow maize and hence, it doesn’t grow anything, then everyone tried to have access to irrigation, and left the dry land empty. But right after the demonstration of the Amhara about new fit crops like sorghum, sesame, chickpeas and spice called TIKUR AZMUD on the dry land people began to understand the use of it. Ato B believes that many people have now adopted all the new crops that are grown on the dry and irrigated lands, but just recently there has come an invasion of pests for most of the crops especially vegetables like onions, tomatoes, and pepper, which is discouraging the community from keeping up efforts to produce these new items of products. The problem with the pesticides is, the agriculture office at wereda and DAs couldn’t provide the pesticides and there is no private provider/trader in the area supplying them. The Amharas bring pesticides called *Mankuzea* from Addis Ababa by paying 800 birr per litre, and they share/sell it to the villagers when they have some left. The problem is not paying the money, but that there is not enough supply. The pests began affecting sweet potato in 2007 and now there is little potato in the area, and in 2010 and 2011, the problem greatly affected onions, pepper, tomato etc. These are the years when many farmers were bankrupted due to the pests. The pest is like a worm that affected the roots and leaves. Recently, it is affecting maize, and after the maize is ripe, the pests dry it and spoil the crop/corn.

However, before the pests became a threat, people were successful in earning about 7000 birr from ¼ hectare of land from onion production. The amount of gain depends on the onions planted, some got 3000, others about 4000 and the maximum are up to 13000 birr. In 2009 some got about 8000 birr from a quarter of a hectare and when villagers saw this gain, they planted a full hectare of onions from which they failed to earn even 1000 birr in 2010, due to pests, this year a few people used pesticide and planted onions on two hectares but the rain came late and spoiled it on the farm.

NF said that, since 2008, the community is benefiting from onions, earning at least 3000 birr from a quarter of a hectare by using a kg. of onions seeds. And he himself earned 4000 birr in 2007, and the same for the following years till 2011 when the pests destroyed his farm; he tried to use pesticides bought from the local market but which were not exactly proper for the kind of pests affecting the vegetables, therefore last year he lost 2000 birr due to the pests. There are other neighbours who just got only 300 birr from the investment of more than 1000 birr.

IU also earned about 4000 birr by working in a share with his friend, but last year he earned only 2000 birr from the land when he was supposed to get up to 7000 birr, and the cost was more than 2000 birr when he sums up the seeds, fertilizer, pesticides, and labour costs. He also planted onions this year and he is constantly using pesticides known as SILOCONIN and MANKUZE, bought from Welayta Sodo town at 300 birr each; despite the effort he is putting the onions don’t seem healthy. I is a PSNP public work beneficiary, who is considered as successful; however his major success is escalated by his involvement in the production of onions.

The vice chairman of the kebele was part of the discussion, and said he tried pepperd with the Amhara for share cropping in 2008 there was no pest issue, though the value of peppers was low by then. The product was large and he earned 1000 birr, but he didn’t try it for the years that followed, and last year he tried onions with his friend, but the pests affected them and he was bankrupted. Last year he spread pepper seeds and they didn’t grow well, then he bought the seedlings and planted them, but they also dried, though he doesn’t know the reason. He consulted the Amharas, and they told him that he put too much soil on the seeds, but the seedlings planted later died because of pests. However, the vice chairman said that he hopes the situation will change and he will try it again in the future.

The rest of the participants had success stories and earned good amounts except the vice chair’s story described above.

Z produced sesame this year and he didn’t harvest it but he said that it seems very good. Ato B said that he puts much effort into vegetables and he earns much, though this year, the pests are affecting most of his farm. He began in 2006 to plant tomatoes, onions, and peppers recently, he said that totally he earned about 29000 birr from 2006-11 from the sale of these items, after huge market failure and pest challenges. He mentioned that last year he lost about 40 quintals of tomatoes due to lack of market as the product needs faster market because of its perishing nature. Vegetables are the next best earning for him followed by livestock rearing and selling. Ato B was chairman of the kebele in 2005 when the first Amharas came to the area; he began to work with them on vegetables for sharecropping with them in 2006. He said that the wereda administration sent them with a support letter and he accepted them, the letter says, ‘these people will educate the community about farming, but take care that they should not be in large number in the kebele’. One of the young boys who came with the first in-migrants was employed in Ato B’s house as a farmer, and another member of one of the Amhara families also joined the boy, both then were assigned to work on sorghum farming, as they knew well about it. That same year, these boys were given land for sharecropping for onions and tomato, and they educated the family of the kebele chairman in how to do it independently.

OU said that the Amhara educated him about new type of pepper, which they brought from Addis Ababa, and the seedling system changed in to direct spreading of the seeds on the main farm. The dry land was just meant for woodland and for grass, but now it is becoming valuable. Any newcomer had a chance to take whatever area of dry land before, but now the community is feeling that no dry land should be given to outsiders, also there is shortage of dry land.

Z said that the newcomers know the types of soil where different kinds of seeds need to be planted. For example, on a red soil they plant maize, sorghum and sesame, and black soil is for peppers and onions. But we hadn’t such understanding to choose soil types for various types of products.

The other thing mentioned is that the Amhara work from crack of dawn to noon, unlike the community here, they also use all the family members to cooperate on farm work including women and children, they work the whole day and give serous emphasis to their farm work every day and every hour, this is what we have been learning, families are cooperating, and hiring farm labour is not common to some who adopt.

The other difference is that Amhara feed their oxen pancakes of maize with salt in the morning as they take breakfast for themselves, and plough their farm and take a break for two hours 12-2 PM when the oxen again get grass or other food, and work from 2-12 PM in the afternoon, but the local people plough only until 11 AM in the morning.

The farm tools attached to the oxen were different, like they are long and heavy wood and blunt iron tip, with the assumption that the heavy woods help to dig the soil, which is thick, well, but the participants said that the Amhara have shown us that the light woods and pointed tip iron makes better ploughing with fat and strong oxen that are cared and protected well. Ato B and the rest of the participants said that we understood that the heavy woods weaken the oxen rather than having the advantage perceived earlier.

The Amharas buy an ox for 3000 birr and while it is ploughing, it gets fattened and can be sold for 5000 birr or more. Because even at night they make them graze around the villages and feed them well the whole day. I said that our oxen are sent to the desert to graze and there is no separate care for them. The other thing is that we, the local people, are using the oxen throughout the year as we try to have a double harvest of maize, but their oxen remain in care since they don’t plough for about 6 months since they produce only during the summer season and the vegetable farm is very small so that doesn’t take their oxen’s energy. The double harvest of maize is not appreciated by the Amhara, and they say you have to give time to the soil to rehabilitate it, rather than producing less value crop twice. For example U, the Amhara, bought three oxen last week by paying about 3500 birr each from his pepper sale in this year, but we couldn’t even buy a cock from our maize sale which we worked the whole year. When they buy oxen they even count the teeth, and check all the body, to have a strong one, but we don’t have such care during purchasing of oxen.

If the rain comes on time, sesame and other spices have no risk of pests, and it is good now, and the Kalihiwot church produced a high amount on its land this year, and a few people are adopting it. The problem is that most of the early settlers don’t have dry land at the moment, as they were not interested in it then, young people have it now, but some of them are reluctant to work, but the vice chair opposed this and said, the young have been given land recently and we can’t judge them by now, Ato B, however, said our people want only easy work and don’t need tiring products and activities. Young people most of the time prefer to get employment in investment, spending their time in town and some plant only maize on the dry land which usually dies. I said that young people also lack awareness about the right timing for sowing new items of product.

A few people began, to plough in the afternoon in the community, like the Amharas do, and they also began to care for their oxen.

About the pests and the decrease in productivity, this is a concern for the kebele administration, and the vice chairman said that the kebele is planning to send a letter to the wereda to bring experts who can identify the problem and analyze the issue, to seek solutions. But personally they are hoping that the road network is improving, and market price is better these days, and hopefully traders will come and take out the products etc.

O said that maize is the main food for us, which is now affected by pests, and vegetables are also at risk. Therefore, the plan is to find pesticides from towns. Since the government or the wereda office, is less active and supportive to help farmers to change their situation, Ato B said that he will buy the pesticides with the onion seeds if he goes to town for them, and about the maize he said if the problem comes next year, he will not stay waiting for government help, he will go to town and consult people and will buy the pesticide. According to him government has focused on trading fertilizer in the last three years, and left education, and other community issues that should have been concerns of the government.

Overall impacts of the cultural exchanges are improved life of local people when earnings grow, they begin to have better clothes, build better houses like iron sheet roof ones (with minimum cost of 10,000 birr), many people have bought oxen, families could afford medication costs up to hospital level.

### The history of the drought and its impact

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| When it began, how frequent, how severe it is, and consequent crisis | How many people affected at different times, who is more vulnerable | Drought reasons, natural, cultural, physical etc. |

Drought and food gaps are common to Do'oma Community since the beginning (the mid 1980s) due to lack of adequate rainfall, excess rainfall at the wrong time, strong sun, pesticides etc. However, those who are affected frequently are either because of having a large family and very small irrigation land or those who don’t have access to it at all. When the issue of lifestyle is discussed, they mentioned that there is no culture of storage of food for security to cope with hard times; people sell harvests without considering enough the amount of household feeding till the next production season, which causes a food gap. Besides, lack of hard work and knowledge of farming techniques is mentioned as one important reason for the problem. When pests come and excessive rain at unwanted times happens, the drought affects everyone except a few who have good economic status, and most of the community face the problem that forces them to sell assets and seek assistance from relatives living elsewhere, as well as from the government which is emergency food aid, FFW, etc.

### What were the measures taken to tackle the problem?

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| Measures taken by people on their own, and other coping mechanisms, technology, farming period, type of crops etc | Government intervention and other efforts by NGOs, Church or any other institution | Did these various measures bring about real change to prevent future occurrences of drought? |

People on their own began to work harder and longer hours though not everyone does this, those who have dry land only are trying to adopt the new items of crops like sesame, sorghum and spices, while trying to have access for sharecropping on the irrigation land to plant onions. Those who already have access to irrigation are now using part of their land for onions, peppers and tomatoes rather than planting only maize. There is no major technology change but there are important lessons taken from the in-migrant Amhara people, these are: differentiating soil type for different items of product so that it is suitable, adopting new crops and vegetables, identifying the right period for sowing for each item of product, changing to more appropriate wood and metal equipments that are fastened on the oxen, and special care for oxen though this one is still way back. Meskel Equb is found to be guarantee for borrowing money when there is a food gap, not common drought.

The government is trying to educate the community about farming through DAs and they are providing fertilizer and improved maize seeds to enhance productivity, though some are forced to take fertilizer without their consent. Besides, there is PSNP that helps people who can be part of public works and those unable to do so. For the rest of the community out of PSNP, FFW and emergency food aid are distributed at times of food crisis.

The most important change, however, is the shift from maize and potatoes to highly valuable items of product that came recently. These products are bringing real change to the families who tried them well, they can save large amounts of money that they can use at any food crisis period, or for various needs like medical costs that need hospital etc.

### The extent of impact of drought on people’s’ lives

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| Impact on feeding, impacts on livelihood, on assets, health and education of children etc. | Impact on r/ship in a family and between villagers, any theft crime | Did people migrate away, or engage in seasonal migration? |

When the drought is prolonged, it causes crisis beyond feeding difficulties, people sell whatever they have at least to buy their one or two times a day meal, the food items that can be accessible are only pancakes made of maize flour or potato. Children become too weak to get motivation for school and there is no serious follow up and force to push them to attend regularly, besides, they will not be interested to study at home due the crisis at home. At this time illness becomes common but it is hard to afford medication even at the health centre level. So far there was no problem created in household relationships due to drought or food gap, but villagers are unable to cooperate with each other as most of them are in the problem. There is no conflict, theft or crime related to the drought seasons. People sell firewood and grass, and hire as labourers in any possible opportunity in the investment and in Wacha town, but migrating elsewhere is not common at this period, as it needs money to travel to new places. However, a few young people migrate at different times to nearby towns like Sodo, Arbaminch, Sawla, and Selamber, though it is not a large number.

### What potential is there to change the situation?

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| Irrigation, farm expansion, other cash crop, and other farm related potential | Non-farm opportunities/potentials to change the livelihood | Is a change in lifestyle required to change the situation, if yes what, and why and in what way? |

The discussants said that the area is surrounded by two rivers, Zage and Mast, it has a hot climate that can grow new items as they are experimenting it now, hence if these rivers were fully utilized with motor pumps, everyone in the community could have been benefited. If veterinary service was in place, livestock production could have been another potential. If the road in the kebele connected traders to Wacha town without problem, it could help facilitation of output sales. The non-farm opportunity is trading of agricultural outputs if enough capital and transportation access is improved, these can help many people, putting in a grinding mill is also another opportunity, and motorbike business for youth for local transportation etc.

## Informants: in-migrants from Amhara

### Story of their arrival in to the kebele

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| How did you hear about this place, when did you arrive, your place of origin, short story about the journey | What was the situation here when you arrived, whom did you contact, what support did you get, from whom, any threat? etc. | Were you given land, if not, any other way to access land (including irrigated land), how helpful is it? |

Ato CD was the first person who heard about Do'oma/Deramalo wereda when he was travelling from North Shewa to Sawla/Gofa wereda in 2005 to visit his relative who had migrated and settled there. He had conversations about the fertility of southern Ethiopia and mainly Gofa, but the person who knows Deramalo wereda told him in the middle of the conversation about the fertility of Deramalo wereda which he described as ‘a soil growing everything except salt’. Then he initiated two of his friends and travelled to the wereda. During their journey they had no serious problem, except a long time waiting to get transport from Sodo town to Morka and from Morka to Wacha, the town of Deramalo Wereda. When they arrived, they contacted the wereda administrator who had a welcoming approach. He took them to his house and his wife who is Amhara from Gonder welcomed them with hospitability and hosted them for three days till they were referred to Do’oma kebele, with a support letter, which said ‘these are hard working people who voluntarily came to the wereda to live with our people, they are hard workers and know techniques of farming well, they will be helpful to educate the community about farming, therefore accept them and give them land for huts and farmland, but take care not to let many in-migrants into the kebele.’

The kebele welcomed them as well and first gave them plots of land for house construction, which are in the middle of the community. Then after they received the land, they went back to their original place in North Showa, and they returned having collected some money from their home and relatives to construct a house in 2006. In this same year the kebele provided them farm land. When they were asked about the size, they said that the kebele told them that it needed time to get irrigated land, but the in-migrants asked to be given the dry land, now the administration said that it didn’t grow anything because of rain shortage (it is dry land), but these three people said the dry land is good for them, and then the kebele showed open dry land which was idle then, and allowed them to take dry land as much as they wanted. They began to grow new items of crops like sorghum, spices, sesame, chickpeas etc. which can grow well with limited rainfall rather than maize which totally fails if it doesn’t get prolonged water/rain, in addition these items of products need strong sun which is abundant in the area, unlike maize which should get enough water with the sun’s heat.

The first year had good rainfall amount and the climate was not that bad, that year. In 2006, they also produced teff and haricots, but in 2007 it was drought season, which frustrated the newcomers, but they hoped the conditions would improve and in 2008 the rain was good which enabled them to produce many items of products including red peppers, they said that they stopped sowing teff, because it needs dependable rain. Hereafter other Amhara in-migrants began to come to the kebele and other surrounding kebeles like Masta kebele. Today there are about 22 households just in Do’oma Kebele. These people have their own Iddir and the list shows that they have 22 people who are only Amharas.

### The migrants’ way of doing farming

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| Tilling the land, sowing, weeding, fertilizer type and application, any different techniques, time spent on farm a day, labour cooperation among them, etc. | Type of crops grown, how different from local people, seasons for each crop, productivity of the crop, challenges related to each crop, rewards/value of each item | Any support from DA, or from others to enhance their productivity? |

FGD participants mentioned that they have some differences in their way of farming to the local community. They use very sharp tip of iron fastened onthe wood they use to hang on oxen which makes the ploughing easier, in addition they also use shorter wood on the shoulders of oxen that keeps them together to pull the farm tools together with better force than the villagers’ longer wood that keeps the oxen apart which they mentioned that it tires out the oxen and the farmer, also it decreases the power to plough the land easily (the name of the farm tools fixed on oxen for improved ploughing due to the newcomers are KEMBER, MERAN, MOFER and MARESHA/IRON TIP). About sowing they mentioned that they introduced a new approach to red pepper which was planted by growing seedlings and transferring them into the main field on a very small scale, but now the Amhara people have introduced spreading the seed on the main farm which reduces the cost and energy and enables to use large land area for this product. When the other group of local people mentioned in a separate FGD, they said that the in-migrants knows which type of soil grows what kinds of crops, when to grow them and the whole process in all the farming seasons. The informants mentioned that they use the same type of fertilizer that the community uses that is provided by the government, but one of the discussants said that he was called on for assistance to show the DA how much fertilizer amount should be added to each spot of seeds, and he showed the DA crop when he was passing by where the DA was trying to show one of the villagers, and most of the participants said that people have limited skill about the use of fertilizer, its amount and timing.

Farming hours for the local people is from 7:00-11:00 AM, because they believe that it is a hot area which never allows to plough or do other farm activities beyond that, it is hard for the man and for the oxen as well. But the Amhara said that their time of farming is from dawn to noon, 6:00 AM-12:30 PM. This was proved by observation and it required frequent attempts and arrangements to meet the Amhara, but it was easy to meet the local people. The level of cooperation is there both within the locals and within the Amhara (Dego for the Gamo and Debo for Amhara). However, when the in-migrants cooperate, they work together a full day during harvesting.

The main crops common to the new migrants and that are being introduced are sorghum, sesame, haricot beans, onions, and red peppers. The haricot bean is new experimentation this year, some of the newcomers/migrants tried it, for example NB one of the early migrants tried 4 kg of it and harvested three quintals of haricot beans, he said that it is new even for them, haricot beans are common in North Showa where they came from, but this is new in its kind which they brought from Addis Ababa. According to the experiment, they have learned that it is very productive in the area, and they plan to expand it. Mr. CD, the delegate for the migrant community, says a few people tried a type of spice which is called TIKUR AZMUD ‘which is black tiny seeds which is highly valuable’, for example, he tried it on a very small dry land and earned about 4000 birr last year. They mentioned that there is late rain that affects the productivity of red peppers, however, still this is a very good expansion of the product, and they said that Wacha town market is fully supplied and traders are coming from Welayta Sodo town as there is surplus from the local market.

Ato U who was not a participant in the discussion is mentioned to gain about 15000 birr just from sale of red peppers even after the rain spoiled part of them, and such proportional gain is there for every Amhara who planted it. When they compare onions with red peppers, they say that the latter is more advantageous and pays more, but the local people just learned onions first, which is more highly valuable than maize which is common to them, and Ato C hopes that the local people are experimenting with red peppers as well which they could value most in time. Local people have much better access to irrigation which they can use for onions at the moment. The migrants are now telling other farmers that they earned about 10-15 thousand birr from red peppers, and many people are inspired to plant them widely for the coming year.

The problem with some of them experimenting with red peppers is they plant them in April, and the rain spoils them, which is early planting, the other observation they had is, the local people are less devoted to follow it up and remove the weeds very well, because they know that maize can cope with some level of weeds, unlike the new product/pepper. There are very active farmers who have adopted everything from the migrants, and benefited from the new products, for example Ato BB, A and L sold equal amounts of peppers as the Amhara this year. There is lack of culture of hard work, but for the migrants they said that they have grown up with a culture of full day on farm life, and they do it here too.

With the earlier discussion with the local people, the kebele vice chairman mentioned that, he tried to spread out peppers by taking the seeds from NB, the Amhara, but he said that they didn’t grow well, when I ask the migrant group, why such cases happen, Ato N mentioned that the problem was the vice chair used half a kilogram of seeds on a land that needs at least three kg of pepper seeds, and thick soil was loaded on the seeds so that they couldn’t come out, and this problem was explained to the vice chairman to improve his future trials.

The participants in this group mentioned that the DAs never helped them technically, even when they encountered a problem like pests and other things, it needs frequent visit and begging to get their cooperation, besides the migrants don’t feel that they have less knowledge than the DAs have, Ato N said that one of the DAs asked assistance from him when he was confused to show distance of maize panting and fertilizer amount for each seed.

For maize especially, people try to plant it in April and the coming two months May and part of June become dry which spoils their effort, but the migrants plant maize in mid-June when the summer rains begin and this helps it grow well. Summer is idle/resting time for the local people. After mid-August they plant maize, though the coming months are dry, which is less productive though supported by irrigation. Leguminous plants are planted at the end of summer, which needs only a little water at the beginning and strong sun for the remaining time.

About the care given to oxen, there is variation between the villagers and the Amhara who plough their land a full day. Ato C says, when the locals see us ploughing a full day, they say you are cruel to your oxen. But the Amhara give their oxen food/grass before they begin to work, then they 11 or 12 in the morning. Then they feed them till 2:30 PM, and begin to work once again continuing to 6:30 PM. ‘They say when the man eat lunch, the ox deserves it as well’. Besides grass, they are given cooked maize/sorghum flour, which they call it ENKURO, CHIBETO mixed with salt, that is very helpful to build their oxen’s body. C says if you feed oxen these items, they can work the night, let alone the day, and hard work with food is physical exercise for the oxen.

But the participant mentioned their observation about the local peoples’ treatment of oxen, and said they just take out the oxen and go to their farm land to plough without feeding them, then they work till 11 AM and mix them with the herds to struggle/compete with cows and other livestock who had no labour, and then they can’t graze well, as they become weak due to the workload, hunger and strong sun. The other thing is that they keep their cattle in between two poles and they tie them with ropes, which doesn’t allow them to choose a comfortable place to sleep, there are stones on the floor put on to prevent it from being wet, that makes the oxen chose to stand most of the night rather than sleeping on the stones; this is another factor that weakens the oxen. However, the Amhara clean the muddy ground every time, and leave the livestock without tying, to make them chose a proper place to sleep.

The livestock will be given grass on a platform made of wood to make the most of the grass used/eaten, or not spoiled, which is not the case with the local people.

As there is enough grazing, the Amhara themselves are not keeping grass for the dry season, but in their place of origin/North Showa, keeping animal feed for dry season was common. One of the participants, however, said that the kebele vice chairman banned cutting grass for keeping, though others argued that it is not a problem to cut it, if someone goes and cuts it from far places.

### Livelihood and status of the in-migrants

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| Number of livestock, mainly oxen, other assets, annual product amount | Where do you put yourself compared to local people in regard to economic status, if you are better off, reason for getting this status (earlier capital, hard work, any cooperation, skills from home etc.)? | If you can say you are better off, how has this affected your family here and home (health, education, any other)? |

The participants mentioned that they don’t keep many cattle except oxen for farming and a cow for milk for their children; the reason for this was, they don’t want to keep many cattle as a stock, and their attention is on saving money. The reason for this again is that they were not sure that they want to stay in Do’oma, hoping to get home one day, and they don’t want to display their wealth by showing herds of cattle within a short time of their stay. However, just recently they began to feel that they are getting old and they don’t need to get back home, they all discussed and decided to live here permanently, that made few of them buy up to 8 cattle recently this year. C said that only N bought a donkey and every Amhara fellow was borrowing it which made him to sell it, because people had no feeling for settled life and they don’t even have donkeys to transport their products, and they carry them like the local people do unlike their culture in their home place, but they are planning to have donkeys soon.

When they are asked about economic status differences and lifestyle between the two groups in the community, the migrants said that there are many people who produce a large quantity of products which is maize/less valuable, and sold usually when market price is very low. They don’t even keep enough food for the family, this is because mostly they trust the irrigation and say ‘we can produce at any time’ the other reason is they don’t have enough knowledge about how to use pesticides in storage. They sell maize when it is cheap and they sell their livestock to cover the food gap they face at some points.

The Amhara use pesticide for storage as well as for the plants on the farm, they buy pumps which they carry on the back that cost about 1500 birr, which is not known by the local people at all. The pump and the pesticide is bought from Addis Ababa and Awasa area.

The participants said that no one had food shortages or financial problems among them, and they said that they can afford to buy anything they want for the family, and their plan is to engage themselves in bull fattening, and other businesses as well as constructing a house in town. Therefore, when they compare themselves with the villagers, they are better off, though they daren’t say they are very rich.

The economic status change is manifested by the changes when children are getting education and better facilities, they are getting milk, they get better clothes than before, they eat well, and sanitation and medical facilities are much better now.

### Any dissemination of new ways of farming to the local people?

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| New crops which were not there before, new ways of doing the farming process, any other | About storage of harvest, and market related issues | How important was this diffusion of farming skills, did it improve productivity, and standards of life of villagers, what do people say about this when compared to agricultural extension programme impacts? |

The crops that are newly introduced are onions, sesame, sorghum, and spices of various kinds. Though pepper is not new, the type and the scale have been changed a lot.

The knowledge gap about weed killer is that they don’t differentiate the type of the chemical that kills specific leaves, and they use the one that is used for maize to pepper, sesame or any other type of crop that may die together with the weeds due to the wrong spray that is misreading from what is being done by the Amhara. Weeding was manual entirely earlier, but now the local people are adopting the use of weedkiller though it is taking time to understand how it works.

As mentioned above, the sowing of peppers has simplified, some plots of land meant for maize changed to be used for onions, some of the farm tools attached on an oxen are improved, dry land began to be used for crops like sorghum, sesame, and other spices, on the land that was idle before as it is perceived unproductive.

About storage and searching for better market advantage, there is still a gap observed by the new migrants, as the local people usually sell their products as soon as they are harvested and they even sell on the farm before taking them to their houses, this is due to fear of pests in storage as they don’t have knowledge about prevention, in addition to lack of wise management of their output.

About the market, it is mentioned that there is very low demand when compared to the growing production of peppers, onions and other new items. The wereda town market can be satisfied with the products of two or three strong farmers, and it gets saturated, hence it is necessary to find markets elsewhere. Traders are less interested to come and take out products as the transportation is costly and inconvenient to reach Do’oma. EX, one of the participants, said that there is only one trader who comes from Welayta who is begged to come all the time, and even this year due to poor market opportunities, they sold their products very cheaply. Mainly the pepper market is very difficult when it is produced in a high amount/big size.

E says that two years ago, he took peppers he produced to Addis Ababa market, but the traders there know that you don’t have a store, they promise to buy with a good price though at the evening they come and propose another cheaper price, therefore as he had no choice he sold 7 birr per kg, which is half the price of the market at Addis Ababa, the transportation was costly which bankrupted him. He said that if I have to sell with low price, I will sell it in the local market or around Welayta.

Ato C also took it to Addis Ababa Market in 2010, and sold 15 birr per kg, though the price by then was 25 per kg, as he had nowhere to store it, and didn’t know more than one or two traders. For maize, there is no problem, traders will come and take it from Welayta. But when it comes to other items, it is difficult. For example, when Ato U takes his tomato product to Wacha town market, he can fulfil the demands of the market on that specific market day, while if two or three of them take the same items of products they will be left with perished tomatoes at the end of that market day. E said that last year he lost almost all his tomato product because of very poor demand for tomato.

Ato N said that, the market problem is caused due to less effort by the general community to produce these items and make the area known for these products, now there are a few migrants who produce high surpluses, the rest of the community is on experimentation and only few have adopted it well. For example in Basketo area, there are about 500 migrants and settlers who settled there, the road is very bad, even worse than the Do’oma road, but traders come from Addis Ababa and take out their products with reasonable prices. But in Do’oma, there is no huge surplus that attract traders as their resource area, and for the farmers to take the product to towns, there is a problem of knowledge of the areas and the system.

Ato C last year produce a large amount of onions, and wanted to transport it to Selamber town, where he hoped to get buyers, but for each quintal he had to pay about 40 birr for the transport and labour. He found it very expensive and decided to store it in Wacha town where he rented six classrooms and filled them with onions. However, there was no buyer who could take the entire product stored, and more than half of it has perished/ wasted.

AN also produced onions that were transported to Wolayita Sodo town, by paying 1500 birr for the Issus car he rented, but even there in Welayta the price was very cheap, and the gain was very low. There is one fact that the price of onions gets low in some years and gets high another time; when it is cheap everywhere, it is worse here in Do’oma due distance and transportation costs.

The cultural diffusion of the production helped many people succeed by producing these high value products rather than spending much time and energy on maize and potatoes. But still maize has remained a common food item and is being produced by the majority. It seems that people are using part of their irrigated land for onions, peppers etc, but as they need maize for the household food, they produce maize. Some people constructed iron sheet roof houses, some bought oxen and cows etc from the gain from the sale of onions.

In regard, to family planning, the new migrants didn’t gave birth at the time they stayed in Do’oma for the last five years, and one of the community members asked Ato N, as they had no baby born here before ‘but last year some of your women gave birth and the rest are now pregnant’, and said ‘you began to have babies when you know that you have wealth now’. The migrants mentioned that they were using birth control. But the local community prefers to have a large family of 9-10 children without considering their economic status. This difference is being observed by a few neighbours and they began to give attention to the importance of family planning.

When the discussants were asked if they have adopted anything from the host community, they agreed that one easy fast food is learned which is made of maize called FOSESEA, that made it simpler for the Amhara households to have fast breakfast and go out for work and send their children to school by feeding them it. Previously the wives have to cook WET and ENJERA, which was taking much of their time, or the women, should get up early, at 5 AM.

One of the participants raised that, Gamo people in Do’oma construct a nice house, which he appreciated, but the rest of the participants disagreed with it and said, in their place of origin, a house is constructed with stones and it is much better than the houses here, and the reason they build just simple houses is because they haven’t decide to stay here permanently, now they can do even better as they have already decided to stay.