

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

COMMUNITY SITUATION 2013

KORMARGEFIA, AMHARA REGION

STAGE 3 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 2



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This report is one of six Community Situation 2013 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage Three of the ‘*Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia*’ research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Community in Place in 2013 using a number of different perspectives. The database from which the report was written was produced in two rounds of fieldwork. The first five-week fieldwork was undertaken in March/April 2013 and the second gap-filling fieldwork in November 2013. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Methodology Annex of the Stage Three Final Report. Our methodology ensures that all statements in the Report are connected to interviews in the database so that in case of queries we can go back to the sources of the statements. These sources are a multitude of interviews with wereda officials, kebele officials, other community leaders and notables, rich-to-poor farmers and their wives, young-to-old dependent adults, and young people between the ages of 11 and 29. Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs. The Community Situation reports are also informed by earlier research in the sites in 1995 when village studies were produced (WIDE 1), and during the Wellbeing in Developing Studies research in 2003 (WIDE 2). Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on www.ethiopiawide.net.

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Community features

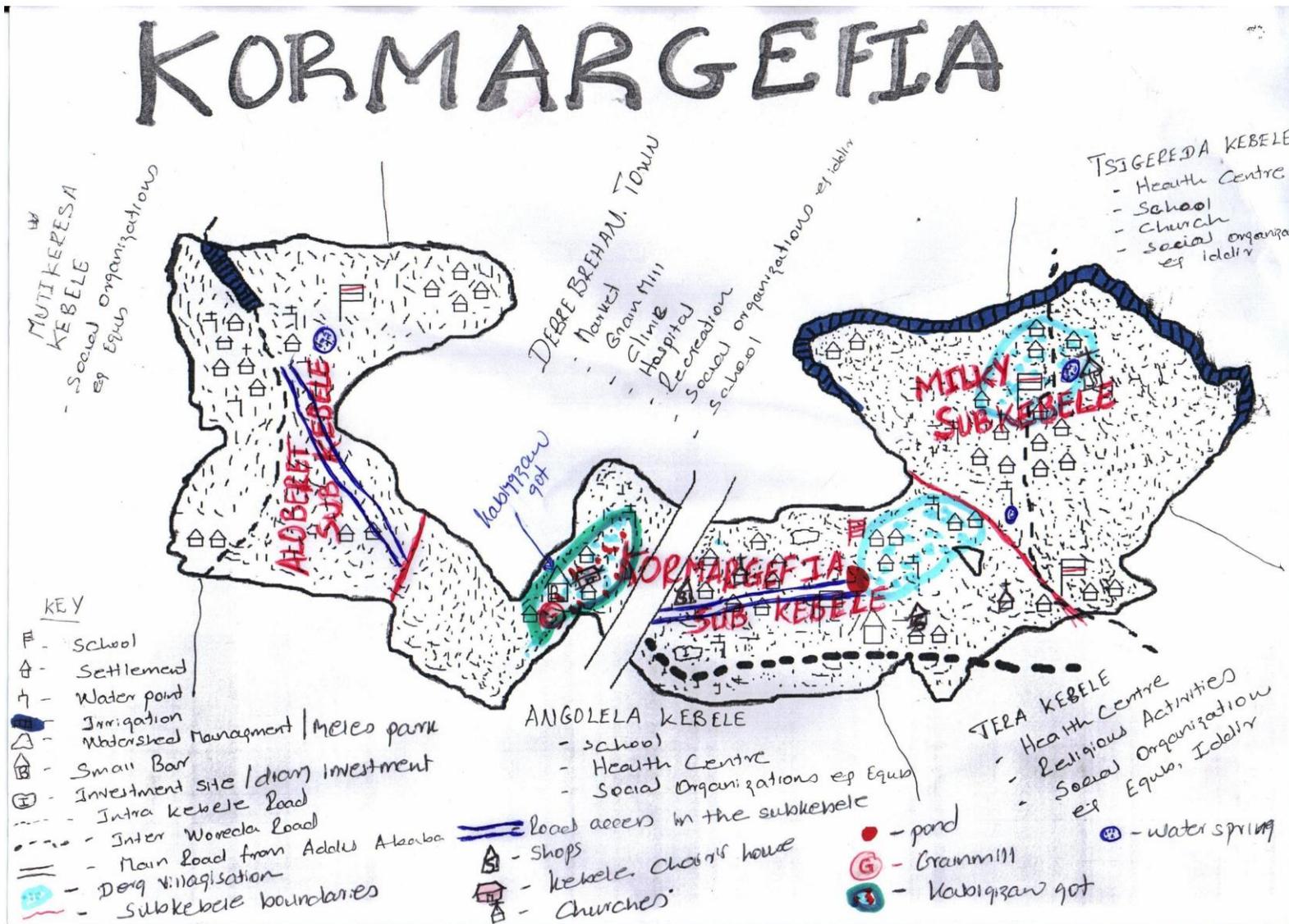
Kormargefia kebele is situated on the outskirts of Debre Berhan in Amhara region on a highland plain with a few scattered hilly areas. Prior to 1997, Kormargefia, Aloveret, Milki, Faji, Bokafia, Tebase and Kara Fino were all separate kebeles. They were merged into Kormargefia kebele in 1997. In 2005, the majority of Faji, Bokafia and Kara Fino and the whole of Tebase were transferred to Debre Berhan town administration, leaving Kormargefia, Aloveret and Milki sub-kebeles within the present Kormargefia kebele. The kebele offices were previously in Faji. After the split, new offices were constructed in Kormargefia sub-kebele (see map, below).

The local economy is based primarily on agricultural production. In the past, crop production was the main livelihood, but in recent years high prices have led local farmers to expand dairy production and livestock fattening as major sources of income. Improved breeds of livestock provided by government agricultural extension workers, a local agricultural research centre and NGOs have been important factors in increasing milk production and producing fattened livestock for sale. In contrast, crop production has become more problematic in recent years. In particular, crops have been damaged by frost, hail and erratic rainfall. Most local farmers no longer attempt to grow crops in the short rains (belg) and the long rains (meher) often begin late or end early, affecting production. Irrigation using river water transported through canals under gravity has long been practised in the community. In recent years, several farmers have expanded irrigated production by purchasing motors and pumps to bring water to areas that cannot be reached by the canals. As a result, the production of vegetables under irrigation for sale in local markets has expanded despite the risks from frost and hail. For the most part, however, farmers produce subsistence crops, in particular barley, wheat and fava beans, only selling the surplus once household consumption is accounted for.

The land shortage is a major challenge in the area, with most young respondents acknowledging that they have little chance of getting agricultural land from their parents or the kebele administration. Consequently, most people in the community believe that young people must seek livelihoods outside the kebele. Educational provision has expanded in the kebele (now grade 1-6) and local towns such as Debre Berhan. Those that succeed in education may be able to find jobs in the government or businesses in towns. For many of those that drop out of education, employment opportunities include daily labour in construction projects in neighbouring kebele and Debre Berhan or work as housemaids for girls in Addis Ababa. In recent years there has also been a sharp increase in the number of young women migrating to Arab countries through legal means to work as housemaids. Many of these young women have sent remittances to their families. As a result, many in the kebele regard families with a daughter in an Arab country as the luckiest in the community, encouraging others to migrate as well.

Government interventions in recent years have particularly focused on promoting gender equality and eradicating so-called harmful traditional practices. Federal and regional governments drafted laws to ban previously common practices such as female circumcision, underage marriage, rape and abduction, and to protect women's equal rights to land and other property several years ago. However, the fieldwork suggests that significant progress in implementation has been made through the wereda Women's Affairs Office, which provides support for women to bring disputes to the wereda court and follows up divorce cases to ensure that women have been fairly treated. The wereda has also created a position for women's affairs in the kebele to promote similar work at the kebele level.

Map 1 Kormargefia community



Place

Altitude and terrain

The community is situated on a plain in the highlands (dega), with a few hilly areas that are mostly used for settlements, in particular around the kebele centre. These hilly areas are mostly gently sloping, with a few steep inclines.

Soil

There are three soil types: red (qay), grey (abolsei) and black (merere). The last of these is the least common and is found primarily in Milki gott. These different soil types are suitable for different crops: on red and grey soil, white barley, linseed and peas are preferred; and on black soil, black barley, wheat and beans are more productive. The soil in the community contains many black rocks, the type commonly used on gravel roads, which make farming difficult. Many respondents report that soil fertility has declined since farmers started using chemical fertilisers under the Derg regime and since farmers stopped fallowing land due to the growing land shortage. In the past farmers burned crop residues (gay) as a means of enhancing soil fertility. Ideally this land would be left fallow for more than ten years before burning, although this might be only 3-4 years in practice. At present, however, farmers mainly rely on fertiliser and compost in order to produce a crop.

Erosion is not a serious problem on the plain. However, some hilly areas and communal land on slopes have been subject to erosion, particularly as a result of hail in the rainy season. For the most part, however, hilly areas are used for residence, rather than agriculture, and most respondents report that public works campaigns building terraces and check dams have limited erosion.

Ecosystem

There are some small areas of eucalyptus trees planted under the Derg which are shared by the community. The area covered by trees has greatly expanded in recent years as a result of private initiatives, with individuals planting trees on hillsides and around dwellings for income generation. Common animals in the area include rabbits, jackals (tekula), leopards (aner), hyenas and genet (shelemetemat). Jackals frequently attack the farmers' sheep and genet eat chickens.

Weather and climate

Problems caused by weather

The most serious weather related problems are frost, hail, flooding and wind. Frost occurs in most years and particularly affects crops on the plain, whereas hillside crops are largely unaffected. Fava beans and peas are particularly vulnerable to frost. Hail is also common during the rainy season and is extremely destructive, damaging crops and contributing to soil erosion.

During the rainy season, farmland on the plain is prone to flooding, making it difficult to cultivate crops, and unseasonal rains during harvest time threaten production and lead some farmers to hire labourers to harvest the crops quickly. During periods of unseasonal rains, the school also gives students time off so that they can help their family with the harvest. One respondent reported that the barley crop in 2012 was damaged by strong winds.

Weather since 2008

Several respondents reported that the rains are becoming increasingly unpredictable. In the past, respondents report that they produced two crops a year in the belg (short rains) and kiremt (long rains). Recently, however, the belg rains usually do not come or produce only a little rain, and so most farmers have stopped cultivating at this time. Furthermore, the kiremt rains in recent years have started late and/or stopped early. As a result of this shortage of rainfall, some farmers have

stopped growing lentils.

In July 2013 when hail is expected everyone strictly abstained from work on holy days including those days that are workable in other months. People avoided working for fear of being identified as the cause of destruction if large hail falls and damages crops. August to October are the food deficit periods, and farms may sell barley and wheat to buy other grains such as tef and sorghum. The first ploughing takes place in October, reploughing in February or March then once or twice before seed planting. Carrots that are frost-resistant were planted in November and potatoes in January. The Kebele manager said the leadership and Development Agents mobilised the community for meher crop production from land preparation to planting weeding and timely harvesting.

Table 1: Seasonality and work

	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Possible rains	Dry	Dry	Dry	Dry	Maybe belg rain	Maybe belg rain	Rain	Rain	Rain	Rain	Rain
Male work	Weeding / Ploughing (belg)	Ploughing (belg)	Harvesting	Harvesting	Threshing		Ploughing (meher)	Ploughing (meher)			Weeding	Weeding
Female work	Weeding		Harvesting	Harvesting	Threshing						Weeding	Weeding

See also the seasonality calendar in the annex to this report.

Community land use

Land use

There are 2970 hectares of cultivated farmland in the kebele, 1792.25 hectares of grazing land, 395 hectares of forest, 170 hectares for public buildings and 5 hectares for investment. Communal grazing land is scattered across the community amongst individual landholdings.

The investment was previously communal land and was leased for cattle fattening and dairy production by the wereda. However, the original investors experienced problems and have been replaced by new investors from Addis Ababa based on an agreement between the old and new investors. The new investors have begun construction of new facilities.

Settlement pattern

There are three gotts in the kebele, with relatively densely-populated centres that were villagisation sites under the Derg. These are located at Kabigizaw Got by the Addis-Debre Berhan road; Kormargefia Got at the kebele centre and Layi-Milki. Other than these settlements, dwellings are sparsely scattered across the kebele. Two of the densely-populated gotts are located in Kormargefia and one in Milki sub-kebele. In these gotts, one can observe a 'village', where houses are built close to each other and there are no large plots of land between houses. In contrast to the general settlement pattern in the community, houses in these densely-populated areas are built on flat land. Other than in these settlements, kebele residents prefer to build their houses on hilly parts of their land since this leaves flat lands for farming.

An emerging rural town is taking shape at the Kabigizaw site as house construction for renting to shop openers and alcohol trading has been growing. The other two centres remain the same residential areas occupied by some of the original dwellers and some who continued to live on the land allocated during villagisation. The two centres in Kormargefia sub-kebele include the one in which almost all the kebele public buildings are located. The other is located by the side of the main road. Both the kebele chairman and the kebele's only businesswoman live there and the mill is also located there. Furthermore, international female return migrants and other financially strong women have leased land in this area to construct buildings that could be used to open local bars and

grain mills. A woman who returned from an Arab country has bought and installed a grainmill on her parents' land in Kabigizaw but a transformer built for the former mill owner couldn't extend the electricity so she is trying to get a new transformer and start work.

Previously, there was one small shop located between these two gotts in Kormargefia sub-kebele. However, the owner had to shut down the shop for the last three months due to his agricultural workload. He intends to re-open the shop at the end of the farming season and has built a tin roof for the building.

The third densely-populated gott is located in Milki sub-kebele. There is a satellite school there that teaches from grade 0 to 4 and a church. An inter-wereda road passes through the kebele near to this densely-populated gott.

Oromos live mixed with Amharas both attending the same church, intermarrying, sharing organisations, and communicating in Amharic. The only difference is that the Oromo can also speak Oromiffa. A leader from Aloveret said most Oromos live in his gott, fewer in Kabizigaw gott and Faji, Arkisekelo, Gendedeye and Weregen hamlets.

Urban areas

Faji and Bokafia, previously part of this kebele have been transferred to the urban kebele administration and much of the land has been leased to investors. There are no urban areas within the kebele, although respondents indicated that the Derg era villagisation site in Kabigizaw gott, Kormargefia sub-kebele, is expanding as more houses are built.

The Kabigizaw settlement is growing into a town as many people are constructing modern houses – some on own land and some buying plots from others. A priest from the wereda church administration bought land and built a house with many rooms and opened a shop. A farmer built on his own land and opened a shop. Selling of areqe and tella has been increasing and more farmers, especially the young, are becoming regulars including on working days.

The growth of the settlement into a town is expected to bring more benefits as many will be able to start different businesses and the value of their property would be higher for selling or they would get good income by renting houses.

Community water use

Rivers and springs

There are two main rivers in the kebele: Angolela in Aloveret gott and Abdezeriq in Milki gott. There are many springs in all of the gott in the kebele. However, many dry up quickly during the dry season. These springs are used for household water, and ten have been developed and treated by the kebele using chemicals to make them 'safe water sources'. In the past, respondents say that springs provided water up until March, but more recently many dry up by December. As a result, the kebele has imposed quotas of 30-40l per day per household for the water points, which are administered by a paid guard.

Underground and harvested water

Many respondents report that the reduction in water from springs demonstrates declining groundwater. Some people suspect that this change may be partly the result of the expansion of eucalyptus tree cultivation, since springs near to eucalyptus trees dry up even faster than the rest. These trees have long roots and use up the groundwater. None of the respondents attributed declining groundwater to increased use of water for irrigation.

Spring water generally has been decreasing during the long dry season; springs where eucalyptus trees are planted in close proximity are more affected with many getting weaker and some completely disappearing in the dry period. No-one associated irrigation with spring water decrease.

Respondents using spring irrigation attributed water decrease to the cemented closure of the spring's eye – the centre of the groundwater's outlet – by the Amhara Rehabilitation and Development Organisation. The spring's strength was never affected until this intervention. This spring has been used for irrigation since imperial times and the EPID (the then agricultural extension) was involved in constructing a small dam to promote irrigators who were all growing grain. Planting of vegetables started under the Derg. Earth canals are dug to farms with each repaired by the group of irrigators using it. They have informally agreed watering turns from the first upper farm to the last farm in order and there have not been disputes.

There is one well in Kormargefia gott which is used to provide livestock with drinking water.

Only four households have dug ponds for water harvesting, and respondents reported that none of these is currently functional. The kebele chairman dug a pond but it is not located in a place suitable for collecting water. The others use the water for livestock. The International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI),¹ which used to have a research centre nearby, dug a pond to provide drinking water for livestock. It is used in the long-dry season. However, this pond is filling with silt, with the result that animals frequently get stuck in the mud. It requires several adults working together to pull them out when this happens.

Irrigation infrastructure

There are three types of irrigation in the community: irrigation using gravity, individual pumps and buckets to water small plots using spring water. The river water has been used for irrigation since Imperial times in Aloberet and Milki gotts, and there is a network of canals which take river water from upstream to farmland. Each of the canals is maintained by the group of farmers using it.

More recently individual farmers in areas inaccessible to this gravity-based irrigation have purchased or rented motors and pumps to bring water to their farmland. Finally, a few farmers in Kabigizaw gott have used water from a large spring to irrigate their land, by digging canals to transport the water.

In Kabigizaw the spring water has been ever decreasing forcing farmers below to abandon irrigation. One of our field visit respondents blamed it on the concrete trapping of the spring for drinking water which they said had driven the water away across the border.

The first farmer to buy a pump was the current kebele chairman. There are about 10 private pumps used to irrigate own land and which are also leased out. The users pay 100 *birr* for the first watering of a crop, 90 *birr* for the second, 80 for the third and so on – payment each time reduced by 10 *birr*. In Milki irrigation is from the river. All irrigated land harvested in May-June. In addition to carrots potatoes, garlic, onions, cabbages and spinach as well as barley, fava beans and peas have been grown by both pump and canal irrigation from the river. Some estimate that more than half the households have irrigated land.

The Kormargefia/Kabigizaw residents use earth-canalled spring water and also harvest in May-June. Depending on the power of the water to reach farms 10-30 farmers have been using spring irrigation in Kabigizaw got and around 5 use pumps from a nearby river including the kebele chairman who has a pump. Garlic, carrots, potatoes, cabbages and sugar beet have been grown with the spring water. This year's crops only differed in prices – garlic declined from 25 *birr* a kg to 4-5 *birr* – because there was much more production particularly by pump users. River water and earth canals are also used in Aloberet got.

Potato and garlic diseases are common problems but there are no carrot diseases. Pesticide has been used for potatoes but not garlic. In the past garlic and onions were the most widely irrigated

¹The research centre continues to be known locally by ILRI's previous name, the International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA).

crop with higher prices but due disease with no pesticides available farmers gradually abandoned planting them on a large scale, first by planting more potatoes. Then potatoes began to be repeatedly damaged by disease and frost and lately carrots have been commonly grown as they are resistant to frost and disease and the prices had been increasing. Little barley is grown as there is bird destruction. Crop rotation is common on irrigated land. This year all types of vegetable harvest were good but prices for garlic and carrots decreased while potato prices were better.

Though most of the irrigation uses pumps and canals some also water with buckets from small springs or rivers to grow eucalyptus seedlings or smallscale crops of onions, garlic or cabbages. One respondent estimated 10-30 farmers use canal irrigation from a spring; more than 50 farmers use pump irrigation and more than 120 use canals. A second respondent estimated 200 canal users including the youth co-operative and around 75 pump users.

The main constraints are small size of irrigated land and shortage of water for some plots so that there is less availability of water in the community. According to the rich farmer's wife more people started to use motor pumps to cope with the shortage of water.

Infrastructure

Public buildings

The number of public buildings has been increasing in Kormargefia site. The kebele offices have three rooms, which are offices for the administration, including the kebele manager and other cabinet members, the Development Agents (DAs) and the social court. There is also a separate meeting hall. There is no Farmer Training Centre (FTC) or vets office.

There are three primary schools, one in each sub-kebele. None of these have electricity or water, but they do have latrines and there is a water point nearby. The health post has a latrine and there is a water point nearby but no water access in the health post itself. There is a room for the HEWs.

Public works campaigns have been used to build all of these buildings. The kebele offices and the health post were constructed in 2006 using public works and new classrooms were built for the primary school two years ago. In each case, these public works lasted for a month. Community members were also asked to contribute wood for the buildings.

Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport

During the Derg there was a road from the main asphalt road to the kebele centre but it has disappeared being all broken by floods. The internal roads are dry weather only and the road in Aloberet gott is the only one that is wide enough for use by cars. In other places, government cars can only get into the community by driving across flat farmland. One respondent observed that the lack of access for cars makes it difficult to open businesses and engage in trade in the community.

The dry weather roads are damaged every year in the rainy season and are repaired using public works. In March 2013, the community spent four days in each of two consecutive weeks engaged in public works repairing the roads. From the most remote part of the kebele, it takes an hour and a half to reach the main road to Debre Berhan, and the only transport available within the community is individually owned pack animals. During the Derg era there was another road into the kebele but it was covered with mud and lost during flooding.

A major problem in the community is that during the rainy season the level of the rivers rises, cutting off access to parts of the community. The Abdezeriq river, in particular, is impassable during the rainy season (June and July and sometimes up until September) and one respondent reported that seven people and many livestock have drowned in the river when trying to cross. In the last two years, the community built a temporary wooden bridge through public works in Milki gott in the west of the community. The wereda provided a skilled person to direct the work. This new bridge has greatly improved access but it is unstable. The community has asked the wereda to build a

permanent bridge but nothing has happened as yet. Furthermore, the eastern part of the community is still cut off during the rainy season without any bridge over the river.

The community also lost access to the footpaths that they previously used to get to Debre Berhan after land in Faji and Bokafia (no longer part of the kebele) was fenced off by investors. When people tried to find alternative routes across farmland, there were conflicts with the farmers and the people were sent back.

Lack of all-weather road access to the irrigation farms prevents traders from bringing their trucks in the rains - many times causing their vegetables to rot on the farm. Most farmers take their harvest to market on pack animals; a few near the main road may use minibuses.

Other infrastructure

Mobile phones

Mobiles were first introduced to the community in 2004, and the kebele chairman was the first to get one. There is relatively good signal strength in most of the community but very few people have access to electricity to charge phones. Kebele officials estimate that about half of the households in the community have at least one phone. People charge their phones in Debre Berhan on market days, at the chairman's house or at the church which charges 2 birr per phone. Many in Kabigizaw and Faji shared at the church paying 2 *birr* for each full charge, the price was determined with the customers' consent to contribute for church income generation. Most people use their mobiles to communicate and to listen to music. Nobody uses them to access the internet.

Electricity

Even though the main electric transmission lines pass through the kebele, there are only three users with electric connections in the community: the kebele chairman, the church and the owner of the grain mill. The mill is electric powered, the church uses electricity for lighting only and the kebele chairman, who lives next to the mill and got the electric line from the mill, uses electricity for lighting and for his TV. He also lets people charge their mobiles for free. Two other people used to have an electricity connection but they stopped because of the cost and because they were tired of their neighbours constantly wanting to charge their mobiles. The church is about a one kilometre away on the other side of the road.

In recent years, a few other people have bought solar panels for lighting. One respondent estimated that more than 10 households now have a solar panel. They were introduced by a former ILRI worker in Debre Berhan who promoted the technology and supplied the panels for 1000-2000 birr, although the Ethiopian Electric Power Authority is now the main supplier to the community. Respondents said that the few farmers who own solar panels are not willing to let people to charge their mobiles because they believe this would reduce the lifetime of the panel. However, they usually allow their close neighbours and relatives to do so.

Community economy

Local macro-economy

The local economy is based largely on agriculture. In recent years high prices for livestock products and crops have provided significant incentives for farmers to increase production. In particular, livestock fattening and milk production have become major sources of income for many farmers. Other important livestock products include eggs and dungcakes, which are used for fuel.

In comparison, crop production is perhaps less dominant in the local economy than was previously the case. Most farmers continue to sell the excess of their staple crops, rather than planting specific cash crops. Furthermore crop production has faced challenges from adverse weather conditions, with hail, frost and flooding on the plains all common problems. Many people believe that the

climate is also changing with more extreme temperatures, both hot and cold, as well as erratic rainfall, with belg rains rarely occurring and meher rains often starting late or finishing early. Production of vegetables for sale on irrigated land is increasingly common, with some wealthier farmers purchasing or renting motors and pumps to irrigate land that cannot be reached by existing gravity-based irrigation canals.

Cultivation of eucalyptus trees for sale has also become very common with most households planting trees around their homes and on land unsuited to crop production.

Although there are few employment opportunities in Kormargefia itself, there are increasing numbers of jobs working as daily labourers in neighbouring kebeles and nearby towns. In particular, several people have found work in local investments that are under construction: a dairy farm in Kormargefia kebele and factories in neighbouring kebele.

Finally, international migration for young women has provided remittances for some families in the kebele. In particular, many young women have migrated to Arab countries to work as housemaids and many regularly send money to their families.

Main livelihood activities and notable changes

Established adult males

Adult males continue to dominate the control of agricultural activities. Men are involved in animal fattening, dairy production, crop cultivation, with ploughing an exclusively male activity, and planting eucalyptus trees. Agricultural income may be supplemented with daily labour in the nearby Debre Berhan Research Centre (DBRC – this was originally the ILRI research centre that was re-named the Amhara Agricultural Research Centre when the government took it over and was re-named again in 2013) and local construction projects. The dairy investment has hired 25-30 labourers from the kebele and surrounding areas for the ongoing construction.

Established adult females

The main activities of adult females are in domestic and care work. However, some women also grow their own vegetables independently. For example, one respondent grew temeja on 0.25 hectares of the household's land, which had been ploughed by her husband. Female-headed households either sharecrop the land to a man or hire labourers to plough, conducting the other farming activities themselves.

In the past, women used the milk produced in the household to make butter, which they sold and controlled the money earned. However, with high milk prices, milk is now sold unprocessed and the revenues are controlled by the household head.

Common additional income generating activities for women include raising chickens to produce eggs for sale, producing tella and areqa, collecting firewood and dung for sale.

Young men

Young men work on their families' farms, looking after livestock, ploughing, weeding and threshing. Some young men keep their own small livestock such as chickens and some have sheep for fattening, and they also collect dung in the fields to make dung cakes for sale. Some young men have their own eucalyptus trees or grow seedlings for sale. There are also increasing opportunities for daily labour in the DBRC and construction projects and some of these offer half day work which can be combined with the shift system in education.

In 2010/11, the kebele leased 4-5 hectares to 51 young men in a group to start irrigated vegetable production using a motor and pump.

Young women

The major change in income generation opportunities for women is international migration for work in Arab countries. In addition, many young women migrate within Ethiopia, especially to Addis Ababa to work as housemaids. In some cases, young women can save enough money working in Addis Ababa to pay for their travel to Arab countries. A few women have also found employment in the DBRC in Faji and roasting peas in a new shiro factory in Tebase town.

In a few cases, young women grow their own vegetables on household land. For example, one 16 year old grows vegetables including carrots, cabbage and beetroot on land given by her parents.

Many young women are also involved in keeping chickens to produce eggs, making areqe and making sifet (basketry) for sale.

Notable recent changes

The most important recent changes are the growing importance of livestock fattening and dairy farming as a result of high prices for livestock products, the increasing numbers of young women involved in international migration and the increasing opportunities for daily labour in nearby construction projects. This year's harvest in 2013 of all types are very good compared with last year due to suitable weather and no damaging frost, hail or pests.

Independence of farming economy and future potentials

Despite increased use of improved inputs, crop production is limited by adverse weather, in particular erratic rainfall, hail and frost. The expansion of livestock fattening and dairy production is likely to continue, with potential for expansion of local processing industries.

Inflation

The price of livestock and agricultural products has increased significantly in recent years, providing opportunities for local producers. For example, an ox can cost more than 10,000 birr compared to a maximum of 4,000-5,000 birr five years ago. However, this increase in output prices is offset by an increase in prices of agricultural inputs, in particular fertiliser and improved seeds, consumption goods and services such as transport, health and education. Wage rates for daily labour have increased from 15-30 birr a day five years ago to 50-80 birr a day at present.

Harvest price of barley increased from 500-650 *birr* per quintal in September to 800 now (beginning November). A poor farmer said grain prices rose during Kiremt especially September but prices for irrigated vegetables declined due to lack of buyers; he suspected this is because there is much irrigation farming everywhere.

The price of an iron sheet decreased from 130 a piece to 110. Price of coffee beans decreased from 110/20 to 60-80 for a kg. However, prices of commodities have been increasing.

Social structure

Demographics

There are a total of 3,825 people registered in the kebele, of which 1,979 are men and 1,846 are women. There are 699 male-headed households and 281 female-headed households. Respondents believed that most of this relatively large proportion of female-headed households are widows rather than divorcees. There are 114 babies who are less than a year old, 252 children less than three years old and 629 less than five years old. Seven households are landless, although many more young people within households also have no access to land.

Wealth and poverty

The wealth of a household depends on access to land, irrigation and livestock. It was estimated that

5% of the households in the community are very rich, 10% rich, 60% middle, 17% poor, and 8% very poor (Table 2).

The poorest people in the community are landless, while the wealthy have access to large amounts of land, including irrigable land, and engage in livestock fattening, dairy production and grow eucalyptus trees for sale. Growing eucalyptus trees is increasingly common among all people of all income groups, if they have access to some land. The landless survive by sharecropping land, and some may keep cows for milk production (Table 3).

Table 2: Characteristics of the different wealth groups of households

Characteristics	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor
Rough proportions	5%	10%	60%	17%	8%
Household goods found in these houses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -TV, sofa, table, radio and tape player, wooden bed -painted 2-storey house (the underground part has wall made of stones while the upstairs wall is made of wood and mud), roof made of iron sheet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -G+1 house with painted wall, roof made of iron sheet -Table and chair -Radio and Tape -Bed made of wood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Radio -Chair (Agdami) and Medeb(made from mud and stone and used as a chair) -Table made of kerka -Bed made of wood and hide tides -house with roof made of straw, stone or mud wall 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Benches (Agdami) -Table made of bamboo/reeds -house with roof made of straw and wall made of stone or mud -material as a chair made of stone and mud (Medeb) -Bed made of wood and hide tides 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Medeb -An object which has the function of a table(straight planks on the ground to form a square shape with other planks to connect them together)
Sources of wealth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - they own the most farmland, stock of cattle, especially new breeds, Sheep, horses, mules and donkeys -main source of wealth for is crop production and fattening - eucalyptus trees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -they own a lot of farmland, cattle(local and new breeds), houses -main source of wealth is crop production and fattening - eucalyptus trees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - relatively large farmland, and cattle(mostly local breed) - the main source of wealth is crop production and fattening of the local breeds(ox and sheep) - craft working for a few - eucalyptus trees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -they own relatively small farmland and few cattle and sheep -they may keep cattle(cows) for neighbours or relatives so as to share livestock products and newly born calves (Ribi) -their main source of wealth is farming and livestock - eucalyptus trees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -they own small farmland They may have sheep and rarely cows in sharing arrangement i.e. Ribi -their main source of wealth is crop production and livestock products such as milk - eucalyptus trees
How do poor people get by?				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -they employ their household members as daily labourers especially for harvesting season -few youths who dropped out of school to migrate to Debre Berhan and become daily labourers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -they sell dungcakes and wood

Table 3: Characteristics of different wealth groups

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor
Rough proportions in community	5%	10%	60%	17%	8%
Household goods found in these houses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -TV, sofa, table, radio and tape player, wooden bed -painted 2-storey house (the underground part has wall made of stones while the upstairs wall is made of wood and mud), roof made of iron sheet 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -G+1 house with painted wall, roof made of iron sheet -Table and chair -Radio and Tape -Bed made of wood 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Radio -Chair (Agdami) and Medeb(made from mud and stone and used as a chair) -Table made of kerka -Bed made of wood and hide tides -house with roof made of straw, stone or mud wall 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Benches (Agdami) -Table made of bamboo/reeds -house with roof made of straw and wall made of stone or mud -material as a chair made of stone and mud (Medeb) -Bed made of wood and hide tides 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Medeb -An object which has the function of a table(straight planks on the ground to form a square shape with other planks to connect them together)
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Social identities

The vast majority of the residents, 95%, are Amhara. The remaining 5% are Oromo. Everyone in the community, from both ethnic groups is Orthodox Christian. There were no interviews with the Oromo minority and so there is no information on the clan structure within the ethnic group. According to the Amhara respondents there are good relations between the two groups and they share iddir, churches, mehaber and other social institutions. There are some recent migrants from neighbouring wereda who have come to work in the construction of the dairy investment.

The community in its wider context

Political economy context

The kebele in the wereda

Kormargefia is ranked by the wereda as medium in terms of achievement in wealth, dairy farming and health extension. Despite the expansion of livestock farming in the kebele, it is ranked next to last in terms of agricultural development work. The wereda plans to increase agricultural development work, focusing on market-oriented dairy farming and fattening. DAs and HEWs report weekly to the relevant offices in the wereda, either in written form or on the phone. A supervision team comes to the kebele from the wereda once or twice a year to assess their performance. Similarly, the school provides regular weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual reports to the wereda, and the wereda sends inspection teams once or twice a month.

The wereda in the wider world

The Amhara regional government plans to upgrade the former ILRI site into an agricultural research centre serving the whole of North Shewa zone. This will particularly focus on sheep farming.

External roads, bridges& access

The main Addis Ababa–Debre Berhan road passes through the community and was upgraded one or two years ago by a Chinese company. This road has improved public transport access to Chacha and Debre Berhan towns, and the road was also widened at this time, making space for people to walk with their pack animals. As a result, people are less concerned about traffic accidents than previously. One problem, however, is that the minibuses that pass through the community to Debre Berhan begin their journey in Chacha. The minibuses fill up there and so they often pass through Kormargefia without stopping.

Two years ago the regional government also constructed a road between Basona wereda (Tsigereda kebele) and Chacha wereda, which crosses the southwest of the community. A few people nearby use the minibuses on this road to go to Chacha town (25 birr), but most do not since transport is cheaper on the main road to Debre Berhan. For those living near these roads, there is now improved access to fertilisers, consumption goods and local markets for those selling milk.

External linkages

The most important external linkage is with Debre Berhan town, which is the main market for buying and selling goods, and is also where the wereda administrative offices, schools for education and a hospital are located (see map below). Neighbouring rural kebele such as Angolela, Tera and Tsigereda are important, especially for people living far from the kebele centre. Many of these people send their children to school in neighbouring kebele or access health services and social institutions.

Map 2 The community's linkages

KORMARGEFIA



Rural linkages

Other kebeles

There are marriage links with all neighbouring rural kebele. There are also social and religious organisations, such as mehaber and equb, which have members in several different kebele. These organisations meet regularly.

There are no market links with other rural kebele. All market transactions take place in Debre Berhan or Chacha. Some people who live far from the kebele centre may send their children to schools in neighbouring kebele or visit health posts in other communities. However, beyond grade 8 everyone sends their children to school in Debre Berhan.

There is an elders group called 'Dem Astaraq Shimagle' (lit. blood drying elders) which deals with murder cases involving residents of Kormargefia and other communities. These elders are responsible to the social court. They have a mandate to see cases which are not deep rooted and seasonal. There is no traditional conflict with other rural communities.

Rural/agricultural migration

Some people migrate to Cheffe Donsa during harvest time to work as labourers. However, the numbers migrating are thought to be reducing as there are more opportunities locally. Some people from neighbouring kebele, including Debre Berhan town, also come to work in the harvest in Kormargefia.

Urban linkages

Local towns

The most important urban centre is Debre Berhan. People go there to buy and sell goods in the market, for education beyond grade 8, for religious congregations, for weddings and funerals, and to get treatment at the hospital. Many people have relatives who live in the town. It takes about two and a half hours to walk on foot and 10-15 minutes by minibus, which costs 8-10 birr. Most farmers take their harvest to market on pack animals; a few near the main road may use minibuses. Some parts of the kebele are cut off during the rainy season when the level of the river rises. They must walk to find a narrow part of the river and this can add two hours or more to their journey. Some respondents said that many farmers have equb savings with their urban relatives and friends in Debre Berhan. There are also a few farmers who have houses in the town, and on market days many people visit relatives there.

Chacha is also an important town for markets, schools and hospitals. It takes about two hours to walk there from the kebele and 20 minutes by minibus. On the main Addis Ababa-Debre Berhan road the minibuses cost 10 birr, but on the new gravel road connecting Debre Berhan and Chacha the minibuses cost 25 birr.

Respondents also reported that there are many absentee landholders who live in other places, perhaps 100-200. Most of these live in Debre Berhan and some others live in Chacha, Addis Ababa or other towns nearby. The kebele manager reported that there are 212 absentee land taxpayers who gave their land in the kebele to sharecroppers. Some of these absentees are those who completed education and work in other places, others are daily labourers, some are soldiers on duty, some are people who left to live in towns due to ill health.

Nearby industrialisation and urbanisation particularly in Tebase has brought job opportunities for a few.

Table 4: Main urban linkages

Town	Why do people go there? List the main things they do	Time to walk there	Transport available	Time of travel	Cost	Cut off during rains? For how long?	What kind of people does the community have links with
Debre Berhan	-Market -School -religious congregation -other social life such as wedding and mourning -hospital	2.5 hours	Mini bus and country crossing buses	10-15 mins	8 to 10 Birr	-A river blocks the community in rainy season, July to August; they have to look for a part of a river which is narrow and it takes them more time, perhaps 2.5 hours more. -it takes the river more than a day to reduce its level (once in full course) -The absence of paved road is a challenge in rainy seasons	-mainly, they have links with traders, who are from different part of the zone -Students at school coming from different weredas -relatives who are residents of the town
Chacha	-Market -School -Hospital	2 hours	Minibus, public transport	20 mins	-10 Birr on the main road to Addis Ababa and 25 Birr in the new gravel road from Chacha wereda to Debre Berhan	-there is a bridge on the river in the part of the river which is close to Chacha river	-traders and other people from Chacha wereda -students who come from Baso and Chacha wereda

Urban migration linkages

People from Kormargefia have migrated to Debre Berhan and Addis Ababa for both work and education. Those living in Debre Berhan visit relatives in the kebele frequently. Some of these people, especially those working in Addis Ababa, send money to their families.

International linkages

One respondent has a relative who recently moved to the US. Many young women have also migrated to Arab countries to work as housemaids. Estimates vary from 8 to 40 women. Some have returned to visit their families before going abroad again. They usually visit after two to three years.

Cultural imports

Visitors from Arab states have different clothing styles and bring different household goods. Respondents report that links with urban areas have introduced different clothing styles, hairstyles and different ways of talking into the community.

Community changes since 2008

Crises

There have been no community crises in recent years. There are, however, regular problems with frost, hail and erratic rainfall, each of which affects crop production.

Environmental changes

Respondents believe that the coldest months (October to January) have become colder in recent years, while the hottest months (February to April) have become hotter. The large change in temperature between the hot daytimes and cold nights is also believed to create strong winds that can damage crops.

Overall, respondents say that rainfall has decreased. For the most part, belg production is no longer possible because the rains do not come at all, while the kiremt rains are shorter and less reliable. Groundwater has also declined, with springs drying up much earlier in the year than was previously the case.

Finally, soil fertility has reduced. Farmers are no longer leaving their land fallow as a result of the land shortage, and all land has become dependent on fertiliser. Farmers conduct gay, the practice of burning crop residue on the farmland, more frequently to compensate for declining fertility.

Economic changes

The most important economic changes are the expansion of livestock fattening, dairy farming and eucalyptus tree cultivation. Each of these has contributed to increased income generation opportunities for residents of the kebele. Furthermore, increased crop production and changes to cultivation practices, such as manual broad bed preparation, have increased the demand for seasonal agricultural daily labour during ploughing and harvest times, attracting workers from within and outside the community.

The rate of inflation in the community has been very high, with several respondents reporting that prices for most goods have more than doubled in the last five years. This increase in output prices—for milk, animals and crops—has provided incentives for the expansion of production in the community. Since most households in the community are net producers they have benefited from these increased prices, although the increase in incomes is offset by increases in the price of consumption goods, transport, services and daily labour for farmworkers.

Migration from the community has also greatly increased in recent years. There are increasing opportunities for daily labour, especially for young men, in construction projects and investments in Debre Berhan and neighbouring wereda. Workers either commute daily or move to Debre Berhan. Meanwhile, many young women have migrated for work as housemaids in Addis Ababa and various Arab states. Several young women in Arab states have been sending remittances to their families in Kormargefia, greatly contributing to household income.

Social changes

Recent economic changes have also contributed to social changes within the community. For example, respondents said that labour sharing arrangements such as debo and wenfel have been declining because people increasingly prefer hiring daily labourers to work on their farms. They argue that this is the result of a labour shortage at peak seasons, especially when there is rain during harvest period, and because of increased revenues from agricultural production. Nevertheless, the male and female-headed poor farmer households reported that labour sharing arrangements were still important for them as they were unable to pay labourers. Labour sharing arrangements also remain common for house building.

The shortage of land in the community and the difficulty of finding reliable employment means that it is very difficult for young men and women to establish an independent livelihood and to save the money required to get married and to start their own household. As a result, many young people delay marriage until their mid-twenties in an attempt to save enough money. Similarly, the increasing numbers of young women migrating both within Ethiopia and to Arab countries has resulted in a delay in marriage. However, several respondents believed that in the long term the

money earned while working abroad would enhance their prospects of getting married and setting up a household on their return.

The increasing incomes of farmers from livestock and crop production have resulted in increased contributions to equb, with credit provided used to invest in agricultural production, among other things.

Cultural changes

Respondents reported that the government's attempts to prohibit 'harmful traditional practices' have resulted in cultural changes in the community. In particular, female and male respondents, and HEWs all believe that the occurrence of female circumcision and forced abduction have decreased in recent years and are now considered quite rare. The majority of respondents support this change, although some questioned government policy on circumcision, arguing that it had never previously caused problems in the community. A few respondents did say, however, that they believe circumcision may still happen. Most respondents also reported a change in attitudes towards women in the community, with growing respect for their abilities, a change compared to the past perception that women were inferior to men.

Respondents suggest that there has been a change in all aspects of their lifestyles, with community residents adopting 'modern' and 'civilised' ways of dressing and organising their homes, and using 'modern' kitchen equipment such as plastic utensils rather than clay ones as before. In part this is related to interactions with urban areas with returning migrants and visitors from urban areas introducing new hairstyles, new clothing, the use of cosmetics for women and improved personal hygiene. In general, the community accepts these so-called 'civilised' urban values with few exceptions. For a few respondents, however, 'civilised' people are not considered to be hard workers and they tend to waste resources on unproductive works in the household. In most cases, these negative views were presented by older people.

Several respondents also reported that they have changed the way that the family eats. Instead of spreading a whole injera on a shared plate, as previously, many people now cut the injera into pieces and eat from individual plates. Respondents stated that eating from individual plates was a means of minimising wastage, as well as constituting a practice of 'civilised' individuals. A few people also said that eating from individual plates, they do not have to sit in a circle as they would if they were sharing food from the same dish and that this makes it easier to find somewhere to eat.

Finally, several people reported a change in attitudes within the community. People are now much more interested in economic opportunities and accumulating wealth than they were in the past, with the expansion of livestock fattening and dairy farming cited as prominent examples. There has also been a change in attitudes towards education, with parents now prioritising education for all of their children, male and female.

Political changes

The main political change is the establishment of development teams and 1-5 groups and their use for all developmental and political activities within the kebele. According to wereda and kebele officials, this structure was established in 2010 but it was only later that the kebele began to use it. There is one development team for each gott in the kebele and separate development teams and 1-5s for men and women.

Kebele officials claim that all kebele development activities now use this structure. The system of health volunteers previously used for health extension work was abolished, with most health volunteers becoming female team leaders. HEWs are now meant to now carry out their work through these female development teams and 1-5s, meeting them every few weeks to deliver trainings and monitor their activities. Similarly, the DAs' agricultural extension work is organised

through the male groups, conducting trainings and demonstration of farming techniques. Furthermore, the development teams and 1-5s are used to conduct a wide range of kebele activities, including: registering all school age children and their presence or absence from school, collecting land taxes and debt repayment for the Amhara Credit and Savings Institution (ACSI) and other institutions, and organising people for public works campaigns.

Party cells are also involved in political activities in the kebele, meeting regularly to discuss party matters. They also discuss the party newspaper at least twice a year or, according to one leader, once a month.

The community's households

Household structures

In total, there are 1,128 tax-paying households in the community. Of these, 847 are male-headed and 281 female-headed. In male-headed households older, unmarried sons may share some of the roles of the household head, representing the household in the community and making decisions. However, older sons have a much greater role in female-headed households, sharing responsibilities with the household head.

The smallest households are those of newly married couples and those with one or two children, while the largest may have up to ten members. In the past couples married at a very young age, with many girls marrying at 15. At present marriage at this age is rare, although respondents reported that under-18s do sometimes get married, especially those that have dropped out of school. However, a combination of government activities to combat underage marriage and economic factors mean that most people marry later. In particular, the shortage of land and employment opportunities has contributed to later marriage. In order to marry, a man is expected to have a source of livelihood, the materials to build a house and enough grain for a year's consumption. In most cases, young men have access to only a small amount of land, if any, and must work for a long time to save these reserves. As a result, most now marry in their mid-twenties. In most cases, married couples live with the husband's parents for several months after marriage, and they may continue to depend on them for several years after that.

There were no reports of stigma or discrimination against divorced couples and, although no statistics on divorce are available, there are several examples of divorced people among the household case studies. Respondents believed that, among female-headed households, the majority were widows, rather than divorcées. Polygyny and wife inheritance have never been practised in the community.

An example of an exception to the standard household model is that of three orphaned brothers. The eldest brother is 19 years old and dropped out of school when his parents died in order to support his younger brothers, who have continued in education. He is engaged in farming on his parents' land and does all the domestic work himself. He is looking to get married in order to share his work burden.

Household case studies

Successful farmer's household

TF (54 years old) is a relatively wealthy farmer. Both he and his wife, TK (56 years old), are Amhara and Orthodox Christian. The husband holds a number of social and political positions in the community, including: iddir judge, leading farmer, model farmer, member of the primary party organization, development team and 1-5 leader, and party cell chair. By her own admission, his wife does not enjoy social interactions and takes no part in the social and political life of the community.

In total they have had 10 children. Seven of these are listed in the household roster and the other three are not accounted for. All of the children are either working or in education in Tebase or Debre Berhan. According to the husband the children are between 17 and 30 years old, while the wife states that they are between 28 and 40 years old. Those in education divide their time between Tebase and Kormargefia, while those in Debre Berhan regularly visit at the weekends. The household also employs an agricultural labourer who is 23 years old.

TK reported that she has recently asked her husband for a divorce and that this has caused tension and arguments. TF did not mention this dispute.

The household's livelihood is based on livestock, crop cultivation and eucalyptus trees, and TF is recognised as a model farmer. The main crops that he grows for household consumption are barley, fava beans and wheat. He then alternates between peas, lentils, linseeds and temej (a special variety of barley) on the remaining land. He also grows potatoes on rented, irrigated land. He sells the surplus of these crops once he has provided for household consumption, rather than producing specific crops for sale. Usually he sells substantial amounts of lentils and linseed. He also (informally) rents in and sharecrops land on a siso basis (the owner of the land gets one third of the production and the sharecropper gets two thirds) to grow potatoes under irrigation using a pump, since he has no irrigable land of his own. He sold potatoes for 2,000 birr last year and 3,000 birr the year before.

The use of irrigation is new in the last five years and he credits the DAs for teaching him about irrigated production and cultivation of root crops. He rents a pump for irrigation. The terms of this rental involves a declining fee for each subsequent use. He paid 100 birr for the first use and then 10 birr less for each subsequent use (i.e. 90 birr, 80 birr, ...) until the rains arrive. He buys fertilizer from the service cooperative and improved seeds from either the cooperative or from other farmers. He claimed to have used a Broad Bed Maker (BBM) plough in the past, which he said enabled him to do the work of eight people preparing the broad bed manually. However, during the follow up fieldwork in October 2013 he admitted that his oxen had been unable to pull the BBM in the most recent agricultural season and so he had also prepared the BBM manually. He notes that poor road access and lack of transportation is a problem for taking his produce to market.

Last year TF was involved in a court case over the irrigated land that he had rented. He farmed the land once but when he went to plough it a second time the son of the landholder stopped him, arguing that TF should not plough the land when the son could manage it himself. The farmer filed a case with the court and the landholder testified for TF and against his son. The court decided in his favour.

He also claims to have 10,000 eucalyptus trees planted on half a timad of his own private grazing land that are worth hundreds of thousands of birr at current market prices. He bought the seedlings from a privately-owned nursery in the kebele.

He has four improved breed oxen, two improved breed bulls and two cows, one of which is an improved breed and the other is half improved. He had slightly more livestock five years ago but they were all local breeds and he has been trying to improve the quality of his livestock because the cows produce a lot of milk and the oxen are good for ploughing. Furthermore, he reports that there is a shortage of water and grazing land, in part as a result of the watershed public works, and this has convinced him to reduce the quantity of animals and focus on their quality instead. He also has 20 local breed sheep, which is more than five years ago and his wife and children have many chickens.

The husband is responsible for selling cattle and sheep in Debre Berhan, although he says that he consults his wife in the use of the money. The wife is responsible for selling chickens and eggs and she keeps this money. The husband takes the milk produced by the cows to Tebase town to sell to the female trader.

Livestock diseases are a common problem that threatens the household's livestock. The wereda vet

comes to the kebele periodically to provide drugs. It is also possible to call out a private vet from Chacha or Debre Berhan when there are urgent problems, although this is more expensive, costing 150-200 birr. TF says that the vet services are not always effective and he thinks that the wereda should assign a vet permanently to the kebele. He usually feeds the animals hay and grass, but he sometimes buys furushka (feed) for the cattle.

He has benefited in the past from insemination services provided by what is now the DBRC. Recently an NGO called Food for Children provided a foreign sheep inseminator and 37kg of improved seeds to a group of 10 farmers, of which he is a part. He says that the NGOs terms were not explained to him and so he is not sure whether these things were gifts or loans that must be repaid.

TF prefers to hire agricultural labourers rather than participating in debo or wonfel for farm work. This is because frequent bad weather at harvest time means that everyone is rushing to harvest their crops and they are not able to work together. He does, however, participate in house building labour cooperation in the community, and local people helped him to build a new part of his house this year. He and his wife participate in community festivals and he is involved in iddir.

Since the children have moved to Debre Berhan and Tebase for education, the size of the household has reduced, reducing the total domestic work burden. However, there are also now fewer people available to do the work and so the burden has increased on TK. The husband and the agricultural labourer help with domestic work, as do children when they come to visit. The agricultural labourer collects firewood and water for the household and the husband takes grain to the mill, as he has done for many years. The wife cleans the living room, bedroom and kitchen, while the labourer cleans the other houses, including the livestock area. The husband does the shopping. The wife does the cooking, unless she is ill, in which case her husband will prepare food.

There are four buildings in the household's compound. The largest was constructed in the last year and has two storeys. On the top floor is a living room and bedroom, with a room for livestock downstairs. There are two other livestock houses and a separate building for the kitchen.

In the rainy season they use an uncertified spring for drinking water, which is 15 minutes away from the compound. In the dry season this spring is not available, and they use a water point that is an hour's walk away. The agricultural labourer goes to get water, using a donkey. They have to queue for 1-2 hours for water at the water point. As a result of the water shortage, TK gives liquid waste to the livestock, rather than disposing of them. However, she buries solid waste. They have a latrine which they use except when TF is working in the fields.

They have also recently bought a solar panel for lighting and they use lamps when there is insufficient sunshine for the solar panel. Dungcakes and firewood are the main sources of fuel for the household.

The main foods are injera made from barley and sorghum, and wot from fava beans or cabbage in the rainy season. They also sometimes eat linseed with injera. In the rainy season they eat more roasted wheat and barley and a thin bread called tirosho. They eat three meals a day throughout the year, with more roasted barley in between meals during the rainy season. Recently they have changed the way that the household members eat. Previously everyone who was older than 10 ate from a shared plate with injera spread on it. Now they cut the injera and eat from individual plates. This reduces wastage.

The couple have three children living in Debre Berhan town. A son and a daughter work at Debre Berhan University as a guard and a secretary, respectively. Another daughter is studying at a TVET in town, although the wife was not sure what she was studying. They pay 200 birr per semester in tuition fees. The parents have rented a house for the children in Tebase for 90 birr a month. The children come back to Milki at weekends and during school holidays. Another daughter is currently in grade 10.

The husband says that the children's education has not caused great problems for his agricultural labour requirements, since he has hired a labourer to replace them. The wife, however, says that education has created a shortage of agricultural and domestic labour and, as her husband is getting older, this shortage is likely to get worse in the coming years.

A school for grades 1-4 has recently opened in Milki, so children do not need to travel to Kormargefia gott for those grades. The school in Kormargefia has also been upgraded from grades 1-4 to 1-8. Consequently children do not need to move to town for education until they are older. The agricultural labourer is attending adult education in the kebele. There is no charge and they teach him about agriculture and health.

The husband believes that the education provided is not good enough and that this is the reason why many students fail their exams. He also says that many young people fail to get jobs once they have completed their education.

There are no young girls in the household, so the family has not been affected by the government's attempts to stop female circumcision. All of the daughters were circumcised and TK does not support the ban and does not believe that other people in the community have stopped circumcising their daughters. She does believe, however, that rapes and attacks on girls have decreased in occurrence. Where they do occur, she thinks that the girls themselves are partly to blame:

'This generation is undisciplined. In our generation, we were very disciplined and decent. Even, we did not like to be with a man before marriage. These days, girls forget all norms and they act as they wish. They do not care about their family and neighbours. They are very shameless. Currently, there is no sexual attack unless the girls attract the male.'

Similarly, she said that there is no marriage by forced abduction in the community these days. She explained that she has heard of cases of women being abducted voluntarily (eloping), but she disapproves of this practice. 'It is very shameful for women to be abducted voluntarily. Rather, I preferred forced abduction because forced abduction shows at least the worthiness of the girl to the man who abducted her as well as to the community.'

Both the husband and wife claim that domestic violence has now ended in the community because both the elders and the courts would support women in disputes, and because women are willing to report abuse. If underage marriage is discovered in the community, both parents of the child and the elders involved in negotiating the marriage would be punished. As a result, if the husband were asked to act as an elder in a marriage negotiation, the first thing he would do is to find out whether both have been tested for HIV/AIDS and whether the girl had been medically examined to verify her age.

Although women's land rights have been improved by the land certificates, the wife notes that there has been no land redistribution for women – young men were given land for collective, irrigated farming. The husband said that both he and other men in the community now believed that women are equal to men. However his wife was less convinced, believing that there has been little change in opinions.

TF is very active in community social institutions, but his wife dislikes social occasions and avoids them as much as possible. TF is a member of an equb with several residents of Debre Berhan town and some local people. They contribute 60 birr per week. He is also a member of an iddir, contributing 5 birr per week and St George mehaber, which has 50 members. The household must invite other members of the mehaber for lunch once every two years. The husband enjoys these social occasions, but the wife hates large gatherings and has not only the burden of work to prepare for the feast but also feels ill afterwards. TF goes to church every week and on the 23rd of every month for St George's day. TK goes once or twice a year for Epiphany and the annual St George's day.

TK is not involved in iddir or other social institutions and she does not attend any health extension meetings. The HEWs have, however, visited her house and she reports that they were impressed with her household management. TK believes that crime has increased in the community because people have stopped believing in curses. In the past the threat of curses provided a great deterrent to would-be criminals.

TF coordinated 36 members of his development team, and his 1-5, during the public works for the watershed management and road construction. They held a team meeting every day to evaluate performance and provided a monthly report to the kebele chairman. Although he supports the work, he thinks the time requirement for public works and attending various local government and party meetings is too large and that they interfere with other farming work. He faced problems of absenteeism and late arrival from his team. He is also a cell leader and leads discussions of the party newspaper with his cell every 15 days and provides a monthly report to the kebele chairman. During the local elections in 2013, he had a heavy workload, attending party meetings and mobilising his cell members. He is the only party member in the household.

He participated in a leading farmers meeting for five days in November 2012 and a sub-kebele meeting in December 2012 to plan the watershed public works. He participates in monthly kebele council meetings in which they evaluate the heads of sectors by gimgema. They found the performance of one militia was not acceptable and so made him return his gun and he was forced to work unarmed.

TF pays 277 birr in land tax, 3 birr for sport, 2 birr for the Red Cross and 7 birr for people who watch the roads and 12 birr for party membership.

Successful businessman's household

There are no businessmen involved in full time business activities in the community.

Household of farmer of middle wealth

The household head, BN, is 45 years old and his wife, WT, is 40 years old. They are Amhara and Orthodox Christian, and they have seven children between the ages of 6 months and their early twenties. Five of the children live at home, one in neighbouring Faji and one in Addis Ababa. The household's livelihood is based on crop cultivation, livestock and tree cultivation. BN is an elder and an iddir elder involved in dispute resolution, a cell leader, a development team leader, a 1-5 team leader and a member of the kebele party leadership. WT is also involved in dispute resolution. The household economy has improved in recent years due to the use of fertiliser, improved seeds and the expansion of livestock. However, they are not recognised as model farmers.

The household has 12 timad of land (3 hectares). In order of importance, BN grows barley, fava beans, wheat, linseed, lentils, peas, and wild oats for the cows. He has never produced crops just for sale, but instead sells the surplus after household consumption. The DAs try to persuade them to grow crops for the market, but at present the prices of all crops are good, so they can continue growing the same ones. Indeed, he believes that most farmers do not want to reduce the amount of land devoted to subsistence crops and so only grow a small amount of crops like lentils and linseed, even though these have the highest prices. He sold much of his linseed last year, earning 2,000 birr and he has slightly increased the amount that he grows of these crops.

BN has always used fertiliser, which he obtains from the service cooperative, and now the soil cannot produce crops without it. The fertiliser provides a good crop and plenty of straw for livestock. However, the price of fertiliser keeps rising, which makes it hard for many farmers to buy it. The household has been making and using compost for the past few years, since they were trained by the DAs. They especially use it on fava beans and wheat, every other year. Two years ago two timad of wheat were destroyed by wag.

BN grows eucalyptus trees on part of his private grazing land. The price of eucalyptus continues to

rise and BN has already sold a lot of his trees. The last time, he planted one timad on a hillside with eucalyptus seedlings bought from a private nursery. He earned 3,000 birr when the trees were sold. The wife also collects firewood and sells this to generate income.

BN has two local oxen. He used to have two improved breeds but sold them for 2,000 and 3,000 birr, buying the local ones for 1,000 birr each. He has acquired an improved breed bull in the last five years. He has two cows, one improved and one local, as well as an improved calf. He had 15 sheep five years ago but many died from disease and he sold two. He now has only 5. He has four local chickens.

BN sold two sheep in the market and kept the money for household expenses. His wife and children do not own animals individually, but the wife sells eggs and chickens in the market when she needs money for household expenses. Occasionally they sell a fattened ox at the market, which earns them a lot of money. They have been selling milk to the dairy cooperative for 10 years. The cows produce 3- 3.5 litres per day. Any member of the household can take the milk to the cooperative, but BN collects the money and uses it for the household. The wife also makes and sells dungcakes to earn money.

The recently re-named DBRC has provided him with bull insemination services in the past, which enabled him to sell cattle at a good price. The DAs advise them to reduce the numbers of local breeds and increase the improved breeds for increased milk production and to earn money from fattening. Cattle and sheep diseases and a shortage of pasture are the main challenges for livestock. The wereda vet comes to the kebele every Friday, enabling BN to buy drugs. The wereda experts also come to vaccinate the animals once a year. The DAs can examine the animals and call the vet to the kebele if there are urgent problems.

There is a shortage of farm labour, especially for tending livestock, as a result of the children's school and public works. Overall, he believes that people's attitudes have improved towards working hard and growing wealthy.

The domestic work burden has increased because of the increase in the number of children in the household. The older children and the husband support the wife in domestic work. The husband collects water and firewood. The husband also always takes grain to the mill, usually once every two months. Everyone apart from the husband cleans the houses and the wife usually washes all the clothes, although sometimes her children help. The parents do the shopping between them, and the wife and eldest daughter do all the cooking and look after the children. The wife spends almost all of her time doing domestic work, and tends the livestock when she has finished.

There are three houses in their compound. One has two storeys, with a living room upstairs and a space for livestock downstairs. There is another separate building for livestock and the final building has a kitchen and a separate room for the cows. All the houses have straw thatched roofs, stone walls and floors made from stone, mud and dung. The only recent change is that the children papered the wall of the living room with newspaper. The household has two beds made from animal skin and wood, and a wooden table and chairs. There is a wooden kitchen cabinet and plastic, steel and clay utensils.

The household has used a safe water point situated ten minutes' walk away from the compound for the last seven years. They pay 2 birr per month for the water. The water point is fenced off and water is available from 6am-9am and from 5pm-7pm every day. They have to queue for about 30 minutes to get water. They were using an unsafe water source until the wereda developed this spring. She thinks that the kebele should develop more water points as they are insufficient for the population at the moment.

They built a latrine when advised to by the HEWs, but only because it was compulsory. The parents usually use the latrine when at home, but the children do not want to because of the bad smell and her husband usually just uses the fields while he is working. The household use dungcakes and

firewood for fuel and lamps for lighting.

The main foods eaten in the household are injera made from barley with wot and roasted fava beans, barley and wheat. They eat three meals a day apart from during the rainy season, when they eat four times. For breakfast they eat bread during the rainy season to warm themselves rather than roasted grain during the rest of the year. The amounts of milk, butter and meat consumed in the household have all declined. The high prices of milk and livestock mean that they prefer to sell these, rather than consuming them within the household. In the past, all household members ate from the same dish. Now the children eat from one and the parents eat from another.

WT thinks that many women in the community are using contraceptives, although she has never done so. She says that men do not usually approve of contraceptives since they want to have lots of children and do not carry the burden of looking after them. She was pregnant in the last 12 months but did not have any ante-natal care. She gave birth at home, assisted by traditional birth attendants, as she has done for all her children. The HEWs have visited her and given the baby immunisations. They also advise her of the benefits of family planning, although she does not approve of this and intends to continue giving birth until the end of her child-bearing years.

Infants are given raw butter 3-4 times a day for two days before starting breastfeeding. They stop when the mother feels that the baby is strong enough to breastfeed. A very few mothers have stopped this because they think it is a harmful traditional practice, but most continue.

All of the household's school-age children are attending school, combining half-day shifts with half days of domestic work. The daughter (13-15 years old, depending on the two parents' estimates, and in grade 6) has a greater domestic work burden than the son (9-12 years old and in grade 1-2), although her mother says that she performs better in school than the son. The children may be absent if there is work to be done at home. Both parents support education, even though it has resulted in a shortage of farm labour. The parents herd the animals or lock them in the compound while the children are in school. The family also has a daughter in grade 10 in Addis Ababa.

There is no fee for the school but there are costs for books, pens and clothes. These costs are covered by the sales of milk, firewood and dungcakes. The local school was upgraded to grades 1-7 last year when the NGO Food for Children built new classrooms.

The wife and, in her opinion, the whole community disagree with the government ban on female circumcision. All of her children apart from her baby have been circumcised and would have liked to continue the practice. She took her newborn daughter to be circumcised but the practitioner refused to circumcise her because he said that the wereda would penalise him if he continued to practice. At the time of the first round of fieldwork in March 2013, she was looking for another practitioner in a neighbouring kebele because she thought that her daughter would have low self-esteem if she were not circumcised. During the follow up fieldwork in October, she claimed that she had subsequently given up on this idea and had decided not to circumcise the baby. Previously girls were circumcised at 7 days old. She thinks that the attitudes of girls may be changing because of government education, but that boys continue to insult uncircumcised girls. She does not know of any negative consequences of circumcision. The husband, however, says that he agrees with the government ban and that he has not circumcised his youngest daughters.

Both the husband and wife support the government's campaigns against rape and abduction and say that the occurrence of these practices has greatly reduced. However, the wife thinks that the government should also take action in cases of so-called 'voluntary abduction'. In her opinion this practice cannot be voluntary as the man may pressurise the woman. Both also support action against domestic violence. However, the wife believes that this violence continues because some conservative people do not regard it as problematic. While the husband believes that there are few cases of underage marriage, the wife believes that the practice continues, with 15 and 16-year-old girls lying about their age when they get married.

The wife reported a conflict involving a friend of hers. The friend sent her husband shopping but he forgot most of the things she had asked for and came home drunk. She complained to the elders and they intervened. According to WT, they succeeded in settling their relationship. The husband thinks that men and women have equal land rights. However his wife says that the kebele continues to give priority to men based on the perception that women are too weak to farm and be productive themselves.

The parents cooperate with their neighbours in labour sharing arrangements for farm work, house building and preparation of feasts. However, the husband admits that agricultural labour sharing arrangements are becoming less common as farmers prefer to hire labourers. BN is also a member of an iddir and an oxen iddir, and his wife is also a member of a women's iddir comprising the wives of the male iddir members. For each they contribute 2 birr per month. When BN's mother died two years ago, he received 20 birr and fava beans and wheat from the iddir for the feast. The family also offered a commemoration feast to the priest on the 12th day after the funeral, slaughtering a sheep worth 500 birr. When his heifer died three years ago, the oxen iddir paid him 600 birr and other friends and relatives contributed an additional 400 birr.

BN is a member of St. George mehaber and the household invites other members to their house once every two years. They go to church on Sundays and on important saints' days.

BN mobilises the 30 members of his development team and his 1-5 for public works, as directed by the kebele administration. In addition to 60 days for the watershed scheme, he contributed 6 days for construction of the school and 2 days for road maintenance. BN thinks the public works activities have been beneficial but he believes that 60 days public works is too much and it limits time for farm work. He says that public works should last 30 days and take place only in February when there is no farm work. Public works have also caused disputes with members of his development team when their work is of poor quality or when they are absent. According to the wife, the militia is called when people refuse to participate in public works.

BN is a party member, WT is not. His responsibilities are to participate in cell discussions twice a month and to be exemplary in implementing government policy related to agriculture and health. WT said that she wants to participate more in kebele activities in the future because she believes that it is impossible to succeed without the kebele administration. However, she also said that she only attends kebele meetings because they are compulsory. She would prefer not to go, but she fears the consequences of being absent.

BN pays 200 birr land tax and contributions of 5 birr for the Red Cross, 5 birr for sports, 8 birr for the people that watch the road, 7 birr for party membership and a one-off contribution of 7 birr for the school.

Household of poor farmer

The household head, DM, is 52 years old and his wife, SZ, is 38 years old. They are both Amhara and Orthodox Christian. They are a poor household whose livelihood is dependent on crop, production, livestock and eucalyptus trees. DM is also a militia team leader, a party cadre/leading farmer and a 1-5 team leader. SZ has no social or political positions in the community. They have eight children. Four live in Tebase town for education, with regular visits to the household and the others live in the household.

The household's economy has not improved in recent years, according to SZ, since crop production has become more problematic while dairy production has increased. The husband says that their wealth varies based on the year, the rainfall and size of the harvest. In order of importance, the household grows: barley, fava beans, wheat, peas and linseed. There is no particular crop that DM produces just for sale. The price of linseed is high, but a relatively large plot of land only produces a little linseed, so he prefers to allocate most land to staple crops. He has stopped growing peas

because of repeated loss of crops due to hail and lentils because they were affected by disease. He considers the crops too risky to grow as cash crops. In the last year he has earned 500 birr from selling linseed in Chacha and 700 birr from eucalyptus trees that he planted on his land.

In the last agricultural season, SZ grew temej on 0.25 hectares of the household's land. Her husband ploughed and prepared the land, while she sowed the seed, weeded, harvested and threshed the crop. She produced 10kg and is storing the crop until July when the prices rise. She started crop production because she had trouble covering the costs of salt and coffee. Previously she processed milk to make butter and sold this to generate revenue. Now the price of milk has risen and the household sells the milk. Although in principle the household manages all money together, in practice it is her husband who saves the money in an equb. Her independent crop production replaces her loss of control over the revenue from butter. She has not received any agricultural extension support.

DM uses fertiliser and improved seeds but he complained that the improved seeds produced very tall wheat with little grain, producing just 150kg from 3 timad. He buys fertiliser from the service cooperative, but soil fertility has declined because they no longer fallow the land and the soil is now dependent on fertiliser. The DAs advised the farmers to grow apples and distributed seedlings, but these all dried up and died due to a lack of water. They always sell some crops to exchange them for other types of food, and they also always have to buy some grain during kiremt, while they wait for the next harvest. DM believes that the terracing encourages rats, which damage the crops.

He has two oxen, one local breed and one improved, one local breed cow and one calf. He previously had another cow and an improved breed heifer but sold these in the last few years. One of his oxen collapsed and died suddenly while ploughing and the NGO Food For Children provided a replacement American breed ox for him. He does not use a BBM because he says it is suitable only for flat land and it is too heavy for local oxen. People in the community prepare the land in the same way but manually, using spades.

He used to have 15 sheep but most died in the last few years from a disease. Another sheep was eaten by a jackal and he sold two, leaving one sheep at present. He has had two traditional beehives for many years. At present he has one hybrid chicken. In the past he had a hybrid cock and six chickens, but several were eaten by a wild cat and his wife sold the rest as a result. According to the husband, the wife and children do not own any livestock independently. However, she says that she owns the chickens and sold four in the last year for 60 birr each.

Previously ILRI provided the farmers with improved livestock. However, since the ILRI site was taken over by the government, this service has ended. Many farmers who were employed as herders at ILRI were also given animals as compensation for their services when ILRI ended. At present farmers borrow the improved breed bulls from others in the community to inseminate their cattle. The NGO Food For Children also still provides insemination for cattle and sheep. Indeed, he was given an Israeli breed sheep by the NGO. The offspring of the Israeli breed sheep are very big and fetch a good price when they are sold, but the farmer thinks that they are prone to disease and vulnerable during droughts when there is a shortage of feed. The DAs always advise local people to rear the improved breed livestock and to engage in dairy production and fattening. Indeed, the family benefits from its milk production, which is a good source of income.

ACSI is the only credit provider available. Five years ago he borrowed 600 birr for sheep rearing, but all of the sheep died and so he had to sell a heifer in order to repay the money. The wife also borrowed 1,000 birr three years ago to buy fertiliser. They can get drugs for the livestock when the vet comes to the kebele each week. However, he does not believe that the vet is always effective and thinks that it would be better to have a vet permanently stationed in the community.

The husband and wife jointly control the money from livestock sales and products, and decide how to spend it. They used the money from selling animals to pay for the education of one child at a TVET

in Debre Berhan and to buy grain. He is responsible for selling any livestock products in the market and for buying consumption goods. He takes the household's milk production to a businesswoman near DBRC and collects the money every two weeks. He sells the honey produced in Debre Berhan. SZ uses the main road to take dungcakes and firewood to the market in Debre Berhan using pack animals. She says that she does almost all of the work related to livestock, although the children help with herding when they are not in school. The grazing land in the community is being reduced as a result of the watershed scheme.

The domestic work burden has increased in recent years because they have more children, and this means more work for SZ. She cooks the food, washes clothes and takes care of the children. She wakes up at 6am and goes to bed between 10pm and 1am. Sometimes the older children help with childcare for the younger ones. Her husband takes the grain to the mill, as he has always done, and he also buys consumption goods from the market. The older daughters clean the compound, but the sons have no role in domestic work.

There are three houses in the compound. The first has a living room and a bedroom, the second has two rooms, a kitchen and a bedroom for the children and the third is a livestock house. All the houses have straw thatched roofs and walls made from stone and dung. They have made no changes to the compound in the last five years. They have two beds: one made from steel for the parents and one made from wood for the children. They also have plastic kitchen utensils, cups, glasses and a radio.

The household has used the same safe water point for the last seven years. The water point is 10 minutes' walk from the compound. They pay 1.50 birr for the use of the water point and this is used to pay the salary of the guard who monitors water usage. The water point is open from 7am-8am and 4pm-5pm. Households are allowed to take 20 litres in the morning and 10 litres in the afternoon, unless they are having a special celebration, in which case they can have 80-100 litres. People start queuing early and they often have to wait for 30-50 minutes. Before the water point was developed they were using a spring. The household also harvests rainwater in plastic containers for washing clothes and for the livestock.

They built a latrine as required by the kebele. The first one filled up because of the swampy nature of the land where the compound is situated, so they had to build another. The residents of the household rarely use it, but the children who live in Tebase use it when they come to visit. They use dungcakes, firewood and eucalyptus leaves for fuel and kerosene lamps for lighting.

The main foods eaten in the household are injera made from barley flour, wot from fava bean flour, roasted fava beans and barley bread. The household eats three meals a day throughout the year, although close to harvest time when their reserves are depleted, they may eat less at each meal. During the rainy season they also eat more roasted fava beans as this helps them to keep warm. There is no change in the amount of grain they eat, but they eat fewer pulses because they have stopped producing lentils because of problems with the crop. They eat more vegetables, however, because their income has improved and they can buy them from the market. They also buy the children bananas and oranges on market days. The household consumes less meat, milk, eggs and butter because the market prices for these have all increased, and they prefer to sell them to cover the cost of the children's schooling and for fertiliser. Everyone in the household eats from the same plate, although people have different schedules, so they may eat at different times.

SZ says that younger women are in favour of contraceptive use, in order to delay having children. She has never used contraceptives, but she recently went to the HEWs to ask for contraceptives. She says that she has never had a period in her entire life, although she has never had any problem getting pregnant and has had eight children. The HEWs were suspicious about her health and advised her to go to the hospital, refusing to give her contraceptives. DM said that the government had tried to supply condoms to all party cadres, but they refused, saying that they were too disgusting to even look at and so the government stopped supplying them.

SZ was pregnant and had a baby in the last 12 months. She was not monitored by the HEWs and gave birth with the help of traditional birth attendants. The HEWs came to the house to give the baby a vaccination at 45 days. In the past new-born babies were given raw butter in the first 24-48 hours to prepare them for breastfeeding. In the past new-born babies were just fed with milk, but now, as a result of increasing milk prices, they mix milk with grain. When the HEWs visited the house they told them about the importance of providing nutritious food. It is increasingly common to buy children fruit at the market. Although she appreciates the advice of the HEWs and would like to eat the variety of foods that they advise, the household is poor and they cannot afford them.

The five-year-old daughter started attending pre-school this year but switched to grade one after a month because she is clever and ready for grade one. In total there are now three children in primary school, which is 5 minutes from the compound. The ten-year-old boy is in grade 5 and the 8-year-old girl is in grade 3. The boy looks after livestock when not in school and the girls help with domestic work.

There are also two children in secondary school in Tebase, an 18-year-old in grade 10 and a sixteen-year-old in grade 9. The 18-year-old is retaking the national grade 10 exams, having failed the previous year. The school is 12km from the compound and takes two hours to walk, so the parents rented a room for 75 birr a month for the children. They also pay 50 birr as a registration fee for the school. They come to visit at the weekend and during break times. The 18-year-old has a part-time job working in the DBRC. They also have a son in vocational school in Tebase, studying on a three-year course which ends this year. They pay 900 birr a semester in fees. The husband also started adult education in February 2013 at the local school.

Expenses related to the children's education, such as books, pens and clothes, have become very costly and require all of their money, forcing them to reduce spending on other things. The wife borrowed 800 birr from ACSI the previous year to pay for their son's school expenses. They told ACSI that they were borrowing the money for sheep rearing, but DM does not think ACSI should care as long as he repays the money. The father says that he does not have any wealth for his children to inherit and so he regards their investment in the children's education as the means by which they can help their children.

SZ says that she has heard that the government is trying to ban female circumcision, but she has no idea why and has never been in a meeting where it has been discussed. All of her daughters have been circumcised, and circumcision continues secretly in the community. She cites the example of an uncircumcised woman in the community who died in childbirth as proof that circumcision is not more problematic for delivery. She says that most of the community remains in favour of circumcision, although girls have changed their minds because of government education. She says that boys are still against the ban and insult uncircumcised girls. Her husband is in favour of the ban on circumcision. DM says that circumcision practitioners have all stopped working because they were warned by the kebele and know that they will be fined if they continue. He does not believe that circumcision has negative effects, but supports all government policy. The church has also recently intervened to support the government's ban, saying that even Saint Mary was not circumcised.

They both support the bans on rape and forced abduction and think that the practices are much less common now. Similarly, DM believes that the requirement that girls are given a medical examination by doctors to establish their age² has prevented underage marriage.

SZ says that although women's land rights are respected now, women are still not included when the kebele distributes land to young people. The kebele administration says that women are not strong

²This was mentioned as a government requirement by several respondents, but the nature of these tests and the extent to which they are implemented are unclear.

enough to plough the land. Women's right to property on divorce is also increasingly respected, with the wereda Women's Affairs office supporting them and promising to bring cases quickly to the courts. Elders on the other hand are more likely to give land to the man and household equipment to the woman or to discriminate against women following widowhood. She believes therefore that ensuring women's rights therefore requires resisting the mediation of elders.

The husband participates in debo and wenfel labour sharing arrangements because he does not have the money to hire labourers. He also cooperates with his wife's family in neighbouring kebele in farm work and shares livestock for ploughing and threshing. The wife participates in preparing community feasts. He is a member of an iddir and an oxen iddir, and when his cow died three years ago he received 300 birr from the oxen iddir. However, when his calf died, he received nothing. He regularly contributes money when iddir members, members of their family or their cattle die. The wives of the male iddir members formed a female iddir last year. Last year, his wife's mother and sister died. Almost all of the expense for the ceremony was covered by the iddir.

DM is a member of St George mehaber and SZ is a member of St Mary mehaber. They invite fellow members to lunch once a year for St Mary and once every two years for St George. They are both Orthodox Christians and attend church on Sundays and saints' days. He abstains from work on St George's day each month. The household is also a member of an equb with eight households. They save 10-15 birr a month and use the money to buy meat at Easter.

DM acts as a militia and can be called at any time of the day or night if disputes or fights occur or if he is required to bring someone to court. He also has to guard prisoners overnight when they are to be taken to the wereda and attends meetings between one and three times a month. His role as a militia also affects farm work. He is unable to look after the livestock when the children are at school, because he may be called away for work at any time to bring disputants to court or to bring absentees from the adult education programme to class.

DM also coordinates a 1-5 in organising watershed and road maintenance public works. He believes that the 60-day requirement is too long and should be halved in order to ensure the voluntary participation of the people. Absenteeism in his team was a bit of a problem. He also said that he is a 'civil cadre' (a term from the early years of the Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) to differentiate the party cadre from fighters), participating in monthly meetings and contributing 6 birr a year to the party. He also participated in a 15 day leading farmers conference in November and a 7 day meeting in December to plan the public works. Repeated attendance at party and kebele meetings and the public works has affected household work. There was one meeting for women in the kebele, where government officials announced that they wanted to form them into groups and support income generating activities, but there has been no news since then.

DM pays 70 birr a year in land tax, 3 birr for sports, 2 birr for the Red Cross, 10 birr for the Amhara National Democratic Movement (ANDM), 6 birr for party membership, 7 birr for the guard of the kebele office, 7 birr to pay for a local patrol around the road to improve security and a one-off contribution of 10 birr for the celebration of the end of the watershed works.

Household of successful woman head

ST is 54 years old and a female household head. She was divorced from her husband 13-15 years ago, although her former husband still lives in another house in the same compound. He sometimes disturbs her when he gets drunk. She lives with a 12-year-old daughter and a 6-year-old nephew. She also has four daughters and a son living elsewhere. A 32-year-old and a 23-year-old married daughter live in Debre Berhan, and a 14-year-old daughter is in school in Debre Berhan. A 27-year-old son works in construction in Nazret, and an 18-year-old daughter is in school in Nazret.

ST has been working in the social court since 2010, she is a member of the land administration committee, a leader of a development team and a 1-5, a party member and was a health volunteer for the last five years, receiving an award for implementation of the health extension packages. She

is also a member of the water committee, passing messages from the wereda to the community.

ST says that the household's wealth has increased in recent years as a result of the DAs who showed them new methods for growing wheat and provided improved seeds. In addition, she has started fattening livestock, selling fattened bulls for 6,000-8,000 birr. They grow barley, wheat, fava beans, peas, and linseed, in order of importance. The only recent change is that they have stopped growing lentils because of the erratic rainfall. The main crops that they sell are those with higher prices in the markets, namely fava beans, linseed and wheat. In the last year, she earned 1,200 birr from crop sales.

She and other women received vegetable seedlings (beetroot, carrots and cabbage) from an NGO, but she claims that she was the only one who cultivated them well. She earned 100 birr from selling the vegetables. Another NGO distributed apple tree seedlings and she now has ten apple trees, although they have never produced fruit. Most other apple trees dried up and died. She has also received extension advice about planting eucalyptus trees. She says that there is insufficient access to improved seeds. She has only got improved seeds once and only because she was involved in the kebele administration. The high cost of fertiliser is also forcing farmers to use less than the optimal amount.

She believes that crop production in general is declining because of climate change, and that people are now working hard to expand other sources of income generation because crop cultivation has become so unpredictable. She believes that the expansion of eucalyptus tree cultivation has had a negative impact on crop cultivation because the trees use a lot of water and have long roots, drying out the soil.

She has one local ox currently, although they had two five years ago. She also has one bull, as previously, and a horse. She has one local cow, four local sheep and three local chickens, whereas she had none of these five years ago. Her children own two more local sheep. The children fatten these sheep for sale, providing them with independent income for their expenses. In the past 12 months, she has sold one ox for 8,000 birr and three sheep for 500 birr each. She sells the animals with her oldest son and they jointly control the money. Because the milk production was very small in the last year, she processed the milk to produce butter, which she sold in the local market, controlling the money earned. She also sells eggs in the market and controls the money.

She received advice from the DAs about fattening and vaccinations for her animals, although she complained that the vet service is not easily accessible. The communal grazing land is declining because the kebele has given four hectares to a group of young men and more land to investors.

The domestic work burden has reduced in recent years because several members have migrated and because the children are older and can help her with the work. Her children and her former husband participate in domestic work. She fetches water and collects firewood, she goes to the market, cooks and looks after the children. Her former husband takes grain to the mill. Her daughter cleans the houses, the compound and washes the clothes. In the past a man who participated in domestic work would have been discriminated against and considered to be less of a man. Now, thanks to the EPRDF, men are participating in domestic work without problems.

The compound has three houses. The first has a tin roof, a living room and a bedroom. The second is the kitchen and has two rooms and a straw roof. The last is for livestock. They were all constructed 10 years ago. She has two beds made from animal skin and straw and plastic and steel kitchen utensils.

The household uses a spring 15 minutes from the compound for drinking water. This spring is maintained by the users and is enclosed to prevent livestock from entering it. It has not, however, been treated by the kebele and so is considered an unsafe water source. She recently spoke to an NGO about developing this spring into a safe water source. They told her to form a group and to collect contributions. They are doing this and hope that construction will start soon. Currently, they

may have to queue for 20-30 minutes to get water. They had been using another spring until recently, but this spring dried up. They use the river for washing clothes.

Her former husband insisted on digging a latrine five years ago, and her children built it. All of the household members use it, except when they are in the fields. Her son told his neighbours, who did not want to use a latrine that, 'if he meets them while using the open air, he will record it on his mobile and show it to his friends'. She was given an award for her household sanitation. They use dungcakes and firewood for fuel and sometimes charcoal for making coffee. They use lamps for lighting.

The common foods are injera made from wheat and barley, wot, bread and beso (a flour made from roasted barley). They eat three times a day, except in the rainy season when they eat more and 3-4 times a day. They also eat cabbage in the rainy season. They have started eating more vegetables because these are more commonly produced in the community.

She believes that contraceptives are widely accepted in the community. She has been using an implant for the past seven years, having switched from injections because they caused weight loss and headaches. She says that some women have, however, become pregnant while using contraceptives.

Her 12-year-old daughter is attending primary school, which is 30 minutes' walk from the compound. Her daughter is not performing well in school so she decided to move her from grade 3 back to grade 1 to give her time to catch up with the others. She believes that the quality of education is poor. The daughter is involved in domestic work when not in school. She also has a 14-year-old daughter in grade 7 in Debre Berhan and an 18-year-old daughter in grade 9 in Nazret.

Even though she knew the negative effects of circumcision, she allowed her daughters to be circumcised. However, she has since been convinced that the practice should not be allowed because this is government policy and the government would not do anything to harm them. Consequently, she has stopped her grand-daughter and the daughter of a neighbour from being circumcised. She believes that the government's intention was to ban the type of circumcision that removes a large amount of the labia, but that this type of circumcision has never been practised in the community. As a result, she says that most people are against the ban. Boys believe that uncircumcised girls are unclean, but girls prefer not to be circumcised because they are aware of the dangers.

Despite the government ban, she believes that underage marriage is still common. Young people simply claim to have a different age and the kebele is not very active in pursuing them to determine their real age. She argues that women were discriminated against in the recent distribution of land to a group of youths. All of the beneficiaries were young men. Participation of women in local politics remains minimal, but she thinks that some progress has been made with more women's representatives in each sector, in line with the wereda's demands.

In her work in the social court and the land administration committee she has been actively working on women's rights in the community, stating that 'I will not keep silent if I see somebody violate women's rights'. She says that the wereda police are working closely with the community, especially in cases involving women. She explained that the previous year her neighbour decided to get divorced. She took the case to the wereda court and got the final judgment within three days. Then, the kebele land administration implemented the decision of the court and divided the land between the couple. The wereda court is fair, but people do not take the cases to the wereda because of pressure by the elders. Elders, in her opinion, are still biased against women in divorce cases. At present the wereda court acts quickly, when she got her divorce 13 years ago, it took the court three months to make a decision.

The household uses debo and wenfel to provide agricultural labour on the farm. However, she says that these practices are declining as people prefer to work on their own land. She also receives

assistance from relatives in neighbouring communities. The household participates in community ceremonies and celebrations.

Her daughter, who is living in Debre Berhan, got married in the last year. The couple had been living together for the past two years and they invited people, just to let them know that they have got married. This type of marriage does not exist in Kormargefia. She spent 3,000 birr on beef for the wedding and neighbours and relatives contributed 650 birr for the couple. Another daughter also got married 13 years ago, but at this time the marriage was relatively inexpensive. Since the recent wedding was held in town, they were expected to provide a greater variety of foods, which increased the cost. She had been saving 50 birr a month in ACSI and used this money for the wedding.

She belongs to an iddir whose other members are men, and a mehaber. She invites the mehaber members once every 9 months. She is Orthodox Christian and goes to church once a fortnight.

She acts as a community elder. One case that they attempted to resolve involved a mentally ill woman who was hired as a herder. She was raped by the neighbour of her employer and she got pregnant. The employer's household refused to let her stay and they decided to send her to her sister's home in a neighbouring kebele. She informed the kebele chairman about the case and he recommended that the elders intervene. She was in the elders group and, after considering the case, they tried to allow the woman to stay in the employer's household. However, the household, after consulting the parents of the man who raped the woman, decided to reverse the decision of the elders. The employer refused to let her stay in their house. Then, her sister came and took her. She believes that the kebele administration has to intervene to get the decision of the elders implemented.

Community policing was introduced in the community two years ago. She says that the kebele policeman has stopped working and just gets money for nothing. Her ex-husband contracted a daily labourer to cut the grass on his grazing land. The day for the implementation of the contract passed but the daily labourer failed to start working. Her ex-husband sent a letter to the iddir, since the iddir is used as a bridge between the people and the kebele administration, but the accused refused to contact the iddir leaders and rejected the call for discussion. Finally, the policeman was sent to bring him to the iddir. The accused was penalised 100 Birr to be paid to her ex-husband and 100 Birr in fees for the policeman's work.

Her former husband was a member of the Derg (birokrasi) and when the 1997 land redistribution was conducted they were only given one hectare of land. When they complained to the kebele, they were told by one official 'we do not care about the children of the birokrasi. If you want, you can eat your children'. So in the 2005 elections she mobilised people in the community to vote for the opposition Coalition for Unity and Democracy (CUD). But, when she was divorced, she was given 0.75 hectares on her own, and she was pressurised by kebele officials to join the EPRDF. She learned that it was only the regional government that was discriminating against former Derg members, not the EPRDF itself. She has now become an active member of the party and mobilises people during the elections for the EPRDF. Party members are given priority in support from the kebele and wereda, but the time she spends in party and kebele meetings reduces the time available for domestic and farm work. She was involved in the last kebele cabinet gimgema. She criticised the kebele chairman and vice chairman because of their declining performance. The vice chairman was removed from his position because of his poor performance.

She was asked by the wereda to organise women into groups using the 1-5s for income generation activities. She has registered 20 poor women, but the wereda has not followed up. She said that it is common for the kebele administration to fail to follow up on such things and she criticised the chairman and the vice-chairman for their frequent absence from the kebele office. She also said that they regularly miss the trainings and meetings that they themselves organise. Moreover, they pay less attention to women's organisations and the community has complained about the kebele

officials' negligence with respect to women's issues.

She believes that the annual farmers' conference is useful as it is a space for raising all social, economic and political affairs in the community. It makes people aware of the agricultural and health extension services and gives room for farmers to put forward their ideas to the kebele administration.

She is a voluntary member of the social court and a member of the land administration committee. She believes that there are frequently problems of witnesses lying or hiding information from the court if they think that it will benefit their friends or relatives.

She participates in the public works because it is compulsory. She worked from 9am-11am for 60 days, but complained that it affected her other work. It is beneficial, however, to be divorced, as she can organise her time as she pleases without someone telling her what to do.

She pays 125 birr a year in land tax and other contributions. She pays them all in one lump sum, so she is not sure how they are divided up. She pays 12 birr a year in party membership fees and a one-off contribution of 10 birr for the celebrations at the end of the watershed scheme.

Household of poor woman head

DH is 52 years old and a female household head. Her husband died in 2009. She lives with her son, AY, who is 28 years old, two daughters who are 16 and 8 and a son who is 12. Five other children have left the household. She claims to have a 40-year-old son (which would mean she gave birth aged 12) working in agriculture in Arssi, and two sons, 32 and 22, working as daily labourers in Tebase. She also has two daughters, the 24 year old is working as a housemaid in an Arab state and the 14-year-old is working as a housemaid in Addis Ababa. They are Amhara and Orthodox Christian. The household head is a member of the EPRDF, a model farmer and a development team leader.

The wealth of the household has declined tremendously in recent years since the death of her husband in 2009. The household has one hectare of rain-fed land and grows barley, fava beans and wheat, in order of importance. The household does not sell any crops because their production is insufficient for consumption. They cover the cost of sugar, coffee, salt and oil by selling dungcakes and firewood. Her son takes care of the farm work. DH says that the soil has adapted to the application of fertiliser and crops cannot be grown without it now. Fertiliser is the only input that they use, however. They do not use improved seeds, herbicides or pesticides.

In general, she believes that agricultural production is declining and that it was particularly bad last year when hail destroyed many crops. Hail also contributes to soil erosion and the erratic rainfall has damaged production. They no longer cultivate crops in the belg season because there is not enough rain.

The household currently has two oxen, one local breed and one improved, but they have lost two oxen and a cow to livestock diseases. Five years ago DH had five bulls, but now she only has one half-improved breed. Five years ago she had four local breed cows, but now has two local breed cows and a shared improved breed cow. She used to have two local breed heifers and four calves, but now only has one heifer and one calf. She previously had 20 sheep and 8 chickens but now only has five sheep and four chickens.

In the last 12 months DH sold two calves for 2,000 birr each and a bull for 3,800 birr. She controls the money from these sales along with her son. She has sold five chickens for 100 birr each and she alone controls the money from the sales of chickens. The cows produce milk for sale, but the amount depends on the season. In the rainy season when grazing is plentiful the cows produce a lot of milk, 6-7 litres per day, in the dry season they produce only 2 litres a day. The son and DH control the money from milk sales, while the daughter takes the eggs to market and controls this income with her mother. The high price of milk is encouraging them to focus on cows rather than other livestock and to invest in good fodder.

This year they bought vaccinations for the animals in Chacha town, but they were very inexpensive and poor quality, leading to the death of 15 sheep. She says that the household occasionally gets vaccinations from the wereda vet, but has not received any other extension services. She thinks that the kebele should provide a vet at a low cost so that the poor can afford the services. Their access to grazing land has reduced because the nearest area was set aside for the watershed management project.

In addition, DH collects firewood, makes dungcakes and sells hay. She sells a donkey-load of dungcakes for 17-26 birr and a donkey-load of firewood for 22-23 birr. These activities are easier in the dry season.

Even though the total domestic work burden has decreased, DH's domestic work burden has increased in recent years because the older daughters, who used to help her, have migrated. She collects water and firewood, although her son and daughter sometimes help her. Her son usually goes to the grain mill, except when he is busy with farm work, when she does it herself. She cooks, looks after the children and washes clothes. Everyone in the household, except the older son, cleans the compound. She and her oldest son go to the market. She says that men have started to take part in domestic work in the last five years.

There are four houses in the compound. The first has two floors. On the first floor there is a living room and bedroom, and space for livestock on the ground floor. There are separate buildings for the kitchen and another for livestock, and a building for storing dungcakes. All have straw thatched roofs and stone and mud walls. They have a simple wooden bed and a mattress stuffed with straw. They have plastic, steel and clay kitchen utensils, a radio and her son has a mobile phone.

The household uses a water point ten minutes from the compound for drinking water. The wereda treats the water every two years with a chemical. There is no payment for the water, but they contribute to the salary of the guard. They use rainwater in the rainy season for washing clothes. The household has a latrine because the kebele pressurised them to build one four years ago, threatening that those who refused would be punished. The household members use it rarely because of the bad smell. It is useful for guests from the city who do not want to go in the open air. They try to control the smell by spraying kerosene and dust. They use dungcakes and firewood for fuel and lamps for lighting.

They regularly eat injera made from barley flour, roasted barley and shiro wot from fava beans. In the summer season, they eat bread, beso from roasted barley flour, roasted and boiled fava beans. They eat at least three times a day throughout the year, but they eat less during the rainy season as their grain reserves start to run out as they wait for the next harvest. In recent years they have been eating less vegetables and pulses because of declining production due to climate change. Also, DH thinks that continuous cultivation of the same vegetables without rotation may reduce fertility. The household consumes less milk and eggs because of the high prices in the market and the importance of earning money, and less meat because they can afford to buy less. Consumption of bananas, oranges and sugarcane has increased, however, as supply in local markets has improved. In the past DH ate with her husband and her eldest son from the same plate. Now she eats with her oldest son and daughter, while the other children eat together.

In 2010 her daughter migrated to Addis Ababa. She now lives with her aunt and works as a housemaid. Another daughter migrated to an Arab state 18 months ago and several children moved to Debre Berhan 6 years ago. She said that all her children that have migrated are doing well. A few of them have already start sending her remittances. Indeed, the daughter who went to an Arab country was able to cover the cost of her new tin roofed house, which nearing completion.

One of her daughters became ill in the past year. At first she took her daughter to a holy water site in a faraway part of the wereda. However, the daughter's health deteriorated and so she took her to Debre Berhan hospital where she was diagnosed with typhoid and given drugs and injections. After

three months of treatment she was cured. The cost of the treatment, including travel to the holy water, was 400 birr.

Her oldest son is 25 and has never been to school. She encouraged him to go, but he said it would be impossible to combine the burden of farm work with school. Two children are currently in primary school, which is 15 minutes' walk from the compound. The school expenses for pens, books and clothes are covered by the sale of milk and they may have to sell a sheep also. She says that the boy is doing better than the girl. She does not think this has anything to do with their work burdens, but that the girl prefers to play games rather than studying. The daughter does domestic work and the son herds livestock when they are not in school.

All of her daughters, the youngest of which is eight, have been circumcised. She went to a conference at which the HEWs explained the reasons for banning circumcision, but most people in the community, including herself, want to continue with the practice. Older women say that they never had any problems and so do not see why it is problematic. Boys also regard uncircumcised girls as dirty, while the girls prefer to be circumcised to avoid being insulted. She wants to continue the practice with her grandchildren.

She thinks that contraceptives are widely accepted by women in the community. Men, however, do not usually approve and may try to stop their wives from using them. Men do not bear the burden of rearing children and only see the advantages of having more labour power.

She says that the government has created awareness about forced abduction, but has done nothing about voluntary abduction in the community. In her opinion, these voluntary abductions may not always be voluntary because the man may sometimes persuade the woman to tell the kebele officials that they agreed. She supports the government's work on domestic violence but says that there are still some people who regard domestic violence as a sign of love and concern, and who do not think it should be considered a harmful practice. Although the government has created awareness about early marriage, she does not think that any action is taken when it actually occurs.

She noted that the kebele has not distributed any irrigable land to women, only young men. She says that the kebele administration thinks that women are too weak to work on farmland, but she argues that they should distribute land to young women as well and allow them to farm it as they see fit.

She believes that women's rights are respected following divorce and widowhood. However, she says that women continue to have very little participation in politics. She even believes that this is a good thing because they have nothing to gain from politics.

The household participates in labour sharing arrangements, especially at harvest time. If there is unseasonal rain and everyone is trying to harvest quickly, it can be difficult to get labour, but they try to get help from relatives. House building is conducted through debo, involving family and friends, not necessarily just neighbours. They also cooperate with others when there are special celebrations.

They participate in two iddir. When her husband died she received only minimal assistance: 12kg of fava beans and 12kg of wheat. Some people also brought injera. On the day of her husband's death ceremony, a member of the iddir announced his death to the community and at 11am men carried his body to the church where he was buried. Some of the iddir members remained at the house to prepare food and everyone came back to the house afterwards to eat. All other costs of the ceremony were covered by the household and so they spent very little because they are poor. In the past people might have slaughtered an ox or bull for the ceremony, but they just provided shiro wot.

She is a member of an equb and contributes 26 birr a fortnight to pay for their beef at Easter. She is a member of two mehaber. She decided to continue membership of the male mehaber where her husband was previously a member. She has to invite the members of the male mehaber once a year and the female mehaber twice a year. All members of the household are Orthodox Christian and she

goes to church once a month.

The party registered her as a member and asked her for contributions, without asking her. She does not, however, want to be a party member as it does nothing for her family. In her words, 'I think the government has forgotten this community. I have never come across a government intervention to change the welfare of the people'. She attends meetings and pays her contributions but does not regard herself as an active member. She thinks that party membership has helped her to access fertiliser and she believes that if there are any benefits from the kebele, they will be given first to the party members. However, she believes that overall the community has been harmed by the party by wasting time in meetings without any observable benefit. She argues that, 'nowadays, access to water is becoming easy in other parts of the country. Here in Kormargefia, it is still a core problem. The government forgets us but we are still wasting our time attending valueless meetings.'

She complains about the length of the public works, arguing that the time should be spent on farm work instead. She is a development team leader but has never organised a meeting herself. When other leaders of the development team call a meeting, she just attends like any other member. She also complains about the length of time spent in kebele and party meetings, 'we waste our time without any return. They just tell us the same thing. We are tired of hearing their propaganda.'

She attended an 8-day conference held by the HEWs at which they discussed all of the health extension packages, including nutrition and the importance of having a balanced diet. However, she does not think that these initiatives are relevant because, 'the kebele is unproductive. The kinds of crops we have grown for the past many years are very few because the soil type is not suitable for other new crop types. Because of this, we have access only to two or three kinds of grain. Having this situation, it is totally impossible to have balanced food as they explained in the conference.'

She pays 230 birr in land tax and other contributions, but she is only aware of the total, not the division between the different contributions. There are taxes on the livestock market: 10 birr for an ox, 2 birr for sheep and 8 birr for pack animals. She also pays 16 birr for the party, 63 birr for the church committee and 1.50 birr for the water committee. She also made a one-off contribution of 400 birr for the reconstruction of the church.

Structures of inequality

Class, wealth and poverty

Overall community wealth

Most respondents report that overall community wealth has increased in recent years because high commodity prices have offered improved opportunities for income generation. In particular, dairy production, livestock fattening and tree cultivation have all expanded greatly. There are mixed changes in crop cultivation, however, with better access to improved inputs such as fertiliser and improved seeds, and some expansion of irrigation infrastructure, but deteriorating soil fertility, increasingly unreliable rainfall, hail and frost have all had adverse effects.

Spatial poverty

Infrastructure and access to markets and transport vary considerably within the community, contributing to spatial inequality. Close to the main Addis Ababa to Debre Berhan road, there is good market access for those seeking to buy agricultural inputs or selling produce. In contrast access to other parts of the community is very problematic, especially in the rainy season when the level of the rivers rises. While a temporary wooden bridge was constructed by the community in Milki sub-kebele, there is no bridge in the east of the kebele. As a result, market access is very problematic and people have to walk a long way to find a way to reach the rest of the kebele.

Household wealth inequalities

Household wealth derives largely from access to the most important agricultural resources, namely, land, irrigation, livestock, in particular improved breeds of oxen and cows, and eucalyptus trees. The key informant on the local macro-economy believes that the proportion of very rich households in the community has declined in the past ten years from about 10% to 5%. These households had large landholdings and their wealth was based on crop cultivation, but their wealth declined because of deteriorating soil fertility and climate change. Equally, he thinks that the proportion of poor and destitute households has also declined as a result of livelihood diversification opportunities. In the past, he estimates that 20% of the households were very poor and 5% destitute. He maintains that at present only 10% are very poor and 3% destitute. The proportion of households with medium wealth has increased from 40% to 60%. These households have increased their wealth by engaging in fattening sheep, keeping chickens and selling dungcakes and firewood. The market price for each of these products has greatly increased in recent years. A poor farmer said he didn't buy improved seeds from the co-operative due to lack of resources but he knew some others, especially those who sell milk and irrigated vegetables, who could buy and use. The wife of a poor farmer said selection of beneficiaries for Food for Children was not based on wealth status but personal attachment with kebele officials.

Inequality within households

The respondents' statements suggest inequality in the control of household revenues. On the whole, male household heads control the money from the major income sources such as crop sales, cattle, milk and eucalyptus trees, although many men say that they consult their wives in spending the money. Even in female-headed households, many of the household heads jointly control the revenues with the oldest son. In contrast, women and children control smaller revenue sources such as sales of chickens, eggs, dungcakes and firewood.

One respondent reported that previously she controlled the revenue from butter production and sale, but as milk prices have risen and the household now sells all the milk unprocessed, the revenue is now controlled jointly by the husband and wife in the household.

Problems poor people face

Several respondents reported that traditional labour sharing arrangements such as debo and wonfel are in decline. While wealthy farmers prefer to hire daily labourers to help harvest their crops, poor households continue to rely on labour sharing arrangements. Increasingly, poor farmers prioritise working for money on rich farmers' land, reducing their participation in labour sharing arrangements. This is particularly problematic when there is unseasonal rainfall during the harvest period. At such times, everyone in the community is rushing to harvest and it is very difficult to get additional labour.

The HEWs have been advising community members to improve the variety of foods in their diets and, in particular, to increase consumption of fruit and vegetables. However, several poor respondents argued that this advice was irrelevant to their circumstances; although they would like to eat these foods, they lack the resources to be able to buy them.

Young men and women in poor households also face severe problems when seeking to get married and to set up an independent household. Young men are expected to have accumulated considerable resources, such as wood and straw to build a house, enough grain for a year's consumption and land and an ox, before they get married. While the children of wealthy parents can expect assistance from their parents in acquiring these things, children of poor parents get little support and struggle to accumulate sufficient resources.

Social identity, status differences and vulnerability

Ethnicity

95% of the households in the community are Amhara and the remaining 5% Oromo. According to respondents relations between the two ethnic groups are good and they go to the same churches, Mehaber and other social institutions.

The Oromo have been living in Kormargefia for a long time, from earlier on. Part of Aloberet sub-kebele, where many of them live, is part of Oromia regional state. When the regional boundaries were created, for unknown reasons, part of this sub-kebele was included in Amhara region. Accordingly, many of the Oromo are living around the border between two weredas, which belong to two different regions. However, there are also a few Oromo who have moved to other parts of the kebele for different reasons, often marriage.

The Oromo engage in similar activities to the Amhara, such as farming and keeping livestock. The owner of the local bar is also an Oromo. The Oromo share the same social and political institutions without any segregation. Respondents said that there is no difference between the Amhara and Oromo except language. In general, religion is a source of linkage between the Amhara and Oromo, who are both Christian.

Clan / lineage / family

There is no information on clans or lineages in the fieldwork data. The RO noted that interviews with leaders of the Oromo in Kormargefia are missing.

Generally

Craftworkers

There are some carpenters in the kebele but they are not discriminated against or excluded in any way. There are no smiths, potters or tanners living in the community.

Slaves

There is a group of people called Bariya who are believed to have slave ancestry. At present there are about six households. There is no problem of discrimination or exclusion and they intermarry with the local people. According to one respondent,

‘In the time when the Italians were in the country, there was an administrator of North Shewa controlling the area Baso and Sheno, Qegn Azimach Tesema Geyid. While he was going to Chefe Donsa for a court case, he met a man tied to a tree. He ordered his people to take the man, named Fikre, to his residence area, Kormargefia kebele. He was the first person from the ‘Bariya’ in the community. He passed away just six years ago. He was more than 100 years old. He has no children and he lived with Qegn Azimach’s decedents. He got one hectare of farmland in the 1997 land redistribution program. He inherited the land from the decedents of Qegn Azimach Tesema Geyid. Overtime, two other people from the Bariya group came to the kebele. They got married and had children. Nowadays, there are around 6 households, which are their decedents.’

Religions

All households in the community are Orthodox Christian. Many respondents said that it is unthinkable for anyone to change religions or for people who are not Orthodox to live in the community.

Native/immigrant

Respondents noted that there are about 10 migrants working in the dairy investment and a number of others come during harvest season. They are all from Debre Berhan and neighbouring wereda. There are no reports of any tension or discrimination against them.

People also come to the community from neighbouring areas for marriage.

Non-conformity and status

Women without husbands

There are 281 female-headed households in the kebele. Their number may have reduced as a result of the end of military conscription. They face a shortage of labour for agriculture, and may get support from their older children. There is no evidence from the fieldwork that women without husbands necessarily have a lower social status. The economic status of the poor female-headed household has declined in recent years as a result of the loss of male labour and livestock diseases, but not social status. The successful female-headed household has prospered in recent years and the household head is active in social and political activities in the community.

Production and sale of areqe is considered shameful and so only female-headed households engage in the practice. Even the wives of poor farmers would not do so. Having children outside marriage is still taboo. In the words of one respondent, 'it is very difficult to get pregnant before marriage. It is an unacceptable culture in the community. Sometimes, it may be taken as a curse. Even students could not give attention to the pregnant woman's reasoning. Students insult them. Because of this, they are forced to drop out of school. They have no morale or interest to re-join school after giving birth'. Usually the burden of rearing the children will fall on the mother and the probability of getting married will be low. In general, she said that women face psychological problems because of getting pregnant before marriage.

Men without work

It is very difficult for a man to get married without land or a source of income. One of the first things parents and guardians check when they are negotiating marriage is whether the man has a source of income for the family.

Vulnerable people

Disabled people

None mentioned.

Mentally ill people

There are an estimated five people with mental illnesses. They depend on their relatives for support.

The successful female household head reported a case of a mentally ill woman who was employed as a herder and was raped by a neighbour of her employer and became pregnant. The employer wanted to send the lady to her sister's house in a neighbouring kebele. The elders tried to intervene to enable her to stay in her employer's house, but ultimately the sister came to collect her.

Seven or eight years ago, there were 5 mentally ill people (2 male and three female) from one family. They were ill for almost six years and were supported by their relatives. They were treated with holy water. They went to holy water sites both in the kebele and in neighbouring weredas for many years. Four of them (2 male and 2 female) were cured recently. However, one of them passed away after she stayed in the church for three years. The community considered this event as a curse. During Haile Selassie's regime their father was cursed by the 'Kalicha' because he stole an ox. They said that he died by throwing himself into the river, which was the result of the curse. The curse then turned to his children where it took the life of one of his daughters and led the others to suffer seriously.

In addition, there is a man with mental problems living with his older aunt.

The wife of the successful farmer describes herself as 'shy'. However, this shyness seems to be particularly extreme since she says she has no interaction with anyone outside the household and

does not participate in any social, economic or political activities in the community. This may be linked to depression.

Old people needing support

The research officer estimated that there are two elderly people needing support. They depend on their relatives for their livelihood.

Orphans

There are an estimated 10 orphans in the kebele. Their relatives are responsible for looking after them.

The poor 19-year-old male respondent is an orphan and head of the household. He lives with two younger brothers. When his father died his mother took the boys to live in Debre Berhan, leaving the house and land with her daughter. When she also died, he dropped out of school and took his brothers to live in Kormargefia, occupying the house that his sister had vacated when she got married. At that time he shared the land with his brother-in-law, using the brother-in-law's oxen to plough. However, he subsequently decided to farm the land on his own, borrowing another person's oxen. He is now involved in a dispute with his brother-in-law over the land.

PLWHAs

There are no data on PLWHAs. The middle wealth 16-year-old respondent said that three people are living with HIV and one woman has started taking medicine, 'there is a woman who has 5 children and is living with HIV/AIDs. She is a 38-year-old divorced woman. She was married four times. She had at least one child from each husband. She has started taking the medicine.'

Another respondent mentioned that a few people are suspected of living with HIV/AIDS. One person said a man, his wife and mistress suspected of having HIV/AIDS.

Genderage experiences, differences and relationships

Growing up in the community – boys and girls

Respondents said that there are no major differences between bringing up boys and girls.

Birth and infancy

Newborn infants

Boys are circumcised seven days after birth and girls used to be circumcised eight days after birth. Several respondents say that people continue to circumcise girls despite the government ban, but this is done in secret and perhaps not at the right time.

Compared to the past, there is now greater availability and awareness of the importance of vaccinations for infants. There is also more attention paid to hygiene and parents get infants new clothes.

In the past, all mothers gave babies raw butter for 24-48 hours after birth to prepare them for breastfeeding. They did not begin breastfeeding for 2-3 days. Mothers also gave infants honey and yeast as they began breastfeeding to make their throats work. These practices have declined, but many people still do them. Currently some mothers give babies boiled water with sugar, orange juice and milk, in addition to breastfeeding. HEWs have told mothers only to breastfeed until their children are at least 6 months old.

Babies

Babies are christened after 40 days for boys and 80 for girls. At present mothers devote more time to looking after babies than in the past when other relatives did more of the work. Mothers also pay

more attention to personal hygiene than they used to.

Concern with nutrition for babies has increased in general. Previously, babies ate the same food as the rest of the family, but parents now pay more attention to nutrition. They mix grain and milk to make a broth called atmit and also make a similar porridge. Most respondents said that this was to improve nutrition, although one respondent thought it was because the value of milk has increased. Some people buy milk produced by local farmers for their children. In the past mothers used to give babies water immediately after milk.

At present parents are less likely to use 'traditional medicines' such as tena adam (rue) and dama kese (*Ocimum lamiifolium*). Most people get drugs from the pharmacy when their children are ill.

Knee children

In the past parents used to put children on the ground without covering it, but now they pay more attention to hygiene.

Parents also prepare special food for knee children, like wot with egg and butter, rather than just giving them the same food as everyone else. Some parents buy fruit for knee children on market days.

Children – work, play and education

Pre-school children

Pre-school children have improved personal hygiene compared to the past and parents buy them new clothes at holidays. There is also now a pre-school in the kebele. Otherwise, these children eat the same food as everyone else in the family.

At this age some children start herding livestock.

Children 7-12ish

Nowadays parents buy clothes and hair oil for girls and they guide children to have better hygiene, although the children are now responsible for their own hygiene. At this age, girls start to do domestic work and boys start to do farm work. However, the work burden on children at this age is less than it was before. Children also start going to school in shifts. At this age, children are not expected to generate their own income.

Adolescence and youth

Adolescents 12-16ish

In the past, adolescents often got married by 16, but now most continue in education. Previously, boys were more likely to go to school than girls, but now boys and girls have equal opportunities in education. Compared to past, children's work burden has reduced because they are in school, but they are still involved in domestic and farm work.

Young adults 17-20

At this age young adults are considered to be grown-ups. In the past they would have had their own independent household, but now they either stay with their parents or migrate to towns. Most young adults generate their own income for example by fattening sheep, looking after chickens, and girls also make dungcakes and sifet (basketry).

If children drop out of education and get married, their parents' involvement declines.

Youth

Male youth trajectories

Circumcision

Boys are usually circumcised seven days after birth.

Boy's work

All boys and young men are involved in household work such as fetching water and perhaps cleaning the house. Boys are also involved in farm work such as weeding, harvesting, feeding cattle, herding, collecting dung and ploughing.

Many older children are also involved in some form of income generation activity. Several respondents make dungcakes, collect firewood, make charcoal or keep chickens for their own income. The rich 15-year-old even has his own nursery for eucalyptus seedlings, which he sells for 65 birr. The rich 19 year old has 800 eucalyptus trees and 10 sheep. His parents gave him one sheep originally and he bought more with the money from selling wood.

The poor 17-year-old and middle 19-year-old respondents work part-time in daily labour in the construction of the dairy investment in the community, while not at school during the week and on Saturdays. They dig holes for fence posts and cut grass for 40-45 birr a day. Other boys work in the construction projects at the Habesha beer factory, and in daily labour at DBRC, with the Habesha factory paying the best.

Combining work and education

The school shift system enables children to combine their work with education. Most respondents say that there is no conflict between their work and education. Several respondents said that poor boys have less work to do for the household and so they can more easily combine part-time work to generate income with the school shifts. They are able to study in the evenings using kerosene lamps. Boys from rich households, however, are more likely to be absent from school because of their work burden in the household.

The poor 19-year-old, who is an orphan, has had to drop out of education in order to do farm and domestic work, providing for his younger brothers. He has decided to forget about his own education and to support his brothers in theirs. He provides his labour in exchange for use of others' oxen to plough his land.

Future plans and dreams

Most boys want to complete their education and find good jobs outside the community. Even if they drop out of school, most do not want to be farmers in the community. Some of the possible jobs mentioned include pilots, teachers, police, drivers, guards and daily labourers. A few said that they know people who want to continue their education in college beyond grade 12.

The middle wealth 19-year-old said that his hope is to have a household as good and as rich as a wealthy local farmer, who has three American dairy cows and sells up to 30 litres per day from each of them. The rich 19-year-old merely wants to establish a good household and to educate his children.

Inter-generational relations

All of the respondents report good relations between generations. In particular, they emphasised that young people were respectful towards older generations.

Living in the community

Several respondents said that the thing they most like about the community is that people help each other when they face crises such as the death of cattle or fires. Another mentioned that he likes that

everyone in the community produces enough food for their consumption. However, most boys do not want to stay in the community when they are older and would prefer to move to towns.

The respondents reported some bad things about the community, including men who get drunk and disturb their families, and the frost which damages crops. One respondent said that his parents were concerned about the main road passing through the community, fearing that he might be hit by a car while playing or that he might leave home by taking public transport. Other respondents said that their parents were concerned that they might drink alcohol or get into fights with other youths.

Leisure activities and bad habits

There are few leisure activities in the kebele. Boys exercise by practising gymnastics, playing football and volleyball in the school compound and rur (a similar game to hockey) while herding animals with friends. Many also listen to music on the radio, usually to religious music and songs by Manalimosh Dibo.

No respondents knew of anyone who chews chat. Some older adolescents might go to teahouses or tella houses on market days with friends, and some go to watch football on TV in local towns. Drinking alcohol is not regarded as a particularly bad habit for young men at feasts or at home. However, other respondents mentioned that drinking mainly by the youth had resulted in fighting and caused some people to lose interest in work. Drinking tela and areqe at home or at feasts is not allowed for teenagers. Some youth in their twenties could have prostitute clients in Debre Berhan or Chacha.

Religion

All residents of the kebele are Orthodox Christian. All the respondents say that people strictly observe their religious obligations, fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, and other important fasting periods, observing holy days and going to church. Some children attend church school and start learning the alphabet before they start in government schools. The rich 15-year-old is also a singer in the Sunday school choir.

Politics

None of the respondents was aware of a youth association, league or federation. According to the rich 19-year-old, the kebele asked the young men to organise themselves into groups and to join the youth association, but he said that they did not want to be organised, because they fear that the government could force them to join the army if there is a war.

Although most boys are not aware, there is a youth association, league and federation. One of the kebele youth leaders reported that the youth association has 60 members, the league has 45 members and the federation has no separate leadership but has 15 leaders: five from the league, five from the association and five from HIV/AIDS clubs.

None of the respondents had been asked to join the EPRDF. Respondents believed that only rich and influential young men were likely to be recruited by the party. A 19 year-old male mentioned that he was not registered for voting.

Community participation

Adult respondents gave diverging views about youth participation in community affairs. Some claimed that young people were active, participating in kebele meetings, voicing their opinions, joining the militia and public works. Other respondents said that young people were completely inactive because they were disinterested in community affairs, and that they were ignored by the kebele because they were considered to be ignorant.

Sexual initiation

Many respondents denied any knowledge of whether young men have sex or not. However, a few were more candid, describing how some boys have sex with girls while washing clothes by the river.

Most respondents do not believe that boys use condoms when they have sex. They are not for sale in the kebele and even if they were, most boys would be too embarrassed to buy them.

A few respondents mentioned that young men, older than 20, might visit prostitutes in Debre Berhan or Chacha.

A successful female household head suggested that young couples usually start to have sexual intercourse before marriage which limits the role of elders in HIV prevention. Abstention before marriage has become old-fashioned for the young people in the community.

Finding work – economic independence

The kebele distributed irrigable land to young men organised in a group to cultivate vegetables and this has given them the chance to become economically independent. However, few young men are likely to inherit sufficient land from their parents to become economically independent. As a result, they must look for off-farm opportunities. There is a shortage of jobs in the community itself although there are some opportunities in nearby towns such as Debre Berhan. Those that succeed in education may be able to get good jobs in towns, while those who drop out of education are often limited to working as daily labourers to support their households. Some of the professions mentioned as possibilities in the interviews include: pilots, drivers, guards, teachers, policemen and daily labourers.

Migration

All boys wishing to continue in education beyond grade 6 have to move to Debre Berhan. Many young men do not return, even if they drop out of education, as they prefer to look for work as daily labourers and they are embarrassed to return to the kebele having failed. Others migrate to towns in their late teens or early twenties, seeking employment in daily labour in construction projects in Debre Berhan, Addis Ababa or Jimma. Some migrants return to visit their families.

Getting married

Most young men get married at about 25. The young men do not believe that the government regulations about underage marriage apply to boys, just girls. The middle wealth 13 year old said that he knew one couple who were both 17 when they got married, with their parents' consent. In many cases young men are delaying the age of marriage because of the need to save resources to set up a household before marrying and because of the government ban on underage marriage, which means that boys have to wait until girls are old enough. One female respondent said that elders will not allow a boy to get married unless he has farmland of his own. One respondent also said that the government requires couples to be tested for HIV before getting married.

The middle wealth 16-year-old respondent was the only one who said that he had no intention of getting married. Although a few young men said that they intended to choose their wife alone, most accept some role for their parents in choosing their wives. Indeed, the middle wealth 19-year-old is willing to marry whomever his parents choose for him. In the opinion of most respondents, the main benefit of getting married is to share the burden of household work, with the wife taking care of the household and the husband working on the farm. A few respondents also mentioned that having children is another advantage.

The poor 19-year-old respondent, who is an orphan looking after his two brothers said that he is hurting himself by shouldering all the burden of the household work and agricultural work alone. Consequently, he is planning to marry in next year after seeing the condition of the coming harvest. He has not yet chosen his future wife. If there is a bad harvest he may have to postpone the marriage. He believes that getting married and establishing a new household before having saved enough to maintain it will result in divorce. He also said that getting married would also prevent men from unwisely spending money and make them behave in the right way.

Several interviewees said that getting married too early was a risk since it would be hard for the

couple to manage the household and they will not have accumulated many resources to begin their lives together. As a result, there is a danger that the marriage might end in divorce.

Establishing an independent household

To establish an independent household it is necessary to be economically independent and to be able to save sufficient resources, such as a year's supply of grain and materials to build a house. Only a few children of rich parents are likely to inherit much land. Indeed, most people acknowledge that establishing an independent household is easier for children of wealthy parents because they are likely to receive gifts such as land, oxen, grain and materials to construct a house. The rich 19-year-old was the only respondent who expected to get a lot of land from his parents since they have 24 timad (6 hectares) and all of his older siblings are already self-sufficient.

Most young people know that they have little chance of getting land from their parents and so the only way of setting up their own household is through off-farm work. For those that drop out of education the main opportunities are in daily labour in local construction projects. Those that succeed in education may be able to find better jobs in towns.

Having children

Most respondents indicated that they would like to have two children, a boy and a girl, usually two years after they get married. The 19-year-old poor respondent said that he would like to have four children.

Female youth

Circumcision

All of the 13-year-old respondents said that they had been circumcised. The others did not say whether they had or not. The 13-year-olds believe that girls marry earlier if they have not been circumcised and that without circumcision they would be exposed to disease because of poor sanitation. They say that they would be ashamed to be with boys if they had not been circumcised.

The 16-year-old and 19-year-old girls all said that they supported the ban on circumcision and that only older women opposed the ban. Based on this small number of respondents, the older girls more critical of circumcision than the younger ones. To the extent that this reflects a broader trend, it may be that over time government education convinces girls of the negative consequences of circumcision.

Girls' work

Girls are involved in domestic work, in particular cleaning the house, looking after younger siblings and cooking, as well as agricultural work such as weeding, harvesting and looking after livestock. In a few cases, girls might have chickens or even sheep of their own as a means of generating income. Many unmarried young women produce areqe and young women in general produce dungcakes and sifet (baskets).

On the whole there are few employment opportunities for young women in and around the community. One 16-year-old respondent has two friends who are paid 20 birr a day to harvest crops at harvest time, a few young women work in the DBRC and some girls are also hired in the shiro processing factory in Tebase, roasting peas and winnowing.

Girls' access to resources is very limited as they are not active to organise themselves and the kebele administration does not support them. There are few girls in the youth irrigation co-operative.

Combining work and education

According to several respondents, because of the burden of domestic work on girls, it is harder for girls to combine work and education than for boys. For example the middle wealth 13-year-old is sometimes absent from school because she has to make injera and she is too tired by the evening to

study. She would prefer to study full-time so that she did not have this conflict and wants to move to town, 'I can say that it is impossible for me to mix education with domestic work. So, the option that I have is leaving the community to go to town. In town, I will search for a job, which may have a better return. Keeping working in the day, I will continue my education in the evening programme.'

According to several respondents, it is easier for rich girls to combine work and education because they are well fed and poor girls feel inferior because they are not well dressed. On the other hand, others felt that it is harder for rich girls to combine work with education because there are more household chores in wealthier households. For example, wealthy households have more livestock, requiring more time for grazing and cleaning their yard and there are usually more frequent feasts which require girls' labour in preparation.

It is not common for girls to drop out and then return to school because when they do, they feel inferior to other students and have fallen behind their former classmates. Some girls drop out of school after completing grade 6 rather than moving to Debre Berhan. The interviews were not clear whether to this is the result of the cost of renting a room in town or specifically because of safety concerns about girls living without their parents in town.

One adult female respondent said that the possibility of migration for work in towns has diverted the attention of many young girls and they think about getting a job now, rather than pursuing their education for long-term benefits.

Women's issues

There are no facilities for menstruating girls at the school in the kebele. However, one girl goes to school in neighbouring Tsigereda kebele and there are facilities provided for menstruating girls and there is a club that buys and distributes sanitary towels. Each girl contributes 50 cents per month. This club has been operational for the last two years.

Girls who get pregnant before marriage usually drop out of school because they are insulted by their peers. Some girls who get pregnant before marriage try to abort using a herb called endod (*Phytolacca dodecandra*). Abortions are also available at the hospital in Debre Berhan. One respondent said that she had heard of a girl who got pregnant outside of marriage who gave birth alone and then threw the infant into a pond as soon as it was born.

Most respondents report that they are concerned about the threat of rape and abduction.

Most girls said that contraceptives were not available. However, one respondent said that she knew people who use contraceptives. They get them from Debre Berhan town rather than the HEWs because they fear that the HEWs might tell their families and they are too ashamed.

Inter-generational relations

On the whole, most respondents say that inter-generational relations are good. Occasional sources of problems are that some young people are unwilling to support their family in domestic work, which leads to tensions with parents, some young men argue with parents when they get drunk on areqe and there are occasionally disputes between parents and children when parents try to arrange their marriage.

Several respondents also reported that older siblings beat younger ones and may try to get them to do their share of the domestic work.

Living in the community

Respondents report that they like the social aspect of living in the community and the good relations with family and friends, the proximity of the kebele to towns and access to education, and the improving local economy as a result of livestock and eucalyptus trees.

However, the main thing that girls dislike about the community are the security problems for

women, with a constant threat of abduction, rape and violence. This is also a major concern for parents of girls and, as a result, most girls are not allowed to go out alone and are looked after by their family all the time. Other things that girls say they dislike were the practice of female circumcision and the lack of infrastructure that makes living in the community boring and uncomfortable.

Sexual initiation

The 13-year-olds and several older youth respondents denied any knowledge of sexual relations among young people. However, a few respondents said that it is very common for young people in the community to have sex in the forests, and boys sometimes rent rooms in local towns to have sex with girls from the towns. One respondent claimed that girls from poor households are less restricted by their families and so they have more time and are more likely to have sex with boys. One 13-year-old respondent has a boyfriend and her parents know him well.

Leisure activities and bad habits

There are no leisure facilities for girls in the kebele. One female adult respondent said that it is culturally unacceptable for girls to be seen playing games and several others said that girls have no need for leisure facilities. However, one youth respondent said that it is common for girls to play handball. Some girls listen to the radio and socialise with friends when they go to the water point. No girls are involved in any bad habits.

Religion

All residents of the community are Orthodox Christian. Several respondents said that young people in general, including themselves, are not very interested in religion. They attend church only on major religious days. Several also said that they believe religion is becoming more strict than was the case in the past.

Politics

According to most respondents there has been no attempt to make young women join the ERPDF and there is no structure to mobilise young women. The middle wealth 19-year-old respondent said that she had heard that the kebele had called young people to two meetings in recent years, one for those over 16 and one for over-18s. She did not attend, however, and she believes that turnout was very low.

In general the respondents say that young women are not interested in politics.

The 16-year-old poor respondent said that there are some young men who oppose the government, but they are not organised in any way.

Community participation

For the most part, youth and adult respondents say that young women are completely uninterested in participating in community affairs and that there is no attempt to encourage them. One respondent reported that the government believes that they have nothing to contribute.

Finding work – economic independence

Within the community there are very few jobs for young women. One or two have found employment as daily labourers with the DBRC nearby. Otherwise young women must seek work as daily labourers or housemaids outside the community in Debre Berhan, Addis Ababa or Arab countries.

Many unmarried young women produce areqe and sifet for sale as a means of generating income. However, if they stay in the community, economic independence from parents is usually through marriage to a man with an independent livelihood.

Getting married

Girls who are not doing well in education tend to get married, perhaps as early as 15 or 16, whereas those who are doing well delay the age of marriage until they are at least 20. Also girls from rich families are more likely to get married earlier because they will receive gifts from their parents to help establish their own household. In contrast, it is difficult for girls from poor families to get married because boys with an independent livelihood do not want to propose to poor girls because they know that it is unlikely that the girl's parents will be able to donate land to the new couple.

Underage marriage is declining as a result of the government ban, and because girls prefer to continue in education or, if they drop out of school, to migrate to towns to look for work. Since boys have to delay marriage in order to save money, this also means that girls usually receive marriage proposals later. However, where the child and parents agree to get married, they ignore the government ban on underage marriage, lying about the girl's age to the kebele.

Girls increasingly have a say in who they marry. Elders bringing marriage proposals now give the parents a chance to consult their daughter before giving a response and the girl may also be able to refuse their parents' choice. However, a friend of one of the respondents was forced by her parents to get married at the age of 16.

The benefits of marriage are independence from parents, the chance to have children and the possibility of sharing challenges faced. The disadvantages are the burden of work and responsibility that setting up an independent household entails. One respondent also said that the danger of getting married early is that this might lead to having children early which is detrimental to the woman.

Reproductive and productive work after marriage

Although there is little direct information, the interviews suggest that young women usually drop out of education when they get married. The expectation is that women will be involved in domestic work, caring for children and some agricultural work, rather than income generating activities.

One 13-year-old has a role model who completed a university degree and now has a job in Addis Ababa.

Establishing an independent household

Given that few young men have access to farmland, it is difficult for girls to establish an independent household. Most girls want to move to towns to get jobs, either having completed education or if they drop out beforehand.

International migration is now becoming the main way for young women to generate their own independent income.

Having children

There are few responses about having children. One respondent says that she would like two children, a boy and a girl, another says that she has not really thought about it but thinks she would like no more than four.

Gender inequities

Violence against women

Some women suggest that male violence is less of a problem since these days women know where to go to appeal. The wife in the middle wealth household said the problem had significantly declined. However quarrelling between husband and wife may end up with him beating her; she added hard to say it is violence as it is common for husband and wife to nag and fight each other.

Female circumcision

Up until the recent past, female circumcision was very common within Kormargefia. In recent years, the government has been working to raise awareness about the ban on female circumcision, as well as highlighting the legal consequences for those that perform the circumcision.

Respondents reported mixed feelings towards the government's ban. Some respondents, especially the young female and adult male respondents, said that they agreed with the ban. However, many others, in particular the adult female respondents, were either unaware of the government's reasons for banning circumcision or did not believe that circumcision actually posed any health risks. In particular, adult women, who have been circumcised themselves, argued that they have faced no problems as a result. The wife of the poor farmer cited the case of an uncircumcised woman who died during childbirth. She believes that this case shows that circumcision is not a health risk.

A few respondents even openly admitted that they would ignore the ban and would try to get their female children or grandchildren circumcised in the future, continuing the practice secretly by seeking out a practitioner who was still willing to perform the circumcision. No one had heard of any prosecutions related to female circumcision.

Although not reported by any young men themselves, several other respondents believed that young men believe uncircumcised women are dirty and insult them. As a result, many female respondents stated their concern about stopping the practice of circumcision.

Rape

Most respondents report that rape is less common at present than it was in the past. This change is attributed to government awareness raising and the threat of imprisonment if the man is caught. Nevertheless, rape remains a common fear of parents and young women, and there were several cases of rape reported by respondents. None of these had led to a prosecution. As a result, young women are often not allowed to go out alone, always going out with relatives or friends, and are not allowed to go out at all after dark.

For example, the middle-wealth 19-year-old female respondent described her relative who attended school until grade 4, walking to school with her elder brother. However, when he decided to drop out of school, his sister also dropped out because she was concerned about being attacked if she walked alone. He later re-joined school for two years, enabling the girl to also re-start her education.

One young woman reported that while the road construction project was happening nearby, many young men left the community to work and the risk to women was much less. Now these men have returned to Kormargefia and young women are more concerned for their safety.

The middle-wealth 19-year-old reported several rape cases of which she was aware. One of her friends had been misled by a man and raped. She became pregnant and the man denied that he was the father. She was forced to drop out of school because the other pupils insulted her. Another young woman that she knows has been raped twice by different men. Both times she became pregnant and used endod, a plant, to abort the pregnancy. Although the plant was successful, the second time, she had complications and had to go to hospital in Debre Berhan. Finally, another woman who was working as a housemaid was raped while she was herding livestock. She says that there have not been any prosecutions in any of these cases.

The successful female-headed household respondent also reported a case of rape. A mentally ill woman who was hired as a housemaid was raped by the neighbour of her employer. The employer decided to send her to her sister's house in a neighbouring kebele. The elders intervened and decided that the woman should stay in the employer's household. However, the employer refused to accept this decision, and the woman's sister eventually came to collect her.

Domestic male violence

All respondents agreed that domestic violence against women has reduced as a result of recent government initiatives. In the past, domestic violence was a major problem and considered a normal practice. Many men would beat their wives for no reason or just to assert themselves. The kebele has been working to raise awareness of women's rights and the legal consequences of domestic violence. Respondents believe that domestic violence is much less common now, because women know their rights and are not afraid to report violence and because both the kebele and elders are willing to support women in such cases. Nevertheless, two respondents said that although the problem has reduced, domestic violence does still occur and that a few men and women still do not regard the practice as problematic.

Marriage

Underage marriage

All respondents, except the youngest youth respondents, were aware of the government ban on underage marriage. Indeed, most agree that underage marriage has reduced, partly as a result of government action, but also because girls now tend to delay marriage while they are still in education, and many of those who drop out choose to migrate to towns to look for work.

Underage marriage does still occur, however, and those who drop out of school are more likely to marry, often at 15 or 16. As long as the couple and the parents agree to the marriage, they are able to ignore the ban and lie about their age when asked by the kebele. The middle wealth 19-year-old female respondent reported one case where a friend was forced to get married by her parents at the age of 16.

Girls get concerned that they are too old to get married from the age of 20-25.

Abduction

There are two types of abduction in Kormargefia: forced abduction, which has been common in the community for many years, and voluntary abduction, where both parties agree to elope, which is a more recent phenomenon. The government has been trying to stop the practice of forced abduction by raising awareness about the punishments for offenders and threatening prosecutions.

Nevertheless, forced abduction is a common fear reported by both parents and young women. Consequently, young women usually only go to school or market with siblings, friends or parents, and they limit the amount of time spent outside the house, especially at night.

The rich 16-year-old female respondent reported a case of forced abduction. Last year a grade 8 student was returning to Kormargefia from school in Tebase town. She was abducted by a group of men from neighbouring Anase kebele. After a few days, the girl told the men that she wanted to go to collect her clothes from her house and that she would return. Instead she went home and then left for Addis Ababa. The police have been searching for the perpetrators.

Respondents also mentioned several cases of voluntary abduction. For example, the poor 16-year-old female respondent reported a case in which a man abducted a young woman by promising to buy her a mobile phone. Afterwards the elders negotiated their marriage. The rich 16-year-old female respondent also reported a case of voluntary abduction of a 17-year-old, grade 5 student. The elders confirmed that the girl has given her consent and then left them to be married. The poor 19-year-old female respondent described a case of voluntary abduction of a 20-year-old woman. Her parents took the case to the social court, but the girl testified that she wanted to marry and so remained with the man.

The government does not take any action in cases of voluntary abduction, but some people want government action to prevent voluntary abduction as well. They doubt that abduction can really be voluntary as the girls may be misled by the men. One respondent also raised a concern that in cases

of voluntary abduction, the couple are not required to undergo HIV/AIDS tests, as is normally the case for new couples.³

The wife of the successful farmer does not approve of the practice of voluntary abduction,

‘It is very shameful for women to be abducted voluntarily. Rather, I preferred forced abduction because forced abduction shows at least the worthiness of the girl to the man who abducted her as well as to the community.’

Choice of marriage partner

In the past, parents frequently decided whom their children would marry. The man would send elders with his proposal to the parents of the girl he wanted to marry, and the parents would consider the proposal without consulting their daughter. As a result of government intervention, the consent of girls is now required for them to marry, and now when a man sends elders, the elders give the parents a chance to discuss the proposal with their daughter. As described by the middle wealth 19-year-old,

‘a man who wants to get married to a woman sends elders to her parents. Her parents, after hearing the elders’ marriage proposal, tell them that they will send a message to them after they talk with their daughter. Then, if she agrees, they will send an individual to inform them that she accepted the proposal. After that, they prepare food and drink and invite the elders to lunch. The man, who proposed the marriage, will come with them. Then, the elders request him to tell the woman that he loves her in front of her parents and elders. Finally, they arrange their wedding day.’

Nevertheless, several of the youth respondents expected their parents to have at least some say in their choice of partner. Indeed, some of the 13-year-old respondents actually wanted their parents to choose for them because they expected their parents to make choices in their best interests.

The poor 16-year-old respondent reported that,

‘In the last year, a young woman was asked by her parents to get married to a man who was chosen by them. She was not willing. Repeatedly, elders contacted her parents and brought marriage proposals. The proposals were coming from different elders. She said no to all proposals, and her parents were unhappy with her. Finally, one day, telling her parents that she was going to church, she left early in the morning. But, she did not return home. She left the community to Addis Ababa. Now, she is a housemaid there.’

When a couple want to get married and do not have the approval of their parents, they may resort to voluntary abduction in order to get married against their parents’ wishes.

Polygyny

Not practised in the community

Widow inheritance

Not practised in the community

Marriage to dead wife’s sister

Not practised in the community.

Divorce

Women’s rights to an equal share of all property on divorce are well known in the community and have been made clear for the last ten years. Nevertheless, respondents report that in certain cases

³Compulsory HIV/AIDS tests prior to marriage were mentioned by several respondents. However, the kebele has not actually enforced such tests.

men may try to avoid sharing property with their wives.

Women can make an initial appeal to the kebele administration, which refers the case to the kebele land administration committee. If the committee is unable to divide the land between the couple, the social court may consider the case. If it is beyond the capability of the social court, the woman may appeal to the wereda women's affairs office, which facilitates cases at the wereda court. In the past, divorced women received more of the household goods and less land.

Although at present the courts are reported to act fairly and support women's rights, the wife of the poor farmer and the successful female-headed household respondent both believe that the elders still favour men in divorce cases and they are likely to give more agricultural assets, including land, to the man and more household goods to the woman. For women to defend their rights, it is necessary for women to pursue their cases through the channels mentioned above.

Widowhood

Customary practices following the death of a husband favoured the man's family. The family believed that they had the right to his property, and the brother of the dead man expected to work on the land, at least on a sharecrop basis. Increasingly, however, widows are aware of their rights. Indeed, the poor female household head reported that she had no problems when her husband passed away and that no one tried to take anything from her.

According to two male respondents, when the husband dies and a woman has children with the deceased, she has the right to all the household's assets. However, when she has no children or the husband also has children with another woman, she takes her share of the assets and the other heirs also take a share.

As with divorce, some female respondents believe that the elders are biased against women and consequently, in order to protect their rights, they should take their cases directly to the wereda court and refuse the mediation of the elders.

Women's economic status

Access to land

In principal, married women have equal land rights to their husbands. Women are now more likely to bring cases if their rights are infringed upon because they are aware of their rights as a result of the work of the wereda women's affairs office, and they have more confidence that the courts will support them. Several respondents reported that the land certificates, which require the names of both husbands and wives, have enhanced women's land rights in practice.

Despite the progress in terms of women's rights to land within the household, when the kebele has distributed irrigable communal land in recent years, it has selected only young men to participate. There has been no equivalent distribution for women. According to the poor female household head, the kebele administration 'do not want to distribute land to the women because they believe women are too weak to work on farmland.'

Livelihood opportunities

Male household heads control most of the major revenues within households such as milk, livestock and crop sales. In contrast women and children control smaller income sources such as dung cake sales, firewood, chickens and eggs, and butter. Some women also produce areqe and female-headed households may sell areqe in bars set up in their houses.

In the past women usually processed milk produced into butter for sale, controlling the income generated. As the price of milk has risen and milk production has become an important source of income in the community, control over milk and the money generated has been transferred to the household in general or the male household head. Profitability of dairy cows has led to males taking over the economic use of milk. Most male equbs are organised among those households selling milk.

Even though the women in the households have the duty of milking, keeping the milk hygienic and related jobs the money coming from the sale of milk is usually saved and managed by men. Because of the higher price of milk women's opportunity for generating income from making butter has reduced. As a result, this has been detrimental to the livelihood opportunities of some women. For example, the wife of the poor female farmer started her own cultivation in the previous agricultural season, using 0.25 hectares of the family land. Her husband prepared the land for cultivation, and she sowed seed, weeded, harvested and threshed the crop. She grew temej and produced 10kg. She has stored it, waiting for the prices to rise in July. 'It is my first trial to produce by myself. I decided to do that because I faced problems of finding cash to cover at least the cost of salt, coffee and so on. Previously, before the commercialisation of milk, I used to process it traditionally and sell most of the butter produced in the market. Now, we just provide the milk for sale.' Duncakes as a women's source of independent income has declined in importance as men have also started taking them to market since prices have risen. A few young males make duncakes but no older men.

The successful woman household head said that despite men's move into milk sale and duncakes the extent of male ownership of the income is still determined by the strength of the woman to stand up for her rights. Strong women would not allow men monopoly on the benefits. She is expecting that international female migrant returnees will have a huge impact on gender relations. There will be a different type of household where women become the decision makers in economic activities. The more money a person has means more power to decide. Some men reported that women increasingly demand to have a say in how household money is spent. The involvement of women in milk has become more profitable especially for female headed households. International female migrants are considered as rich and civilised. Though wereda and kebele started to mobilise women to organise themselves and generate their own income neither is consistent in this work and they are very reluctant to follow-up.

According to a young woman of 25 two women who plough a widow and divorcee don't spend so much time as males on the farm. They give most of their land for share-cropping and plough a small plot of land for themselves.

The wife in the middle wealth households said that In the 2013 season the number of women who planted vegetables on a small plot of land increased copying neighbours who did it last year. She bought some seedlings from neighbours and grew cabbage and garlic for home consumption; she is planning to expand the plot in the next rainy season as this will reduce the money spent on these vegetables

Outside of the community, women's livelihood opportunities are limited to working as housemaids either in towns or in Arab countries, or producing areqe.

Women's inheritance from parents

Customary practice favours men in inheritance, especially with respect to land. In particular, elders say that women will pass the land to their husbands when they get married. They believe that land should not be owned by people from another lineage. In contrast the government's laws guarantee men and women equal rights to inheritance.

Women's political status

Voice in the kebele

Most respondents agree that women do not participate much in kebele meetings because of their lack of interest. One female respondent said that married women are less likely to attend meetings because they have a greater burden of domestic work, whereas unmarried women have more idle time.

The poor female household head argued that it is best that women stay out of politics since

attending meetings achieves nothing but wasting their time.

Although she acknowledges that women's participation is relatively low, the successful female household head argued that representation of women in different kebele structures has increased in recent years. There is one female member of the kebele core party structure, the head of Women's Affairs, and one HEW in the kebele cabinet.

Perceptions of females

Some respondents reported that both men and women increasingly prefer to have daughters rather than sons. In the past men wanted sons to help with farm work and women wanted daughters to help with domestic work, but now daughters are preferred because they are thought to care more for their parents.

Many respondents say that the perception that women are weak has changed and they are now considered to be just as capable as men. However, others report that certain people continue to believe that women are weaker than men, often citing their supposed inability to farm as evidence of their weakness and inability to be independent from men.

Women's increased participation and achievement in education, and the economic success of certain female-headed households, some of which are wealthier than many male-headed households, were cited as some of the reasons why negative perceptions of women are being challenged.

Upward and downward mobility

Males

The middle wealth farmer's income has improved in recent years as a result of the use of fertiliser and improved seed varieties, which have enabled increased crop production, the sale of eucalyptus trees which have earned him 3,000 birr, the regular sale of milk to the dairy cooperative and the occasional sale of a fattened ox, which earns them a lot of money.

The wealthy farmer's income has also increased as a result of irrigated production. He has no irrigable land of his own, but has taken advice from the DAs on irrigated production and has rented and sharecropped irrigated land to produce vegetables for sale. He also has 10,000 eucalyptus trees worth hundreds of thousands of birr at current prices and has increased the number of improved breed cows that he owns because they produce a lot of milk for sale.

Females

The economic status of the poor female-headed household has declined enormously in recent years. This is the result of the death of the husband in 2009, the death of two oxen due to disease and damage to crop production as a result of hail. They have been forced to sell other livestock as a result.

In contrast the economic status of the successful female household head has improved since she got divorced. Her former husband was involved in the Derg administration and so was discriminated against in the 1997 land redistribution and excluded from political activities. When she divorced him, she received 0.75 hectares for herself and was encouraged to join the EPRDF. She has benefited from advice from the DAs on farming techniques and the distribution of improved seed varieties. She has also started fattening livestock.

Age inequities

Youth and adults – male and female

While most adults who were at least 18 during the last land redistribution in 1997 have access to some land and therefore a source of agricultural production, most young people have no access to

land. The shortage of land and other off-farm opportunities was mentioned as a major concern by most youth respondents, especially young men. In many cases parents have insufficient land to be able to give any to their children to enable them to establish their own household.

There is some sign that this generational inequality is leading to tensions. The wealthy farmer reported that in the last year he was involved in a court case over the irrigated land that he had rented. He farmed the land once but when he went to plough it a second time the son of the landholder stopped him, arguing that the farmer should not plough the land when the son could manage it himself. The farmer filed a case with the court and the landholder from whom he had rented the land testified for the farmer. The court decided in his favour.

Adults and elderly - male and female

None mentioned.

Government/NGO interventions to promote social equity

Assistance to poor people

The NGO Food for Children has provided sheep, oxen and educational materials to poor families, among others. The beneficiaries of the programmes run by the NGO Food for Children are selected by kebele officials and development team leaders. The criteria used for selection differs according to the kind of support that the NGO would like to give and the poorest are not necessarily prioritised. For instance, if the NGO wants to give improved seed, most likely, the beneficiaries will be model farmers, who the kebele believe are hardworking.

Interventions to help vulnerable people

Selected poor households received improved seeds from Food for Children – 98 farmers got 37.5kg each and 42 got 32 kg of barley each. More than 120 less-affording farmers selected by Development Team leaders and the cabinet got fertiliser at half cash payment and half credit. NGO intervention. They took signatures and told they would have to repay in future.

Orphans

None mentioned

Disabled people

None mentioned

Vulnerable women

None mentioned

Promoting equity for women

Violence against women interventions

Female circumcision interventions

The wereda and kebele have been very active in raising awareness of the ban on circumcision. However, several respondents said that although the ban was clear, the government has not clearly explained its motivations. They said that if the government clearly explained why it wanted to stop circumcision, they would be more likely to support the ban.

The successful female-headed household respondent argued that the government's intention is to ban the form of circumcision, which removes most of the vulva. However, she says that this form of circumcision has never existed in the community and that, as a result, the ban is unnecessary.

In 2010, the wereda health office called all circumcision practitioners to a meeting and told them

that they should stop their activities or face punishment. In addition, the office provided each practitioner with a letter that made it clear that they would be punished if they defied the office. If any of these practitioners is found to be involved in circumcision, they are liable for a fine of 100 birr. However, none of the respondents had heard of any prosecutions or fines. The wife of the middle-wealth farmer took her new-born daughter to one of these practitioners, but he refused to perform the circumcision, saying that the government had told him to stop. At present the woman is looking for a practitioner in another kebele.

Rape interventions

The kebele has been active in raising awareness of the legal consequences of rape and the punishments for offenders. Patrols of night-watchmen have also been established to prevent thefts and fights between drunk men. Several respondents reported that each of these initiatives had contributed to a reduction in rapes. Nevertheless, no respondents were aware of any prosecutions for rape and several people knew of cases in which friends or acquaintances had been raped.

Domestic male violence interventions

The government has been raising awareness of the legal consequences and the punishments for domestic violence. According to several respondents, these punishments, combined with the knowledge that women are willing to take cases to the courts and that the elders and the kebele will support them, have resulted in a decline in the frequency of domestic violence. A few female respondents nevertheless maintained that domestic violence still occurs and that some people, both male and female, in the community still do not believe that domestic violence is a problem.

Marriage interventions

Underage marriage interventions

Despite the government ban, several respondents said that if the parents and the couple agree to the marriage, they can just lie to the authorities about their age. However, other respondents reported that girls are only allowed to get married after being examined by a doctor to verify their age. The nature of these tests were not described.

The successful farmer indicated that it was agreed in community discussions that both parents and the elders sent to negotiate marriage should be punished if the girl is found to be underage. He said that if he is chosen as a marriage negotiator, the first thing he would try to find out is whether both were tested for HIV/AIDS, and whether the girl had undergone an age examination.

Abduction interventions

The government takes no action in cases of voluntary abduction, unless the girl is underage. For example, a young man from Tebase contacted a girl and told her that if she were willing to marry him and live with him, he would buy her a mobile phone. But because she was only 16, he was fined 200 birr.

Although the government has been working to raise awareness about the negative effects of abduction, no respondents were aware of any cases in which men had been punished for forced abduction. For example, the middle-wealth 13-year-old reported a case of forced abduction in which a 20-year-old woman was abducted when she went to collect water from a water point. She was previously a grade 8 student in Faji, but she dropped out of school and moved to Addis Ababa after the abduction because of the psychological effect of the abduction. According to the respondent, the man was not punished by the kebele because he came from another kebele.

Overall most respondents claim that they support the government's action on abduction. However, they believe that there are a very few conservative people who approve of the practice.

Choice of marriage partner interventions

Legally, women now have the right to choose their own marriage partner and to reject arrangements made by their parents without their consent.

Polygyny interventions

Polygyny is not practised in the community.

Widow inheritance interventions

Not practised in the community

Marriage to dead wife's sister interventions

Not practised in the community

Divorce interventions

The wereda women's affairs office has been teaching women about their rights on divorce for many years. They also help women to bring their cases to the court within a short period of time. In total there were 18 divorce cases heard by the wereda court in the last year. This constitutes an increase compared to previous years and wereda officials believe this is because women are increasingly aware of their rights and know that the court will support their rights.

In the past it was only the wereda that was pushing for women's rights to be respected, but now there are similar structures at the kebele level to support women during divorce and other disputes. As the successful female-headed household respondent described,

'last year my neighbour decided to get divorced. She took the case to the wereda court and got the final judgment within three days. Then, the kebele land administration implemented the decision of the court and divided the land among them.'

Today there is no delay in the wereda court system, but 13 years ago, when she got divorced, it took her three months to get the court's decision. Despite the support from the wereda, she believes that people do not take cases to the wereda court because of pressure by the elders. Elders, in her opinion, still discriminate against women in divorce cases.

Land certificates have been issued in the name of both husband and wife. Some respondents believed that this had further enhanced women's land rights on divorce.

Widowhood interventions

The law guarantees women the right of ownership of all property, including land, after the death of the husband. Indeed, implementation of this law has been a major focus of the work of the Women's Affairs Office since it was established. As with divorce cases, the wereda Women's Affairs Office supports women in bringing legal cases to protect their rights. The kebele administration is supposed to follow up cases and ensure that the rules are implemented and women's rights are protected. However, the wereda administration admits that kebele officials are often reluctant to do so. In total, the wereda court heard five cases this year. Most of these have now been resolved, but in a few where the woman's name is missing from the land certificate, there have been delays.

Interventions to improve women's economic status

Land interventions

Land registration has been completed in the kebele, and the names and photos of both husbands and wives are included on the certificates. Some people believe that this has enhanced women's rights to land. Nevertheless, the head of women's affairs in the kebele reported that before she became a cabinet member, she was a member of the kebele land administration committee working on land registration. During the registration period, there were men who tried to keep land from

their wives by making up stories for the kebele administration. One farmer had lost some land a few years previously when he got divorced. He then married his second wife and during the land certification, the land administration committee asked him to bring a photo of his wife. He denied that the woman who lived with him was his wife, he said she was just a housemaid. However, their marriage was known to all. They required him to bring her photo, and he brought the photo and his wife to the kebele office. When the land administration committee talked to her, they learned that he had never talked her about the land certificate that was a hot issue in the community at the time. According to the respondent, he tried to do this because he wanted to avoid losing more land were he to divorce his second wife.

The kebele has distributed irrigable land to a group of young men, but has not conducted a similar distribution for young women. Women do not have equal access to land as kebele officials prioritise men saying women cannot make the land productive to its full capacity.

Livelihood interventions

To date the government has not organised women in groups for income generating activities. According to several female respondents, they are willing and have asked the kebele to help them, but there has been no activity. In contrast, several government respondents said that they tried to start a programme but it was abandoned because the women were not interested. The successful female household head reported that she was asked by the wereda to organise poor women into groups to establish income generating activities. She did this, bringing 20 women to a meeting, but the wereda never followed up.

There has been no attempt by the kebele to distribute irrigable land to women, as has occurred for young men.

There is no special support for females to improve their livelihoods. The kebele has been providing vegetable seedlings to a few women but it has not had a significant impact on their economic status.

There was a meeting for women organised by the kebele chair whose agenda was income generation schemes for women which may have initiated them to give time to vegetable planting. However, there was scepticism among women. For instance the successful female heading a household said it is all promises, especially on women's income-generating schemes, which were totally forgotten since April. The rich farmer's wife said the government does nothing for women in the community.

Food For Children has distributed vegetable seedlings to women, which has enabled some to earn some income from the production to purchase clothes and finance other basic needs.

Women's inheritance from parents interventions

There have been many cases related to women's inheritance that were reported to the wereda justice office and court in the last year. There are also cases that were resolved before being heard by the wereda. For instance, one of the officers in the wereda Women, Youth and Child office said, 'I know grandparents who refuse to leave their land to their granddaughter. They said that "we do not want to pass our rist land to another outsider." Because of this, she migrated to Addis Ababa and now she has become a domestic servant.'

To improve the implementation of the law, the respondents in the wereda recommended intensifying awareness creation programmes in the primary school. They also proposed the importance of increasing the participation of elders in protecting women's land rights in general.

Interventions to improve women's political status

In the kebele

The successful female household head suggested that the wereda has required the kebele to

increase the representation of women, with at least one woman required in each sector. She said that government work on awareness creation relating to women's rights has an effect on women's confidence and morale.

Youth policies and programmes

Youth livelihoods- male and female

The main problem facing young men is the shortage of land for agriculture. In 2010/11 the kebele leased four hectares of irrigable land to a cooperative of 51 young men to cultivate vegetables. The land was previously communal grazing land and the men pay 640 birr per year in rent. The land is divided among 1-5 groups of 5-6 people who produce vegetables on the land. In October 2013 it was reported that the cooperative had 57 members of which 8 were now young women.

The kebele has also distributed six hectares of rain-fed land to 16 young men in Aloberet sub-kebele who have organised themselves into a group. They were engaged in soil preparation in October 2013 for the first cultivation. According to the kebele administration there is also plenty of credit available for young men to establish livestock fattening businesses.

In the opinion of the kebele administration, young women face exactly the same problems as young men and so there are no special programmes for female livelihoods. He stated that women have exactly the same opportunities and challenges as men.

The wife in a middle wealth household suggested that kebele officials are not giving much emphasis to youth economic rights as they are not full-time employees and all the time have to do something for their livelihoods.

A young woman of 19 said that the kebele was registering young people who did not attend school or have independent work in September. The kebele chairman told them that the wereda will provide credit access to them so they can engage in different farming and non-farming activities. All those who registered for the proposed intervention had also registered for party membership. However the proposed intervention did not yet get realised.

Community and political participation

Most respondents were unaware of any youth organisations in the kebele, although there is a youth league, federation and association that are recognised by the kebele and wereda. There were no reports of any attempt to make young people join the ruling party.

Youth and HIV/AIDS

One of the female youth respondents said that the government is teaching young people about HIV/AIDS through informal clubs at school. Indeed, most respondents knew that HIV was transmitted through unprotected sexual intercourse or blood contact, and that there is no known cure for AIDS.

Several respondents said that young couples are required to take an HIV test before they are allowed to get married. However, this has not been enforced by the kebele. In certain cases, elders may recommend that couples get tested, but this is not always the case.

Youth recreation

Some children do gymnastics, and play volleyball and football in school. There are no other recreation facilities or programmes.

Fields of action /domains of power

Livelihoods domain

Local macro-economy

An increase in national prices for meat has resulted in the increasing importance of livestock to the community economy in recent years. Many households are involved in sheep and cattle fattening, selling the animals in Chacha and Debre Berhan markets to large traders. Milk production has also increased in importance, with most households selling milk either to a female trader who collects the milk in Tebase town or to a dairy cooperative. The increase in milk prices means that fewer households now produce butter from their milk. This was previously a common activity in the community. Although improved breeds of cattle were introduced to the community some time ago, they have increased in number in recent years and contribute to increased production. Many respondents report that the increase in animal fattening and dairy production has contributed to increased community incomes. Other important livestock products are eggs, with many households keeping chickens to produce for the local market, and dung cakes, which are sold and used as fuel.

Although still a key feature of the local economy, relative to livestock, the contribution of crop production to the local economy has reduced in recent years and this has been exacerbated by adverse weather conditions, such as hail, frost and erratic rainfall. Nevertheless, there has been an increase in the use of agricultural inputs such as chemical fertiliser, manure, compost and improved seed varieties, and the area covered by irrigation has expanded. Furthermore, the technique of manually making a broad bed (ziqosh) has been adopted from other communities, which have long practised it, and some farmers grow vegetables for sale on their irrigated land. These developments have resulted in increased production.

An important change has been the widespread cultivation and sale of eucalyptus trees. Most households now plant trees around their dwellings and on hillsides.

There are also greater opportunities for daily labour in neighbouring kebele at DBRC, in the Habesha beer factory construction project, at the construction of a private dairy farm by new investors in the kebele and in various construction projects in Debre Berhan. There are also more opportunities for seasonal daily labour within the kebele both at ploughing time (as a result of increased labour requirements for ziqosh) and harvest time. Consequently, there are increasing numbers of temporary in-migrants coming for daily labour from surrounding areas, especially Debre Berhan town.

Finally, international migration has greatly increased in recent years with many young women travelling to Arab countries to work as housemaids. Many of these young women send remittances to their families in the community, greatly contributing to household income. As a result, many families now want their daughters to migrate.

Smallholder agriculture

Land for smallholder farming

Land laws

Respondents recognised that the law guarantees men and women equal rights to land. Most respondents believed that these rights were respected in practice, although a few respondents argued that the elders continue to favour men, in particular in times of divorce, while women are treated fairly in the courts and receive support from the wereda Women's Affairs Office in bringing their cases.

Access to land

There is a land shortage in Kormargefia even though there are only seven landless households reported. The land shortage manifests itself in the inability of young people to access land and set up their own households. Many therefore stay with their parents for longer or migrate out of the community. Some boys from wealthy households might be able to get some land from their parents, but in poor, land-short households, this is not possible.

Overall, respondents reported that the size of the cultivated land has expanded in recent years. This is the result of the decisions of individual farmers to start ploughing some of their own grazing land, and because of kebele distribution of communal land for individuals and groups. For example, some newly married couples have been allocated parcels of communal land and, as previously described, 51 young men have received four hectares between them to establish irrigated farming. Furthermore, the kebele recently distributed an additional 6 hectares to 16 young men in a group. The kebele has, however, distributed very little land to young women. Although there remain 1,792 hectares of communal land, several respondents reported that this distribution and the watershed management scheme are causing a shortage of communal grazing land.

A 1-5 leader in Aloberet said communal lands were distributed among households with land registration in 1996 (he suggested that distribution was unfair as the size varied) and until 2011 all owners of communal lands had been using it for free. From 2011 kebele administration passed a directive for the payment of land use. No fixed amount of money for a hectare; payment was imposed arbitrarily. She owns about 0.2 has and has paid 20 *birr* for the last 2 years. Most of the time the tax collector does not give a receipt as he does for land tax. A female Development Team leader pays 60 *birr* for 1.25 hectare and never had a receipt. The Development Team leader in Kormargefia said there are farmers who have started to use the contracted communal land for planting eucalyptus and crop production.

The wife in a middle wealth household said that getting farmland on an individual basis is unusual as the govt is now focusing on co-operatives.

Grazing land

Currently there is mainly private and limited communal grazing. Most households use a combination of private and zero-grazing land. In the dry season zero grazing is the only possibility. People use green/drying pasture from July to November including harvest leftovers; reserved dry field grass on their own grazing land up to December; and green harvested and stored grass and threshed crop residues from January to August. Most households have private grazing land - either as part of their own land or land that used to be communal which for the last 2 years has been rented on a contract basis by the kebele administration. After the individual has collected the grass the area is accessible to all.

Irrigable land

86.5 hectares are currently under irrigation, of which 65.7 hectares use traditional canals. This original irrigated land was distributed equally by the Derg administration and as a result many households in Aloberet and Milki gott have access to some irrigated land. The area of land under irrigation has increased in recent years as individuals have rented and purchased pumps.

Irrigable land was allocated to a youth co-operative in Aloberet Got consisting of 42 youth, 4 female. They were engaged in land preparation to start their first vegetable planting in November 2013.

Land re-distribution

There has been no large-scale land re-distribution since 1997. However, the kebele distributes the land of deceased landholders when they have no relatives to inherit it. They prioritise those who have dropped out of education and have no other access to land, based on discussion with the community. The kebele has also distributed communal land to groups of young men, as described

above.

One respondent reported that her husband, a member of the Derg era administration, was discriminated against in the 1997 land redistribution, and only received a small amount of land.

Land registration

Land registration has been completed in the community and all landholdings have been jointly registered to husbands and wives in a household. Several respondents stated that they believe the possession of a land certificate improved tenure security, in particular for women, and reduced border disputes.

Share-cropping, renting and contracting/buying land

Sharecropping is not common in the community, and only those who are unable to plough the land themselves will sharecrop out their land. According to one respondent, rising grain prices mean that all farmers, 'even lazy ones', now want to grow crops themselves. In Kormargefia, women do not plough land themselves, so female landholders rely on male relatives to plough the land or, if not available, they sharecrop out their land.

Young men who have no access to land of their own must rely on sharecropping to cultivate crops. The successful male farmer reported that he rents and sharecrops in irrigated land, since he has none himself.

There is much sharecropped and little rented land in the community. Most sharecroppers are from the community though some are from neighbouring kebeles. One respondent said around 150 farms were share-cropped and another said 200. Most prefer to sharecrop as they want to get grain.

Respondent from 1 gott said around 5 in his gott and total of 100 sharecrop out and live in Debre Berhan, Chacha and a few in Addis Ababa. He mentioned 2 women living in Addis Ababa who come to the kebele to collect their share of the harvest. A respondent from another gott estimated that there are 4 absentee landowners in his gott and up to 190 in the kebele. He said that most of them were those who had received the land as young dependents above 18 during the EPRDF land redistribution. The Kebele manager said 212 absentee land tax payers were giving land to sharecroppers. They live in other places for many different reasons: some completed education and work in other places; some are daily labourers; some are soldiers on duty; some left to live in towns due to ill-health.

Agricultural labour

Most agricultural labour is done by household members. Men are responsible for the ploughing, and men manage all irrigated production, planting and watering the crops. Men, women and children can weed, harvest and thresh the crops. Women usually milk the cows, clean the livestock yards and collect dung. Women also make butter from milk, although this is less common in recent years since most households prefer to sell unprocessed milk. Men, women and children feed the animals when they are in the compound. Children look after animals while they are grazing, although parents will take over while they are in school. The expansion of education has reduced availability of children for agricultural labour, increasing the workload on parents. However, the school shift system means that children can work half days on the farm or in the house. Many respondents also complained that public work requirements had affected their agricultural work, delaying the ploughing of their land.

Female household heads may be able to mobilise neighbours and relatives to help them to plough their land, preparing food and drink for them, or they may be able to hire an individual to plough the land. Some wealthy households also hire an agricultural labourer for the whole season. The cost of this has risen from 200-500 birr a year five years ago to 1,000 birr a year at present. There has also been an increase in the numbers of farmers who hire daily labourers at busy times of year, in particular harvest time, and, to a lesser extent, ploughing. Labourers are particularly important when

there is unseasonal rainfall during harvest time and all farmers are rushing to harvest their crops. Many of these labourers come from neighbouring weredas and Debre Berhan. Five years ago daily labourers were paid 15-30 birr per day, but this had risen to 85-90 birr per day last year.

Respondents reported that traditional labour sharing arrangements such as debo and wonfel were in decline as farmers increasingly preferred to hire labourers to work on their land.

Herding is very important from July (meher crop planting) to December (final harvest); children are the main herders July to September (during the school holidays) and adults are more involved during the school shifts. In school time households have to keep livestock in yards; early in the morning parents or children bring fodder and water to the yard. But children resist herding. Hiring of herders is rare. The successful female headed household said if you ask someone in the household to take livestock to grazing land they simply say they have more valuable work to do. The younger generation is so self-centred they do not care about the keeping and feeding of livestock.

Harvesting done manually usually with family labour but some richer farmers could use 4-10 daily labourers from other places paying up to 90 birr a day and providing lunch. Threshing of the main harvest is done using cattle but smaller quantities of harvest for immediate needs could be manually threshed using sticks.

Interlinkages

There are a number of arrangements for exchanging, land, labour and livestock in the community. The 19-year-old poor respondent, who is an orphan caring for his two brothers mentioned that he exchanges his labour for the use of oxen to plough his land. However, the interview did not specify the rate of the exchange. People in the community with only one ox also share these with others to enable them to plough and thresh in turn. Nevertheless, respondents reported that livestock holdings have increased in recent years, with the result that this practice is less important. Share-rearing of cows has also decreased in recent years since high prices for milk mean that people want to increase their livestock holdings.

Crops grown

Crop mix

The main crops produced on rain-fed land, in rough order of importance, are: barley, wheat, fava beans, linseed, lentils, peas, wild oats (sinar) and temej (similar to barley). All of these are produced primarily for household consumption with farmers selling the surplus in the market.

Barley has been the main food grain in all parts of the kebele. Most farmers have planted more barley and little or no wheat, but in Milki fava beans are common. Barley is the most common crop and could give 55 quintals/ha this year (2013). Wheat is the second most important and if not affected by frost they could get up to 35 quintals per hectare. The middle wealth farmer expected 20 quintals per ha from crops grown with fertilisers and 10 or less without. The rich farmer expected 28-32 quintals per hectare of barley and wheat; and 6-7 quintals of fava beans. A 19-yr old expected 12-16 quintals of barley and youth leaders 24-28 quintals barley. Kebele manager expects 28 quintals/hectare for both barley and wheat.

Linseed is an impotent crop grown mainly for cash but not much was planted this year due to scarcity of rain in April. It only requires 2 ploughings and they don't use fertiliser. Frost doesn't attack it as it is grown in higher places. It yields up to 5 quintals per ha and is sold in Debre Berhan for 13 birr per kg.

On irrigated land, the main crop is potatoes, with farmers also growing other vegetables such as onions, garlic, cabbage, carrots and beetroot. A few years ago most farmers planted barley and fava beans on their irrigated land. In recent years some farmers also cultivate eucalyptus seedlings on irrigated land for sale to other members of the community. Eucalyptus trees have become an important crop in the community.

Although there is no clear distinction between consumption and cash crops, a greater proportion of the households' production of lentils, wheat, linseed and fava beans is sold. Largest part of harvest has always been stored for family consumption and only a little sold by some who lack cash for taxes and clothes who could not wait until the prices rise. Richer farmers and those with livestock to sell prefer to keep the harvest and many sell some during seed planting (June/July) when many are buying seeds and in September when people have finished stored food grain but the meher crops are not ready. Some rich farmers could store a harvest for up to 2-3 years. They commonly use the customary storage *iriq* – stick and mud plastered cylindrical grain container.

Changes in crop mix

There have not been major changes in the crop mix in recent years. However, some respondents reported that they had reduced the amount of lentils planted due to recurrent diseases and erratic rainfall, which had damaged past crops. Many people also said that fava beans and peas were particularly easily damaged by frost and hail and so these crops were not frequently planted. Similarly, potatoes are easily damaged by frost. Although potatoes remains the most common crop on irrigated land, farmers plant less than before and carrots and onions have increased.

The DAs have also been advising people to stop planting wild oats, which are used as feed for cattle. The DAs believe that the crop has no nutritional value or market demand and requires a lot of work to process it. Farmers agree that the plant has low productivity but still like to plant it because it provides fodder for livestock.

Beer barley was introduced to the community in the last year. A model farmer in Milki first to grow guaya chickling peas; he started 2 years ago and sells it but no-one has copied so far. Irrigation farmers may grow cabbages and beetroots in future as they tested them on small plots of land this year.

Growing eucalyptus trees is increasingly practised by farmers of all wealth statuses as it is planted on non-arable land and around homes or private grazing areas. Poor, middle and rich farmers have trees on half-1 timad and many reported having recently sold a harvest obtaining thousands of *birr*. Richer farmers plant more as they can afford to pay for labourers. A middle-wealth farmer got 25,000 *birr* last year from eucalyptus sale; very hard worker; sold to trader from Chacha town. 18 farmers have seedling nurseries selling large amounts.

Inputs

Chemical fertilisers were introduced into the community 35 years ago. Many respondents report that the land has become dependent on chemical fertilisers and so is now essential for crop cultivation. The DAs have been increasingly active in the last five years, advising farmers how to apply fertiliser correctly and in an adequate amount. The Kebele manager said fertiliser was only available in the Service Cooperative; the urea arrived a bit late. All farmers could get fertiliser from the Service Cooperative the majority with cash and some of the less-affording at half cash, and some non-affording on full credit. All irrigators could get fertiliser from the Service Cooperative.

Improved seeds for wheat and barley have been available in the community for the last 10 years. About one third of the farmers buy improved seeds from the service cooperative, while others use recycled seeds from their own production or buy them from other farmers.

Fertilisers and improved seeds are available from the service coop and must be paid for up front. Fertiliser prices have risen continuously in recent years, and there are no other sources because private traders were banned from selling fertiliser when the farmers' union was formed. Credit was available in the past but was withdrawn because the DAs and local administration think that people have enough money to pay for the inputs. However, credit is still available for a few poor households who are selected by the community.

Most farmers planted their own seeds which have come from earlier improved seeds. There is a

shortage of improved seeds in the wereda so the Service Cooperative didn't have any as priority was given to other kebeles since the Amhara Research Centre and Food for Children have been providing various types of seed for many farmers in the kebele. Farmers also fear that improved seeds might be low quality.

Many irrigators buy packed seeds of potatoes, carrot, garlic and onions from traders in Debre Berhan or use from their own harvests. The youth co-operative leader said they used to buy tin packed carrot seeds from shops. Beker Brothers was the seed they preferred but it had disappeared from the market. The wereda agriculture office gave them an expired seed to try which gave a very good harvest this year. Most irrigators plant potatoes, garlic, onions from their own harvests and buy tin-packed carrot seeds from private shops. Around 10 irrigators in Kormargefia received free carrot and potato seeds from Food for Children. Some irrigators in Milki, mainly the youth co-operative, got seeds from the wereda agricultural office. Eucalyptus seedlings have been prepared individually by watering using irrigation or buckets from springs. The agricultural office provided seedlings until the year before last. The Service Cooperative could be improved by diversifying its service – improved seeds of better quality and improved breeds and for sale different grains when there is a food gap.

Many farmers used weedkillers for barley and wheat on bigger plain land paying up to 40 *birr* per timad to private sprayers from the community or towns. Pesticides are bought from dealers in town. The Kebele manager said the cabinet co-ordinated pesticide application to control crop diseases attacking fava beans and a special wheat variety called faven. Sub-kebele leaders said most didn't spray pesticides and the disease disappeared. More than 10 farmers have sprayers and others pay them to spray.

A young woman of 25 said that the co-operative bought a water pump from the harvest profit and they are planning to get credit from MFI to buy another one.

Some farmers also spread manure on their land, and some make compost, having been advised how to do so by DAs. Herbicides and pesticides are not available from the service cooperative, only private traders. The kebele agricultural office used to provide herbicides but they were not available at the right times. Most people just weed their crops rather than using herbicides.

The NGO Food For Children provided potato and apple seedlings last year but most of the apple seedlings dried up and died.

Story of most important cash crop

Cultivation of eucalyptus trees has become increasingly common in recent years and trees constitute an important source of household income. Eucalyptus trees are planted on hillsides, around dwellings and on some less productive farmland. The trees are considered to be suitable to the local climate and the erratic rainfall.

Trees are planted on rugged, hilly land and so the soil must be prepared using hoes rather than oxen. People buy seedlings from local private nurseries or cultivate them themselves. The seedlings are planted during the long rainy season and are watered with buckets during the dry season. The trees take about five years to grow big enough to be sold. Households can either sell trees wholesale to licensed wood traders who come to the kebele with lorries, or they can cut a few trees at a time, which can be split into wood and transported by donkey to Debre Berhan market. Some people also make charcoal from the trees. At first the kebele was concerned that people were making charcoal from forests, but they found out that they were using their own cultivated trees and often the roots of old trees. Some people also collect twigs and leaves from the cut trees for sale. Only a small amount of the wood is used for construction of houses or fences.

At present 24 households cultivate trees and provide wood on a large-scale. For instance, the successful farmer interviewed for this research claims to have 10,000 trees. Some youths also plant

trees on their parents land. The rich 19-year-old man has 800 trees of his own.

The main risks associated with eucalyptus are that the trees use underground water, and they can prevent crops from growing nearby. They also shelter crop-eating birds. The DAs are concerned that there are too many eucalyptus trees now and that they should advise people to stop planting them.

Story of second main cash crop

Potatoes grown on irrigated land are reported to be the second most important cash crop. Approximately 70% of the irrigated land is planted with potatoes and 95% of the production is sold in Debre Berhan. Potatoes are either sold in bulk to traders or in the weekly open market to consumers, hotels and restaurants.

In the past the government and NGOs supplied potato seeds, but now many people produce potatoes so farmers can easily get seeds from their own reserves or from other farmers. Most people use local seeds, because improved seeds are expensive. The main problems with potatoes are the crop's susceptibility to frost and occasional, unexpected drops in market prices.

Story of third main cash crop

Carrots are reported to be the third most important cash crop. Carrots are grown in increasing quantities on irrigated land. The research officers estimated that 20% of the irrigated land is planted with carrots and 95% of the production is sold in the market. Like potatoes, carrots are sold in the market in Debre Berhan. Some respondents believe that carrots may overtake potatoes as the main irrigated cash crop since they are less prone to diseases than potatoes.

Irrigation

Since the Imperial era, farmers in Aloberet and Milki gott have used irrigation from the rivers, transporting the water using canals. The Derg distributed the land covered by this irrigation equally among the community residents, conducting exchanges of equivalent land where necessary, and, as a result, many households in these gotts has access to a plot of irrigated land. The kebele manager estimated that a quarter of households in Aloberet, two-thirds in Milki and around 30 in Kabigizaw had some irrigated land. In Milki gott, the irrigation is managed by an irrigation association with 80 members who take turns to use the water, with slots allocated all through the day and night. In the other areas, there is no committee to administer the irrigation system, but the users have made informal agreements regarding sharing the water. Respondents report that there is sufficient water in the river, so there is no competition or history of conflict.

In recent years, the area covered by irrigation has expanded. In total, 86.5 hectares of land are currently irrigated, of which 65.7 hectares rely on gravity to transport water. Individual farmers have purchased motors and pumps to irrigate land, which cannot be reached by the irrigation canals, and the kebele has allocated communal land to a group of young men in Milki which is irrigated using a pump. In total 16.7 hectares are irrigated with a motor and pump. The first person to buy a pump was the kebele chairman and at present ten people have pumps to irrigate their land and to rent to other people. According to kebele officials, in 2010/11, the kebele leased 4-5 hectares of communal land to 51 young men in a group, paying 640 birr per year. Respondents disagreed as to whether the pump used by the young men was rented or had been purchased using credit from ACSI. Finally, a few farmers in Kabigizaw gott have started using a large spring to irrigate 8.25 hectares by digging canals.

Previously the main crop on irrigated land was barley, but more recently potatoes are the most important crop, with carrots, garlic, cabbage, eucalyptus seedlings, onions and sugar beet also common. The government made no contribution to irrigations except for some training and motivational words about it. It does not provide assistance and repeated requests for help to construct a small dam have been ignored. However, it is good that the wereda and kebele has provided irrigable land to landless youth. The wereda has also provided cabbage, carrot, beetroot

and garlic seeds to 5 women who had been active participants in the kebele and organised training and meetings to select beneficiaries. Fertiliser was also provided to irrigators.

Other farming technologies

The Broad Bed Maker (BBM) plough was introduced to Kormargefia in 2005. The first person to use it was the kebele chairman, and that year 15 BBMs were sold to model farmers for 40 birr. However, these farmers experienced problems and most stopped using it after just one season. These farmers found that the plough was too heavy for the oxen, it could only be used on very flat land and the plough itself was not strong and easily breaks. As a result the DAs report that most farmers are now unreceptive to the idea of using the BBM. The supposed benefit of the BBM is that it helps prevent the seed from being buried too deep on the swampy land on the plains in Kormargefia, which may cause it to rot rather than germinate. Currently the BBM plough and line planting had been used by the kebele chair on one 0.25 ha plot of barley farmland. In place of the BBM many farmers manually prepare the broad bed using spades and their bare hands (ziqosh). This technique was adopted from a neighbouring wereda where it has long been practised. A farmer with a broadbed plough didn't use it as his oxen couldn't pull it. He manually constructed broad beds by making ditches with spades and putting the soil on top of seeds in the middle – (the broad beds are bigger and wider than a plough could make). This was a customary practice – ziqosh - in the Jiru area and it was gradually copied first in a nearby wereda and then they started it little by little 3-4 years ago; now almost all use it. The respondent thinks this was because most farmers did not like the BBM plough and in order to avoid it tried manual bed construction and found it very productive. Now all farmers plant crops by constructing manual broad beds; farmers don't accept planting in line as it requires much labour/time and manual broad bed provides better yields. One farmer said it does not suit weather and soil type. Row planting makes the soil catch more water when it rains making it very wet and naturally most land on the plain is wet. Excess water in the soil is not good for crop growth and may lead to seed decay.

The DAs are planning to advise farmers to plant in lines for the next agricultural season. However, people are resisting this practice because it requires intensive weeding and farmers believe that weeding exposes crops to frost and reduces the straw available for livestock. Soil preparation is normally done by ploughing with oxen up to 5 times before planting. The DAs advise them to plough up to 5 or 6 times but farmers usually do it 4 times except a few plots infected with deep-rooted grass which require more ploughing. After planting seeds one farmer said he used 25kg DAP and 12kg urea. Lately the DAs were advising adding urea to shoots but the farmers haven't applied this yet. They never intercrop barley but plant in rotation with fava bean or wheat from the beginning. Only fava beans and peas are grown mixed. Rotation is used in places suitable for fava beans, peas, lentils and linseeds but in the lower plains only barley and wheat are planted; the others are not as they are vulnerable to frost. There is no significant change in the amount of seed per hectare but an increment in the amount of fertiliser used on barley land.

Livestock

Livestock and livestock products constitute an increasingly important part of the livelihoods of most residents of the kebele. Nevertheless, the increasing numbers of animals present important challenges in the context of a shortage of grazing land and a shortage of water. Grazing land has decreased in recent years as individual farmers have started to plough their grazing land, and the government has allocated communal land previously used for grazing to a dairy investment (5ha), watershed management and a group of young men who have started irrigated farming. The only communal water source for livestock is a pond dug by ILRI several years ago. However, this pond has filled with silt and animals regularly get stuck in the mud.

Livestock mix

Table 5: Livestock holdings 2010-2012

	2010/11	2011/12	
		Local	Improved
Cow	4987	498	410
Ox		1556	700
Bull		509	205
Heifer		307	107
Calve		1407	205
Cattle total		4987	4277
Sheep	7613	4003	
Goats	225	525	
Chicken	2830	3360	
Hives	NA	40	
Donkey	1338	2256	
Horse		509	
Mule		21	
Pack animals total	1338	2786	

Source: Kormargefia kebele administration

Cattle and products

The recent increase in the price of milk has encouraged many farmers to increase the numbers of cows they own and to increase milk production. There are some households who produce between 15 and 20 litres of milk per day. The price of milk has increased to 8 *birr* and 20 cents in November 2013. Most women in Aloberet sub-kebele do not provide milk for sale because the collection sites are very far away.

The milk is sold either to a businesswoman from outside the community who collects milk at Tebase or to a dairy cooperative. The price for milk recently fell from 8 *birr* per litre to 7.50 *birr* per litre. The farmers are unhappy with this price and the DAs are working with the farmers' union to try to find an alternative buyer.

Previously households produced butter with the milk produced. However, the high prices for milk have prompted most people to sell the unprocessed milk instead. The improved breeds of cows produce more milk than local breeds, but they also require a lot more fodder. Many farmers are unable to get enough fodder for these improved breeds and the animals are also more vulnerable to disease than the local breeds. In the past ILCA provided insemination services with their improved breed animals. This service has now ended since the government took over its operation. A few ILCA staff contact the farmers occasionally to collect data on e.g. household production level and annual spending and saving. A poor farmer said the mixed offspring were as big as their inseminator fathers so could bring a lot of money when sold. However, they are sensitive to diseases and drought-time feed shortage.

Cattle fattening has also become an important source of income, given high prices for animals. Cattle are sold in Debre Berhan market to cattle traders who take animals to Addis Ababa, restaurants in Debre Berhan and nearby towns and farmers who want cattle. Prices have increased greatly in recent years. Five years ago an ox cost 2-3,000 birr but now they are worth 8-9,000 birr. The prices are at their peak before major festivals and at a low during fasting periods. At the time of the second round of fieldwork in October 2003 there had been a fall in prices. Respondent from Milki also said livestock prices have been declining. A respondent from Aloberet said the price of a fattened ox fell from 15,000 birr in June to 9000 in July. He suspects the reason is that meat exporting was forbidden according to town people. The respondent from Kormargefia said his fattened ox could have sold for 30,000 with the previous market demand but he had finally sold it in July for 16,000 after repeatedly taking it to Debre Berhan market where traders offered first 10,000 and then 14,000. He attributed the price fall to the increase in the number of people fattening cattle. A poor farmer said people are less involved in cattle fattening compared with earlier. Prices of oxen have decreased but dairy cow, sheep and egg prices have increased. His and other bees did not produce any honey this year but he didn't know why.

Cattle are fed on hay, straw, residues from Tella processing and furushka, as well as pasture. Furushka, a by-product of areqe production or from oilseed processing is in great demand as animal fodder. Respondents say that animals fed on furushka produce more milk. 50 kg of molasses costs about 400 birr and is the most expensive fodder. DA advises not planting wild oats as a fodder crop as it has a very low yield compared with other food grains. Milk producers get fodder from the town through their co-operative on credit.

Hides are sold for 100 birr when animals are slaughtered for festivals.

Regarding insemination some respondents said that since the foreign managers left ILCA and the government took control it has not been providing good services. It has stopped providing free sheep/bull insemination services and charges 15-18 birr.

The main diseases include: Nifet (anthrax), which causes stomach swelling, abasenga (anthrax) and abagorba (black leg). These kill many cattle every year. There were some livestock deaths in 2013, including donkey from unknown diseases. Non-farm respondent said many donkeys and some cattle had died of diseases and complained the DAs and wereda didn't help them.

Shoats and products

Goats are quite rare in Kormargefia because they are not suited to the cold conditions, and there are few bushes for them to graze on. Sheep rearing, however, is very important and almost all households have some sheep. About 70% of the sheep are local breeds. ILRI provided free improved breed male sheep as inseminators in the past. These improved breeds are much more vulnerable to diseases and shortage of feed.

Sheep are sold in Debre Berhan or Chacha markets. In the past fattened sheep were sold for 500-700 birr, but now the smallest sheep warrant this price and fattened sheep are worth 2,000 birr. Many people sell a sheep during kiremt when there is a shortage of grain before the next harvest.

Common diseases include sheep smallpox (fentata) which affects their mouths and a disease which rots the hooves of sheep (shenkif), forcing them to walk on their knees. The hoof disease first appeared in the community seven or eight years ago. Sheep are also attacked by jackals.

Wool is not used by local people and so sheep have thick wool. In the past people from Menz, where blankets and carpets are made, came to pay to shear the sheep. But this stopped more than twenty years ago. Sheep and goats' milk has never been consumed in Kormargefia.

Chickens and eggs

Chickens are kept to produce eggs and to fatten for sale in Debre Berhan market. Women and children often keep chickens to provide an independent source of revenue. There are relatively few

improved breed chickens, because they are vulnerable to diseases and are easy prey for jackals.

Fengil is a chicken disease that kills the animals.

Bees and honey

Less than 10 people have one or two traditional hives for producing honey. No one has ever produced honey with the modern hives supplied by the DAs. These traditional hives are hung on the outside of the house walls. Men are responsible for keeping bees and capturing new colonies. The honey is harvested by forcing the bees out of the hives with smoke and water. On the whole, however, the climate is considered too cold for bees and so they usually leave their hives. There is also a shortage of flowers for the bees.

Income from farming

Government smallholder farming interventions

The role of the wereda agricultural office

The wereda vet is assigned to three kebeles including Kormargefia and comes to Kormargefia twice a year to vaccinate animals. The vet also usually brings various drugs, including fattening medicine, to the community for sale on Fridays. However, during follow up fieldwork in October 2013, the vet had not been to the kebele since July. The drugs are also available from private providers. If there are other urgent problems, the DAs call the vet to come to treat the animals. Farmers can also call out private vets from Chacha or Debre Berhan, paying 150-200 birr.

Many people complained that the vet is not always available when they need him and they believe that the wereda should assign a permanent vet to the kebele. A poor female head mentioned the lack of a veterinary service in the last year which cost the lives of many cattle. Farmers repeatedly asked kebele officials for re-establishment of the service but they kept silent. If livestock get sick they use traditional medicine and if that fails they take them to Chacha town where they get quality service but the cost of medication is very high.

The wereda Agriculture and Rural Development office has been working with the NGO Food For Children to provide improved breed bulls and rams to inseminate local animals. The NGO provided the finance for the project, which provides the animals on credit to groups of farmers, and the wereda distributes them.

Local agricultural research institutes

The International Livestock Centre for Africa (ILCA), which was subsequently renamed the International Livestock Research Institute (ILRI), had a site next to the kebele in Faji since the Derg era. Recently (no date specified) the ILRI site was taken over by the government and became the Amhara Agricultural Research Centre (AARC). During 2013, the AARC was subsequently re-named the Debre Berhan Research Centre (DBRC). ILCA/ILRI provided insemination services for cattle and sheep with improved breeds. However, some respondents felt that the service provided by the centre had declined since the government took over. In particular, DBRC has started charging for insemination services, 15-18 birr per cow, when this used to be provided for free. Wereda officials described Kormargefia as the centre for the spread of improved breeds into the surrounding kebele. Former workers at ILRI were given improved livestock as compensation for their work. Under the DBRC, this service has now stopped.

The DBRC provides improved seeds for demonstration on farmers' plots to leading farmers, including barley, wheat fava beans and potatoes. Enough was provided for 1 timad of land each to be returned in kind from the harvest in December. But the seeds were only given to people near the Centre. Six people from Kormargefia are also currently employed in daily labour by the DBRC.

Agricultural extension

DAs were first introduced to the kebele in 1992. At present there are three development agents in the kebele, responsible for farming, livestock and the environment. The DAs are responsible for one sub-kebele each, working on all areas of development interventions with the development team leaders. They work in their own sub-kebele from Monday to Thursday each week and then meet on Fridays to discuss performance and plan the next week's activities. When there is a need for a particular skill in one sub-kebele, the relevant DA will come to advise them.

The extension system was changed recently to work closely with the development teams and 1-5s in order to enable all households in the kebele to access the interventions. This new system is more efficient and has resulted in significant changes in farming practices and environmental preservation. The DAs teach and mobilise the leaders of development teams, evaluating the work of team leaders and holding regular meetings to receive feedback. The DAs only work with the male development teams, as men are considered to be the main people involved in agricultural work. The development team leaders are the main means of implementing the agricultural extension programme, acting as a bridge between the DAs and the farmers. The DAs also work through model farmers, using their plots to demonstrate new techniques.

The performance of the agricultural extension programme is regularly evaluated at the leading farmers' conference. The workplan for the next year is also discussed at this meeting. The kebele chairman thinks that better DAs with more skill and commitment should be assigned to the kebele. The DAs believe that the agricultural extension system could be improved if only tried and tested technologies were approved for distribution to the farmers. In this way, and by avoiding unrealistic promises, they could repair the declining trust of the people in the kebele and the DAs. In turn the people should accept and implement any advice given to them by the DAs.

The Wereda has introduced a new structure by opening agricultural sector offices at each kebele; previously there was only one DA supervisor for 3 kebele DAs. DAs spend more of the time around the kebele with the kebele officials and they only visit the farmland of farmers who personally know each other.

The Farmers' Training Centre

The FTC was situated in Faji and was transferred to the urban administration. There is no FTC at present in Kormargefia.

Mobilisation of local farmers

Model farmers

Model farmers were first selected in Kormargefia in 2005. At this time 250 were chosen and since then an additional 35 model farmers have been selected. In 2009/10 two model farmers were evaluated and by the kebele council and demoted because of their poor discipline. These farmers had devoted more of their time to off-farm work, in particular while Debre Berhan University was being built. Consequently, there are 283 model farmers at present. 258 of these are male and 25 female.

Most of the model farmers were selected in their absence. At the annual leading farmers' conference attendees suggest strong farmers who are potential model farmers. The proposed names are discussed at the meeting. There are some farmers who perform well in agriculture, but who are not considered suitable to be model farmers because they are not willing to teach others or they are not interested in party membership, having been attached to the Derg regime (*birokrasi*) and against the EPRDF. All model farmers are leading farmers (*ginbar qedem* or vanguard) and vice versa. When farmers were selected as models, they were also registered as party members. Model farmers have a rank A, B or C according to their ability to adopt new agricultural technology, whether they are hardworking and other criteria.

There are female model farmers as well as men. For example, one female model farmer has 0.125ha of irrigated land and 2.5ha of rain-fed land. She is unmarried, has one child and is also head of women's affairs in the kebele. She has never sharecropped her land, but instead either mobilises her neighbours and relatives to plough by providing a feast or hires a labourer. She rents a water pump for 50 birr a day to irrigate potatoes. She uses chemical fertilisers from the service cooperative and improved seeds from Food For Children. She has livestock for farm work and cows to produce milk, but she has never tried fattening. She has received extension advice from the DAs, which has helped her to cultivate potatoes.

There is a leading farmers' conference once a year, usually in November/December. Leading farmers are used to introduce new technology to the community, with their land used as demonstration plots to show well-cultivated crops and high yields. Model farmers also talk to the people and explain their success during farmers' festivals, which takes place at the end of the longest training session or meeting.

There is one champion farmer at the wereda and zone level who is also the kebele chairman. He received an award from Meles Zenawi in 2007, 2009 and 2011. In 2007, the wereda awarded him 250 square metres of land in Debre Berhan for his work. The farmer believes that he got the awards because of his performance in irrigated farming and livestock fattening. For example, last year he generated about 100,000 birr from production of vegetables, including 50qa onions and 60qa carrots, each sold for 13 birr per kg. He also fattened three oxen and 20 sheep for the market.

Kebele leading farmers (including at least 1 woman) participated in a 6 day training at Tebase on development and the community was provided the same training for 7 days. The kebele provided training for a few model farmers for 3 consecutive months on agriculture development. A poor farmer said the DAs primarily helped model farmers giving less attention to ordinary farmers e.g. Ignoring other farmers' requests for help when livestock and crops were attacked.

Development Teams

The development teams are divided into male and female teams. The DAs only work through the male development teams and 1-5s because men are thought to carry out most of the farm work. Female development teams are mainly involved in health extension work. The leaders of development teams regularly meet with DAs to get information and to provide feedback to the DAs on the extension programme.

1-5s

The leaders of 1-5s may also be leaders of development teams. They meet regularly with the DAs to receive information about the agricultural extension programme and they are responsible for mobilising their team members to participate in training and demonstration activities. Party cell and DT leader said the kebele and party leadership worked hard to mobilise the community for meher crop production including co-ordinating farmers through the 1-5 system to take inputs, plant in line, construct broadbed and control weeds. Most of the farmers didn't accept planting in lines and only 4 (3 men+1 woman) kebele/party leaders planted in lines on a small scale.

Recent crop interventions

Given the good market access of the community, the DAs encourage farmers to produce crops for the market. The DAs focus on increasing the productivity of wheat, barley and fava beans, which are staple foods but can also fetch high prices in the market, if there is any surplus. They also encourage farmers with irrigated land to grow lentils and linseed, which are cash crops with high prices. They facilitate access to pumps for irrigation, improved seeds, fertiliser and teach about irrigation management, planting techniques and tending. Several farmers questioned the effectiveness of the improved seeds provided through the agricultural extension system. They claimed that the seeds might fail to germinate or, for wheat, the plants produce very little grain.

The DAs have also tried to promote use of the BBM, but the experience of the first farmers to use it has made people unreceptive to this plough. Furthermore, many farmers do not agree with the DAs advice to plant in lines because this technique requires a great deal of weeding and the farmers believe that weeding exposes crops to frost damage.

The DAs record the needs of each farmer for fertiliser and report the total to the wereda, which then distributes it through the union and the service cooperatives. The DAs have been teaching people how to make compost. At one point, the DAs were told that organic fertiliser was available at the wereda. They collected data on the amount required by the farmers but when they went to the wereda, they were told that the supply had been exhausted. As a result the farmers thought that they were liars.

One respondent said that they have received advice from the DAs about growing eucalyptus. Most, however, claimed that this change was the result of their own initiative. The DAs advised farmers to plant apple seedlings supplied by the NGO Food For Children but these seedlings dried up and died.

The Kebele leadership co-ordinated crop production and watershed work and the Kebele with the DAs facilitated the purchase of an irrigation pump by a Milki farmer.

Recent livestock interventions

The DAs advise farmers about livestock rearing in general, and in particular health, fodder, fattening and dairy production. They advise the farmers to focus on the quality of livestock, increasing the proportion of improved breeds and reducing the quantity. In this way they hope to expand dairy production and fattening. However, farmers are reluctant because they fear that disease could wipe out the few animals. The DAs use the development teams and 1-5s to mobilise farmers for the total cattle vaccination programmes just before and after the rainy season. They also facilitate access to insemination services with improved breeds from the DBRC, the wereda or the NGO Food For Children. The DAs provide advice on chicken rearing, including health and feeding. They have also submitted a request to the wereda for drugs for chickens, which are currently not available.

The DAs have a spray for killing external parasites on sheep. However, the DAs say that farmers are reluctant to use it because of the cost of 0.75 birr per sheep.

The DAs advise the farmers to produce honey using modern hives, but the local people think that the area is not suitable for bees. Kebele/DAs facilitated the purchase of 2 modern beehives by a farmer.

Recently the Kebele leadership has been actively trying to persuade the community to be engaged in dairy production. A 2-day training was provided to dairy producers as part of AGP due to start this year in the wereda. The wereda provided improved sheep and poultry for a few selected model farmers (20 households were provided with 5 each) Food for Children distributed oxen for non-affording farmers selected by the kebele cabinet including for some whose oxen had died and cows. They provide sheep for 8 people and a heifer for a man. They gave them taking the signatures of the recipients telling each of them they will need to repay in five years. One respondent said people who got improved cattle with credit 5 years ago have never started to repay the NGO. Food for children also constructed a facility of livestock insemination and vaccination in the kebele but it has not been used up to now.

ARC provides bull insemination and hybrid sheep; the bull insemination used to be free to farmers taking cows to the centre but they have been charging 18 birr since two years ago. A poor farmer said that the services of DAs and vets did not help; he suggested that DAs are only concerned with watershed activities and sometimes advising model farmers. The kebele manager said they reported a killing disease affecting donkeys to the wereda and brought a vet who treated them. A promised vet has not been assigned and the one mobile vet assigned for 3 kebeles has been away for training since July. There has been no vet service in the kebele for the past 6 months. (there used to be once

a week service in Kormargefia area). The Kebele chairman informed people there would be community work to build a house for the vet and a yard for livestock at the end of the harvest season and that the community would be expected to provide wood and labour.

Credit for farming

In the past the wereda supported the service cooperative to provide improved seeds and fertiliser on credit, but from this year most people have to pay the full cost up front. The DAs believe that farmers have the money to do this. A few poor people, selected by the community can still obtain inputs on credit.

Instead, the expectation is that farmers save money in ACSI, which is now the most important source of credit in the community. Borrowers must organise themselves into a group, usually within their development team, and bring a recommendation letter from the kebele and their land tax book or kebele ID. At present 250 people are saving in ACSI. One farmer said that they can borrow between 700 and 5,000 birr. According to the wereda administration there is currently a plan to mobilise the funds of the service cooperatives and kebele, passing them to ACSI to provide more credit.

Respondents interviewed for this research borrowed 600 birr to buy sheep for fattening and 1,000 birr for fertiliser. The kebele chairman also claimed that the young men who have started irrigated farming on communal land allocated by the kebele borrowed 4,000 birr from ACSI to buy the pump for irrigation. However, a member of the group said that the mother of one member borrowed the money because the young men were not eligible.

Farmers could not borrow directly from banks because of a lack of collateral, and there is no MFI other than ACSI in the kebele. Many households are members of equb and the kebele chairman reported that a few people use the money from equb to buy agricultural inputs. However, none of the respondents reported using the money from these institutions for agriculture. Instead, the most common usage was to finance meat purchases for the Easter feast.

Food For Children has been providing credit in-kind since 2009. They provide livestock and improved seeds and more than 100 people have benefited. The NGO used the kebele administration and development teams to select the recipients, prioritising the poorest in the community.

For last year's production (2005EC), the credit recovery rate for agricultural inputs was 99%.

Producer co-operatives

In Milki a youth irrigation co-operative rents private pumps; the edge of their plot is too far from the river to pump water so it is less productive. The leader said it is the only successful youth group in the kebele so far although a second irrigation group recently received land in Aloberet. The Milki co-operative was formed 3 years ago with around 50 landless youth including 6 women. The co-operative members divided the land and planted individually until the previous harvest when they were forced to plant collectively and divide the existing income. Since last year they have divided the land to be managed by 1-5 groups and equally divide the incomes among group members. The kebele manager said one 1-5 group got 18,000 birr from potatoes and another 28,000 from carrots.

Government Service Co-operatives

There is one service cooperative for six kebele in the area, which was formed during the Derg era. 1,007 households originally became members and just 42 households have been added since that time. Many of the cooperatives assets were looted and two grain mills were destroyed when the EPRDF came to power. As a result, the cooperative has not yet provided dividends, but intends to start this year. The cooperative is a member of the zone farmers' cooperative union.

The cooperative is the only source of fertiliser, since private traders were banned when the union was established, and the main source of improved seeds. The cooperative also sells consumer goods such as salt, sugar, coffee, oil, soap, corrugated iron and nails. Sugar supply at govt prices has always

been available to every household as per family monthly quotas. They buy sugar at half the market price (14.50) from the co-op. Each household has a quota of 2 kg a month. Kebele manager said the improvement came as the Union has successfully negotiated and got a quota from the government wholesale trade corporations.

The goods are provided to members and non-members at the same price as, according to the management of the cooperative, there is no shortage. Members report that prices are a bit lower than private shops although there were often shortages and the goods are not always available when required. In the past the service cooperative used wereda resources to provide credit for agricultural inputs. However this service has ended this year.

The cooperative gets goods in bulk either from the union or from wholesale traders. Recently the union has not been able to supply them with the required goods and wholesale traders have been unreliable. They tried to buy goods from the Wholesale Trade Corporation but they were told by the wereda that this organisation only provides for urban consumers' cooperatives. The cooperative has never traded farmers' crops and has no plans to do so. However, the cooperative is considering getting involved in marketing milk and livestock. The service cooperative also has an important role in debt collection in the community. A poor farmer heard the SC shop was burgled and the police imprisoned and interrogated the guard but he didn't know the final result.

Investors

The main investment in Kormargefia is a private farm used for fattening and dairy production. The wereda investment office leased the investors five hectares of previously communal grazing land, although the proposal was subject to consultation with the community. Most community residents are reported to have supported the lease based on the expectation that it would create employment opportunities. According to a respondent in the kebele administration, kebele leaders played a key role in convincing the local people of the benefits of the project. In practice the investors hired only three permanent staff. The kebele administration was not happy with the way in which the investors were working at first and the community did not get the expected benefits. Recently, the original investors transferred their holding to new investors who have hired 25-30 daily labourers for 25 birr a day from Kormargefia and neighbouring kebele for construction before they begin their operations. It started with 33 dairy cows and has employed 5 people from the community – 2 guards and 3 cleaners and feeders and more will be employed for milking once the cows start producing. A young woman of 25 said they will also engage in fattening. She thought the land would be more valuable than the benefit for the community. Most workers come from a nearer area such as Faji. Apart from the 5 employees the investment does not benefit kebele residents and most people complain about the land lease for the investors.

When Faji and Bokafia were transferred to the urban administration, land was leased to several investment projects, including the new Habesha beer factory. These investments have prevented people from using the paths that they previously used to walk to Debre Berhan. Many of these investments are under construction. Consequently, while there are opportunities for daily labour in construction, the full impact of these investments cannot be assessed. There is work digging holes to bury pipes at the Habesha beer factory, with workers paid 10 birr per metre, enabling them to earn up to 80-100 birr per day.

There is also a shiro-processing factory in Tebase providing opportunities for women to work roasting peas.

The wereda has given permission to an investor to quarry for stone in the kebele. There is no payment to the kebele, but they pay landholders 50 birr if they take stone from their land.

Diversification

The main sources of livelihood in the kebele remain crop cultivation, livestock and trees. However,

there are increasing employment opportunities in neighbouring areas, in particular Debre Berhan. For the most part, this work is as daily labourers, rather than permanent employees.

The main opportunities for off-farm work within the community are at the dairy investment, where 25-30 daily labourers from Kormargefia and surrounding areas are employed in construction. Community road-watchers elected by the community are paid 350 *birr* a month each from community contributions which each household pays during tax payment (7 *birr*). More than 10 farmers have sprayers and others pay them to spray. Some people are involved in dungcake and wood selling.

There are also daily labour opportunities nearby in the DBRC, construction projects established in Faji, which is no longer part of the kebele, including the Habesha beer factory, and in a shiro processing factory in Tebase, a suburb of Debre Berhan. Many young people work in construction projects in Debre Berhan either commuting from Kormargefia or relocating to the town. Nearby industrialisation and urbanisation particularly in Tebase has brought job opportunities for a few.

Trade

Trading in the community

Since Kormargefia is located close to Debre Berhan, farmers prefer to take their products to the town themselves, rather than selling them to a trader and thereby losing part of their profit. As described above, there are no crops produced solely for sale, rather farmers sell the surplus from their production, once household consumption requirements are met. There are no traders who buy crops directly from farmers. Some sell grain mainly in Debre Berhan and a few in Chaha transporting it on donkeys.

Vegetable wholesale traders from Addis Ababa go to buy carrots on the farm loading using daily labourers and transport it by tracks in June before the rainy season starts. This year the price of carrots had declined so that traders didn't come in time to buy them and some remained on the farms beyond June into the rainy season when the muddy road could not be used by vehicles. Carrots are easily damaged if carried on donkeys' backs so they were left to rot. The kebele chairman transported his carrots to Addis Ababa using an isuzu truck where he expected to get a better price but he did not. Smaller quantities of potatoes, garlic, onions and cabbages are transported in sack by donkeys. Wood traders come from Debre Berhan with trucks to cut down eucalyptus trees and take them away.

The only products for which traders are involved are eucalyptus trees, which are hard for individual farmers to transport, and milk, which is purchased either by a female trader at the edge of the kebele or a dairy cooperative.

Shop trading was introduced to the kebele recently – 2 new shops opened in Kabigizaw in May/June 2013.

Trading of most important cash crop

Wholesale traders come from outside the kebele with lorries to buy eucalyptus trees from the farmers. These traders were not interviewed for the research.

Trading of second cash crop

No information

Crop traders' activities

Big trader

None

Middle trader

None

Small trader

None

Self-trader

The female self-trader had been living in a neighbouring wereda until she got divorced at which point she moved back to Kormargefia, where she was born. She started trading her crops when she returned eight years ago. She takes her crop to market in December and January. She also sometimes sells grain around sowing season in order to buy suitable seeds for sowing. If she has grain remaining after sowing she takes it to market at that time because the prices are very high at that time of year. Demand for crops is very high at the moment, resulting in a 100% price increase. She also believes that production may have decreased, because the supply in the market is very low. Access to transport has improved in recent years and when she has a large amount to sell, more than 100kg, she uses pack animals. She cannot estimate her profit because she is unable to value the time that she has put into growing the crops. However, the prices for a kilogram of crops are: Barley 5 birr, wheat 8 birr, sinar 3 birr and linseed 12 birr. As a self-trader, she pays no market tax.

The male self-trader reports that linseed, lentils, peas and fava beans are the crops with the best prices. He sells some of his crop whenever he needs money for fertiliser, livestock, clothes or other household goods, rather than selling at a particular time of year. Prices have steadily increased over the last 10 years. He transports the crop to market on donkeys. Last year he sold 40kg of lentils for 600 birr and 20kg of linseed for 400 birr this year. He complained that the traders often agree prices between themselves and thereby prevent farmers from negotiating better prices. He has also sold some peas, although they have been affected by disease in recent years. He has never paid any market tax.

Livestock trade

Fattened and unfattened livestock are regularly sold by individual farmers at Debre Berhan market and, occasionally, at Chacha market. Farmers sell animals when they need money for agricultural inputs or other expenses, and some people sell at least one animal during kiremt if their grain reserves are running low before the next harvest. The main buyers are cattle traders who take the animals to Addis Ababa, restaurants and hotels in Debre Berhan and nearby, and farmers who want to acquire animals. It is very rare for people to sell animals within Kormargefia as they expect to get better prices in town.

One female respondent is occasionally involved in livestock trading, buying sheep and fattening them for sale for two to three months before holidays such as Easter, New Year and Christmas. She usually buys the animals in Debre Berhan and then sells them in Chacha since there are higher prices in Chacha. She sells the animals to owners of hotels, who want fattened animals, and wholesale traders. She made a profit of 500 birr from selling two sheep and paid 3 birr tax on each animal. She gets money to buy the animals from selling milk. The main risk of livestock trading is animal disease, which can kill the sheep.

The male livestock trader used to buy cattle in Hamus Gebeya in another wereda and sell them in Debre Berhan. However, as a result of the increase in prices he can no longer afford to buy cattle. Now he trades sheep instead, buying them in Debre Berhan and selling them in Chacha. He has bought and sold more than 30 sheep in the last 12 months. This is not, however, a regular activity, just in certain years and around major holidays. He buys the animals several months before and sells them one to three days before the holiday, when prices are at their peak. He sells to traders, hotel owners and individual consumers. He only made a 500 birr profit on the 30 sheep last year and paid 4 birr per sheep in market tax. He has never had a trading licence but was caught by the police this year. They fined him 60 birr and told him to buy a licence or stop trading. He insists that he is only

involved in trading periodically and so will continue to trade secretly.

The price of livestock has increased considerably in recent years. Five years ago an ox cost 2-5,000 birr but now costs 8-9,000 birr. Fattened sheep used to cost 500-700 birr but now this is the price of the smallest sheep and a fattened sheep now costs up to 2,000 birr.

Livestock product trade

Milk is the main livestock product sold by farmers in the kebele. In the past a famous dairy called Shola Wetet bought milk from the community through the dairy cooperative, but no longer. Previously much of the milk produced was processed into butter within the household by women and sold. As the price of milk has increased, most households have stopped producing butter and now sell the unprocessed milk. Farmers sell the milk either to a businesswoman who collects the milk near Tebase town or to a dairy cooperative that has operated for at least the last 10 years. The businesswoman pays the farmers every 15 days. The dairy cooperative sells the milk to a private milk processor in Chacha. There is no interview with the businesswoman who buys the milk and very little information about the dairy cooperative.

Milk prices have risen in recent years, providing the farmers with incentives to increase production and reduce household consumption. Nevertheless, the current milk price is 7.50 birr per litre, which has reduced from 8 birr per litre recently.

Women and children and occasionally men keep chickens to produce eggs for sale. The eggs are sold in Debre Berhan market. The successful female-household head sold eggs to a trader for 1.75-2.00 birr each. Women and children collect dung to make dungcakes and transport them to market on donkeys. A donkey-load of dungcakes costs 17-26 birr. One respondent said that the shiro-processing factory in Tebase has started buying dungcakes in bulk. Households only sell skins and hides when animals are slaughtered for holidays. A sheep hide fetches between 30 and 60 birr and a cow hide 100 birr.

SMEs

SMEs in the community

There are very few SMEs in the community. There is one shop, a few areqe bars in people's houses and a few part-time carpenters and basket weavers.

Skilled production

There are five part-time carpenters and builders working in the kebele. The more experienced ones make corrugated iron roof houses and two storey houses, with a ground floor made with stone walls and an upper floor with mud walls. All of the carpenters make beds, cupboards and benches (agdami) and tables.

Many women make baskets (sifet), but mostly for their own use rather than for sale. One respondent still makes baskets for sale in Debre Berhan market. She makes containers to store grain, to store and serve food, to winnow and clean grain. Depending on the size of the product, these take from a day to a month to produce, working in the early morning and evenings. She sells them for anything from 10 birr to 350 birr.

Spinning is a valued skill, with women evaluated on their ability to spin enough cotton to produce a gabi, especially when they are getting married. However, nobody spins cotton for sale.

There are no blacksmiths, tanners or potters.

Livestock and products SMEs

The dairy cooperative has a butter and cream separator provided by USAID, but this stopped functioning two years ago.

Many women and children collect dung from the fields to make dungcakes for sale. A donkey-load of dungcakes fetches between 17 and 26 birr, depending on the season.

Local drinks and food

A few women produce areqe and tella, and sell it in their own homes. However, producing and selling areqe in the house is considered shameful, so the wives of even poor households do not do such things. The only people involved in preparation and sale of areqe are female-headed households. However, a few wives of poor farmers might produce areqe for sale to areqe retailers or sell for people to consume at home. About 15 women produce areqe on a large-scale for the market, while other women buy areqe from neighbours or the market and sell it in their own homes. Many people produce areqe not only for the alcohol, but also for the residue (furushka) which is used as animal fodder. Most women producing areqe produce it for sale in a special part of Debre Berhan market. The inputs for areqe are barley, wheat, maize, sorghum and gesho (*Rhamnus prinoides*) bought from DB market. The cost of inputs to make 25 litres of areqe is 466 birr (hops 50 birr, wheat 160 birr, maize 130 Birr and sorghum 126 birr) and this can be sold for 560-600 birr. Production is difficult in the rainy season when it is hard to dry the gesho and so the price rises at this time of year. There are 10 areqe houses in the kebele and only 5 that open every day. All of these sell a glass of areqe for 1.50 birr. One lady has a bar which sells tella, bread, beer and soft drinks. She is the only person with this range. The distillation can be tricky, with small mistakes changing the flavour and strength of the drink.

Productive co-operatives

None.

Natural resource sale

Collecting firewood and fallen leaves from live and cut trees for sale in Debre Berhan. A donkey-load of firewood fetches 22-23 birr. Collecting of dung from grazing fields mainly done by young mainly from poor families though young boys from middle and rich families also do it for their own income generation.

According to the kebele chairman there is the potential for stone quarrying in the kebele, and he thinks that this could provide an income for young men. However, he said that the price of stone in the kebele is so cheap that it may discourage the youth from engaging in such activities.

Petty production

None

Service enterprises

None

Food processing services

There is one electric grain mill in the community that is located in Kabigizaw gott, near to the main road. There used to be another kerosene-powered mill, but it stopped working three years ago because of the high fuel prices. The owner of the grain mill is the only person in the kebele that pays income tax and the only person with a business licence. There are also grain mills just outside the kebele in Chacha and Tebase. People use whichever is closest to their residence.

Hospitality services

Only the areqe houses described above.

Health services

There are no private clinics or pharmacies. There are two traditional medical practitioners. One is a

bone-setter who uses butter and various leaves and herbs. The other practitioner treats conditions such as skin allergies using herbs and roots.

There are no vets or animal drug shops.

Shops

A young man who dropped out of school at grade 10 opened the first small shop near the kebele centre this year. He sells pens, exercise books, biscuits, matches and soap.

Leisure services

There is a table tennis table in the primary school and pitches for handball and football. The kebele chairman is the only person who has a TV, but he does not charge people to watch it.

Petty services

None

Transport

People use their own pack animals or walk on foot. Two students have bicycles. There is public transport to Debre Berhan and elsewhere on the main road.

Government support for non-farm activities

There are no credit or inputs provided for non-farm activities. However, the government provides advice on non-farm businesses at meetings such as the leading farmers' conference.

Non-farm employment

The majority of employment opportunities in and around Kormargefia are in informal daily labour. In particular, the main employers mentioned are: the dairy investment in Kormargefia itself, which used to hire three permanent employees as guards, but has now hired 25-30 labourers for re-construction; the Habesha beer factory, which is under construction in neighbouring Faji; the DBRC in Faji, where six people are employed as guards and herders; shiro processing cooperative in Tebase, which hires mainly women to roast peas and winnow; and several construction projects in Debre Berhan. 10 people also work in a blanket factory in Debre Berhan. Four people are hired as guards for the school, health post and kebele office in Kormargefia.

There is also some ad hoc work available loading trees and stones onto lorries when traders come to the community to collect them. In total, respondents estimate that about 80 people from the kebele are working outside the community. Most of these opportunities are for young men, who are considered strong enough to do heavy work. Young women are employed in the shiro-processing factory and a few in the DBRC.

Respondents reported that the dairy investment pays 40-45 birr a day for digging holes and cutting grass, DBRC pays 20 birr a day for herding animals and one of the kebele guards gets 200 birr a month and the others get 120 birr a month. Reports of the wages at the Habesha beer factory, reportedly the best paid work in the area, vary. The current work is digging trenches to lay water pipes. Workers are paid by the metre, allowing a strong worker to earn 80-120 birr a day. The shiro cooperatives pay winnowers 5 birr to winnow one quintal five times.

Inward investment

The main inward investment is the private dairy farm that is currently undergoing re-construction.

The Habesha and Dashen beer factories under construction in other kebeles are important daily labour work providers for the community. A leader from Milki said that shiro-bean roasting businesses in nearby Tebase and Faji/Bokafia kebeles have been employing some women and men from his area. Both the leaders from Milki and Kormargefia complained that the fencing of land for

different investments all the way to Debre Berhan has blocked their shortcut market paths so the community is faced to take longer alternative routes when all the farms are planted. These lands have been idle – no investment started. In the past people were expecting a lot of job opportunities on the land given for investment by the wereda but they have given up dreams of jobs as it seems that the investors have decided not to invest. However, they are optimistic about Habesha Beer. A female Development Team leader in Kormargefia said the investment has no long-term benefit for the community. The farmers do not know how the kebele officials are using the money they receive for leasing the land to the investors.

A local bar and 2 shops opened on the main road side; the owner of the house comes from Tebase. He bought the house and rented part of it to a woman from the neighbouring kebele who has started to sell local beer and areqe. In the same building he opened a shop where he is the shop-keeper. He still lives in Tebase. The second shop is owned by a young man who failed Grade 10; he got a loan of 4000 *birr* from his parents to open the shop and has already repaid it. The grain mill in Kabigizaw is owned by a Debre Berhan resident.

Migration

Out-migration for work and remittances

Migration out of the community has greatly increased in recent years. The main destinations are urban areas, including Debre Berhan and Addis Ababa, and Arab countries for young women. For children to continue in education beyond grade 8, they must move to either Debre Berhan or Tebase. Male migration reduces the household's labour for agricultural work, but since there is now only one agricultural season, this is not regarded as too problematic. One respondent suggested that about 10 men and 15 women leave each year. People migrate in late teens, early twenties, but some even younger.

A young women of 25 said there is more migration because of shortage of land and need of savings to access MFI credit. There are people who push their children to leave and look for options outside the community. Richer parents give children money to help them leave. In most cases young men decided to go without consulting their family, which is not common for married men. Seasonal migrants return when there is farm work. Most buy clothes, livestock and build tin-roofed houses. The poor wife said the number of migrants had increased due to information from ex-migrants. A few returnees from urban areas get ill because of job burden and lack of rest time and become a problem for their families; also their absence increases the work burden of mothers.

One consequence of all migration is shortage of human power and youth challenge to choose a partner. However there is a strong desire to migrate. On returnees the leader of a female Development Team in Milki said 'why return from the light to the dark? .. Why collect dung rather than wash her hands with soap many times a day?'

Agricultural

Seasonal migration is not common in the area. For a long time a few people have gone to Cheffe Donsa in November to January for harvesting but this is less common in recent years as there is more work available around Kormargefia. One female respondent estimated that about 20 men went this year. Some people from Kormargefia have moved to Bale and Jimma, but local people are not sure what they do there. However, it is now not very common for anyone to migrate for agricultural work either near or far. The rich farmer's wife said there were no migrants for agriculture as there is a high demand for agricultural daily labour in the community.

Urban

Urban migration has increased in recent years. Those who fail in education often stay in Debre Berhan working as daily labourers and a few were getting incomes as carpenters or builders; some others may decide to leave Kormargefia. Students go to Tebase for secondary school (beyond grade 8 since the school was expanded) but are too ashamed to go home if they fail so they remain in

towns to look for work. Men find work in cobble stone projects, as guards and in daily labour, while women work as housemaids or daily labourers. Some also migrate to Chacha and Akaki and others Addis Ababa for similar work. Many landless young have to migrate to Debre Berhan and a few to Addis Ababa to find work. Men work as daily labourers on construction projects, guards, factory workers. Many work in the Debre Berhan wool and blankets factory; they can walk in 3 hours or pay 8-10 *birr* bus fare. A poor Female head of households said recommendation by people who had worked there is very important to get a job. The number of male migrants for factory and construction work has increased because of lack of source of income.

More women than men migrate to Addis Ababa for work; most are housemaids or daily labourers. Housemaids visit frequently and send money for holidays. In most cases they return when one parent dies. Some young women become café workers and a few secretaries. Working in private shiro enterprises in Chacha and Debre Berhan living there in rented houses has become common. Some get hired part-time while they are attending high school in towns in the shift programme. Some work during their school break. Nearby industrialisation and urbanisation particularly in Tebase has brought job opportunities for a few.

The female urban migrant interviewed is about 38 years old. She went to Addis Ababa in 1994 and returned in 2011/12. She worked as a housemaid throughout the time she was there. She left originally to be able to support her family:

‘My mother suddenly passed away. My father cannot work on farmland because he has a disability on his leg. I have two younger brothers and one sister. I felt that I am the only one who could take the responsibility to take care for all the household mothers. After my mother died, I stayed only for 40 days in the kebele. My cousin, who has been working in Addis Ababa as a housemaid, came to visit us when she heard about my mother’s death. She advised me to migrate to Addis and send remittances for my father. I came to Addis with her.’

In her first job she looked after children and stayed for a long time. She moved to another job but had to leave that soon after because the woman in the house hid food from her and she often did not have anything to eat until the evening. For the first ten years she was paid 40 *birr* per month and this rose first to 100 *birr* and then 200 *birr*. She did not like the heavy burden of the work as a housemaid or the lonely time that she spent in Addis. She stayed only because she had to support her family. She has only returned now because her two cousins who were living with her father have decided to get married and so he needs her care. While she was away she sent her father remittances and gave her cousins money to buy chickens to provide eggs for the market, and to cover the cost of basic goods like coffee and salt. When she returned she brought 800 *birr*, but spent half of it on her cousin’s wedding ceremony. She has saved the rest and started to attend adult education. She has never married.

Skilled

One of the carpenters interviewed during fieldwork lives in the kebele and engages in temporary migration. Last month he went to Bale to work for two weeks on the construction of a school. He also worked for two years in Addis Ababa as an assistant carpenter on the construction of a condominium in Mekanisa. He also went to Debre Sina last year for a week working on the roof of a private building.

He began by going to Debre Berhan as a daily labourer on construction projects and then as an assistant to senior carpenters. He first migrated when he went to Addis Ababa for a year in 2002. He went to stay with his aunt in Addis without telling his parents. He enquired at a construction project and was asked to bring a letter of recommendation, verifying his experience. He worked as an assistant carpenter earning 70 *birr* a day for a year, with a labourer assigned as his assistant. He left when the rainy season began as there was no full-time work available. With his salary he was able to send some money to his mother and he also had enough to pay for his wedding. When he went to

Bale he was paid 100 birr a day, but he did not save much because of the cost of transport, food and shelter. He intends to continue carpentry work during the low farming season since it provides money to enable him to rent in more land for farming.

International

Respondents agree that international migration for young women has increased considerably in recent years. By far the main destination is Arab states. However, estimates of the numbers of migrants vary from 8 to 40 in the last 4-5 years. Most of the migration is by young women and only a few men went to Arab countries. The young women mostly migrate legally, travelling by plane and find work as housemaids. Many first migrated to Addis Ababa and lived with relatives or were employed as maids and then left. A few contact brokers in Debre Berhan. Most of the migrants working within Ethiopia didn't get much to support families in the kebele but many of the women in Arab countries were sending money and building tin-roofed houses for their parents. Most start sending remittances within four months of starting work. The parents of 2 contracted land near the main road and built tin-roofed houses; the migrants plan to open local bars on their return. One person estimated that they send 6-7,000 birr per year. Some families have used this money to start businesses in Debre Berhan

In the past, families aspired to find their daughters good husbands, but now they want to send them to Arab states. These young women are regarded as heroes in the community and people with daughters abroad are considered the luckiest people. Some young women migrate first to Addis Ababa to work as housemaids for a few years, where they can 'adapt to urban life', process a visa and then move to Arab countries. The cousin of the rich 16-year-old female respondent used to live in Addis Ababa but has now moved to the US. She is jealous because her cousin 'lives in the best place in the whole world'.

'One of my friends left to Addis and started to live with her uncle. After she stayed for five years in Addis, she migrated to an Arab country. She is illiterate; cannot write and read at all. But, these days, she is getting a better income and sending remittances for her families.'

The banning of migration has affected females who planned to migrate. Many females and their parents are supported of migration and they have decided to wait until the government lifts the ban. International migration leads to work burden on mothers, low marriage rate and children reared by grandmothers and great-grandmothers.

A 19 year-old male said that 2 of his sisters worked for 3 and 4 years each in Arab countries; both returned last year and built their own houses in Addis and live there. He had hears on the radio that the government has forbidden all migration for 7 months. A poor female head of household said that her daughter started sending remittances within 4 months of starting work in an Arab country. The money was enough to build a tin-roofed house. Most are saving money via their parents. Poor families have been able to fill the food gap.

In-migration for work

About ten people from neighbouring wereda are employed in the construction of the dairy investment in Kormargefia. There are also seasonal migrants from neighbouring areas, including Debre Berhan town, who come during peak agricultural seasons, in particular harvest time at the end of October and November. The daily labour rate has increased from 15-30 birr five years ago to 80 birr a day today. There are set places in Debre Berhan, Chacha and Tsigereda where workers gather during the meher harvest, so farmers can go there to bring people to work for the day.

Many daily labourers come from Debre Berhan, Chacha and Tsgereda (a rural town in Chacha wereda) during the harvest; farmers used to go to bring labourers from Debre Berhan and Chacha while farm workers from other areas come and wait for employers.

There is a special place in Tsgereda called Sew-Tera (market stand for humans) where landless or poor farmers from various rural kebeles come and gather every day from 6 am waiting for employers

to come from the harvesting kebeles including Kormargefia. Employers would try to get there as early as possible to choose the best workers and to start the day's harvesting at 8 at the latest. Those who don't get an employer by 8 am go home and return the next day. The current rate is 70-80 birr a day.

Savings, credit and debt

Community-organised savings and credit

Equb are common in the kebele. On the whole people prefer equb to the government credit and savings institutions because of the minimal bureaucracy involved and the ability to borrow individually rather than in groups. The amount saved in equb has increased from 5-10 birr a month five years ago to as much as 50-100 birr a month at present. The amount people save in the equb is not fixed so as to enable everyone to save what they can. Most equb have between five and twenty members. People use the money to pay for meat at festivals, for agricultural inputs, household expenses or clothes. They borrow money in turn. Occasionally, if there is an urgent need for money, someone can be approved to borrow money out of turn.

The successful farmer reported one case in which an equb member refused to pay their debt. However, every equb member must have a guarantor. This guarantor paid the money and reclaimed it from the one that borrowed it originally.

A model farmer and member of Savings and credit association, who also is an equb member said people's interest in saving has been growing. Many save through equb. 5 years ago 35 people including him formed a big savings and credit association and have been saving a minimum of 20 *birr* a month and some 40 *birr* with their wives and a few 100 *birr*; the association has a saving account in Abyssinia bank. Many others are involved in equb – most of them dairy co-operative suppliers. His equb has 52 members contributing every 15 days – the day they receive their dairy co-op incomes. Some also save in ACSI or banks. A leading farmer, equb member with an ACSI savings account said farmers increasingly aware of the benefits of saving and have been saving in equb, ACSI and banks. All the leading farmers were advised to start savings accounts in ACSI and opened accounts initially paying 20 *birr* and then saving any time and amount each decided as they obtain cash. Most equbs have only male members; there are a few female equbs where members put their money from selling dungcakes and firewood together for a few months and buy household equipment.

When people obtain big cash incomes they commonly buy livestock. People who have more livestock put money in the bank when they sell them. Those with less livestock sell eucalyptus trees to buy livestock while richer farmers put the money in the bank when they sell livestock. A middle wealth farmer said that livestock are the main saving for farmers, whereas a poor farmer said dungcake and wood selling are important sources of equb saving and that milk and sheep are also important. A young woman of 25 said equb have become important organisation for farmers to meet and discuss socio-economic issues of the community. Equbs have features of mehaber: in all male equbs areqe is provided and they stay chatting with each other for long hours. A 19 year woman said households providing milk for sale prefer to save their money every 15 days; whereas households fattening for market prefer saving in bank; and poor households depending mainly on farming prefer to save money in the form of livestock.

Many neighbours and relatives are becoming less interested to land as there is high living cost. Since April 2013 many equbs have come under the social court. The court has the right to deal with any failure to pay the amount taken from the equb.

Government, donor and NGO credit and savings

The wereda used to provide credit to 100-150 households for agricultural inputs through the service cooperative, but this stopped this year. Instead there has been a call for farmers to start saving in ACSI. ACSI is the most important source of credit in the community and the wereda has a plan to

mobilise the savings of service cooperatives and the kebele for ACSI to increase its lending. ACSI only lends to groups of farmers and requires a letter of recommendation from the kebele and an ID card. The groups are usually formed within development teams. Currently about 250 people save money in ACSI, according to the kebele chairman. According to one respondent, ACSI lends from 700 to 5,000 birr.

Food For Children provides in-kind credit for livestock and improved seeds. More than 100 people have benefited. The NGO uses the kebele administration to select the poorest people in the community to participate in the programme.

The kebele manager said more than 100 leading farmers have ACSI savings accounts. Five farmers bought bonds for the renaissance dam; the kebele chair bought for 2000 *birr* (which was maximum allowed), another 1000 *birr* and the rest 500. A rich farmer's wife said accessing credit from formal and informal sources is difficult. Getting credit from MFI needs organisation with other farmers taking credit and approval of the kebele administration. Accessing credit from relatives and neighbours is not an easy task: the person must be personally close enough to the lender. People often borrow from each other, moneylenders, and ACSI. Borrowing from relatives or friends is usually without interest but sometimes the favour could be repaid with labour assistance. Credit from ACSI is on group collateral at around 18% interest. The saving association he belongs to started providing credit last year – 12,000 *birr* to 9 members at 9% which they used to buy livestock or fertiliser. A few could get loans from moneylenders in the kebele or Debre Berhan at 10%. Only a few iddir could provide credit and banks don't give credit to farmers. The successful Female household head said no-one would save with MFI if they could not get credit. A poor man borrowed 2000 *birr* from ACSI for his son's graduation in August. The kebele manager said a very few take credit from Wisdom MFI. Some iddirs provide loans with around 5% interest. Some could buy equb turns from those getting it in the lottery draw. A poor farmer borrowed money from ACSI saying it was for sheep rearing but used it to pay school fees. He argued: 'why should they care so long as he repays?'. A middle wealth farmer's wife said borrowing from relatives and neighbours has declined because of unreasonable interest rates and punishments for failure to repay – like being forced to work on their farmland. Due to self-esteem people hesitate to borrow from this source. The wife of a poor farmer said people prefer to use MFIs as it is possible to get savings and credit service at the same time and they have lower interest rates than moneylenders including neighbours and relatives in the community. A rich farmer's wife said if the NGO credit must be repaid most people in the community would be indebted.

Banks

Some credit and savings associations have accounts in Abyssinia bank. Richer farmers selling livestock they have fattened or selling eucalyptus put the money in bank accounts. Debt in the community

There is no debt problem in the community because people fear getting into debt. A respondent in the wereda said that debt repayment rates were 99% for Kormargefia and 88% for the wereda in general.

Insurance

The only form of insurance available is through membership of iddir and oxen iddir, discussed below.

Harmful Traditional Practices affecting livelihoods

In the past there were seven religious days each month, in addition to Saturdays and Sundays, when farmers were not expected to work. At present three of these seven days are accepted as working days. Only those people with houses near to churches named after specific saints are banned from working on those saints' days. A few people who are not interested in religion may violate the non-working rule. However, none of the respondents mentioned this practice as particularly harmful.

Theft

There were two cases of crops being stolen three years ago and there was also a case two years ago when two oxen were stolen from a man's compound. Since this time the community pays guards to watch the main road and the crops overnight and there have been no further incidents. There have been no cases of robberies from people.

Human re/pro/duction domain

Houses and household assets

Residences in Kormargefia comprise several buildings, usually two to four, within a compound. Some buildings have two storeys, with living quarters upstairs and space for livestock downstairs. There is usually a separate building for the kitchen and separate buildings for livestock. The poor female household head has a separate building to store dungcakes.

The roofs are thatched with straw or covered in corrugated iron, with corrugated iron favoured by wealthy families. Walls are made from stone, especially the lower parts, and mud and dung higher up. Most have mud or stone floors. The walls of some houses are covered with old newspaper.

Wealthy households have metal framed or wooden framed beds, while poorer households have simple, locally-made beds from wood and animal skin, with straw mattresses. Similarly, wealthy households might have a sofa and tables and chairs, while poorer households have very simply made wooden chairs. Kitchen utensils made steel and plastic utensils are becoming more common, as are glasses, cups and plates. These are replacing the traditional clay pots. Wealthy households have wooden cupboards, which are replacing the locally made ones from mud and dung.

A few wealthier households have radios and the kebele chairman is the only person with a TV.

Domestic technologies

All farmers have built smoke-free stoves, as instructed by the HEWs, but respondents suspect that most people do not use them. However, the HEWs believe that the practice is 'established in the culture of the community'. Improved stoves were provided to 45 households in 2003 and Food For Children provided more stoves this year. The HEWs have also been teaching people how to make improved stoves for baking injera using stone and dung.

Fuel and light

The main sources of fuel remain dungcakes, firewood, eucalyptus leaves and kerosene lamps for lighting. In the last three years rich households have started buying solar panels from a former ILRI employee who advises them and sells them the panels. They are used for lighting, charging mobiles and listening to music.

The kebele chairman is the only individual who has an electric connection.

Drinking water

According to the wereda administration 49.6% of the population of the wereda uses safe water sources. The wereda plans to dig boreholes and to develop existing water sources to expand access to safe water, but it suffers from a budget shortage. There are 10 water points in the kebele, seven built by the Amhara Rehabilitation and Development Organisation (ARDO) in 2006 and three by Food For Children in 2011. Another water point was built by FFC at the satellite school with community participation.

Most of the safe water sources are natural springs, which are treated with chemicals and enclosed to prevent livestock from entering. The kebele has a water committee, which is responsible for maintaining the water points using monthly fees of 1.50-2.00 birr paid by the users. This includes paying wages for a guard for the water point. When there are more serious problems, the wereda

sends people to fix them.

Some people still use untreated springs where these are much closer to their residence than the treated water points. Very few people now use river water for drinking. Many of the springs dry up during the dry season and most respondents report that this problem is getting worse. As a result, water is rationed, with a limit of 20 litres a day, except when there are big celebrations in which case a household might be allowed 80-100 litres. The water points are opened by a guard at set times in the early morning and afternoon. People may have to queue for water for 30 minutes to two hours.

Sanitation

Almost all households have built latrines as instructed by the HEWs. According to some respondents, kebele officials threatened to punish households that did not dig a latrine. Several people, however, report that household members do not like to use them because of the smell, although they are useful for guests from the towns who do not want to go in the open air.

People bury solid waste but often use liquid wastes for drinking water for livestock or to make dungcakes. The HEWs have instructed people to wash regularly the containers used to collect water.

Domestic work

The bulk of domestic work remains the responsibility of women. In particular, cooking, cleaning, looking after children and washing clothes are tasks that tend to be done by women. Nevertheless, most respondents report that men do engage in domestic work and do more than they used to. For example several men take grain to the mill, do the shopping and maybe collect water and firewood. Some men also cook and clean when their wives are unable to do so. Children, especially girls, help with washing clothes, looking after children and cleaning the houses.

One respondent reported that in the past a man who participated in domestic work would have been discriminated against and considered to be less of a man. Now, she believes thanks to the EPRDF, men are participating in domestic work without problems.

Food and nutrition

The main staples in the community are injera made from barley or sorghum and wot made from fava bean flour. Other common foods include roasted wheat and barley, linseed and a barley bread called tirosho. In the rainy season, people use cabbages to prepare wot, prepare soup from roasted barley flour and eat roasted fava beans to keep warm. Most people eat three meals a day, although they may eat more at each meal and perhaps an extra meal in the rainy season in order to keep warm. In poor households, when grain reserves run out in the rainy season before the next harvest, they may reduce the amount of food consumed at each meal.

Many respondents report that they have reduced the amount of milk, butter, eggs and meat consumed in the household because high market prices mean that they prefer to sell as much of these products as possible. Several households reported that their consumption of pulses has decreased because disease and climate change had reduced their household's production. The supply of fruit, such as oranges and bananas, and sugarcane has increased in local markets, allowing those with good incomes to buy more fruit. Also local production of vegetables such as carrots, beetroot, onions and cabbage has increased, contributing to increased consumption.

According to wereda officials there are between 2 and 10 children with problems of malnutrition in the wereda. In the past malnutrition was a serious problem, but Food For Children has an Outreach Tripotic Programme (OTP) funded by UNICEF since 2008, which distributes food called F11 and F75 to underweight children. The NGO weighs the children and monitors their progress as they receive the supplements. The wereda has started organising the communities in an attempt to reduce the reliance of the wereda on this NGO.

One health centre in the wereda has treated severely malnourished children who cannot be treated

by the HEWs since 2011. Addressing malnutrition is a priority for the wereda and the HEWs try to educate people about the importance of nutrition, especially for children and pregnant mothers.

In the past adults used to eat from one plate with an injera spread on it, and children ate from another. Several households now cut the injera and eat from individual plates since this reduces wastage.

Health extension

According to the wereda administration, health extension policy currently focuses on four packages: health of mothers and children; transmitted diseases; non-transmitted diseases; and personal and environmental hygiene. The first two of these are given priority.

The Health Post

The health post was constructed in 2006. Some people still prefer to get treatment from traditional sources, such as holy water, because of the high cost and poor quality of the treatment at the health post and health centre. People with serious illnesses must go to the hospital in Debre Berhan because there is no diagnosis or treatment at the health post. None of the health posts in the wereda have water and only four out of 31 have electricity.

People of Aloberet do not get Health Post service because of the distance. They go to Debre Berhan. The HEW visited the sub-kebele recently and posted maps of Development Team members' resident areas in each female Development Team leader's house.

Health extension

Health Extension Workers

According to the wereda respondent, the HEWs were introduced in 2006 and have contributed a lot since that time in particular regarding vaccinations, family planning, ante-natal checks and personal and environmental hygiene.

There are two HEWs. They have divided the kebele into two and each is responsible for half so as to reduce the time they spent travelling around the community. The main challenges the HEWs have faced have been a lack of support from the kebele administration, the geographical nature of the kebele, which makes it difficult to get around, and the shortage of water, which hinders adoption of health packages. The HEWs believe that women are the best people to work with in health extension because they are more likely to meet and discuss the packages than men who tend to work alone on their farmland. Women are also closer to their environment. The HEWs provided training for a few model farmers for 3 consecutive months on environmental hygiene. One of the HEWs has been absent at least since July 2013 having left for education. The remaining HEW has visited households to check if toilets were functioning or not, provided vaccinations and contraceptives. She went door-to-door and registered family members and put numbers on the doors. The HEW vaccinated around 5 babies in August and also under-5 children and pregnant women and provided trachoma vaccinations.

The kebele residents are not very pleased with the HEWs. They believe that they are lazy because they live in Debre Berhan, even though the kebele administration has provided them with houses, and are frequently absent from the kebele. They spend much more time in Aloberet sub-kebele, near to the town, and residents of this area are more favourable to the HEWs. The poor farmer said the HEWs are totally absent from the Health Post even not coming during vaccination times so farmers used to call them by phone when the vaccination time of their child or pregnant wife came. The previous HEWs were so much more helpful; they lived at the Health Post and provided services, including first aid any time, even at night but the new could not be available even in the daytime to help pregnant women so that many would go to Debre Berhan health centre. The wife of the poor farmer said that apart from giving vaccination to children and family planning the HEWs were not

working on other health packages since April. In the last year the kebele officials organised female Development Teams but they are not active yet. A young woman of 19 said the health extension programme is very disconnected from young people in the kebele. She believes that the HEWs should work with young males and females on cases such as HIV. The wife of a middle wealth farmer said the HEWs give much emphasis to hygiene and environmental sanitation and more focus on female Development Teams.

Community health volunteers

Health volunteers were common in the wereda until 2012 when this structure was abandoned and replaced by the development teams and 1-5s. This new development structure is used in all health extension work, with the female development teams playing a particular important role. Most of the former health volunteers were made leaders of female development teams and 1-5s. This structure enables the HEWs to communicate effectively with the community. HEWs meet development team leaders every 15 days and the development team leaders are responsible for passing on communications to their 1-5 each week. Although these structures have existed since 2010, they have only been used in this way in the last year. The female development teams and 1-5s are also described as a Women's Development Army. According to the kebele chairman, all of these development team leaders are also model farmers. The HEWs explained the different health extension packages at the leading farmers' conference.

Leaders of development teams and 1-5s are responsible for following up and checking the implementation of extension packages within their teams, for example making improved stoves. Previously 152 households graduated from the health extension packages, but this year 505 households did so. Participants only need to attend a training to 'graduate' from a programme. In some cases HEWs may also have visited household to ensure that practices have been adopted, but for the majority of graduates, this is unlikely to be the case. The HEWs believe that the people in the kebele are too conservative to accept the health extension packages and as a result the kebele has one of the lowest rates of adoption of the packages.

Preventive health services

Hygiene and environmental sanitation

Generally

In their work the HEWs emphasise that prevention is cheaper than curative medicine. The HEWs advise the people that they should keep their house and compound clean, and clean the livestock yard every day. They have told people that by maintaining a health home environment they can avoid diseases such as the flu.

Latrines

The kebele administration warned people that they would be punished if they did not build a latrine. Most people have built latrines and there has been no punishment. However, several respondents reported that they prefer not to use the latrines because of the smell. The HEWs explained to the local people at the leading farmers' conference that 'using latrines is modernity in general, and that using the open air is inhuman.'

Waste disposal

The HEWs explained to the people that burying or burning solid and liquid wastes helps to prevent disease. Nevertheless, the least popular package is the solid and liquid waste disposal, as a result of the water shortage. People use liquid waste to make dungcakes, for drinking water for livestock and to make the walls of houses with mud and dung.

Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

HEWs have emphasised the importance of personal hygiene. They told people to wash the containers used to collect water and the serving dishes with soap, water and sand, and they talk the residents that they should wash their hands, bodies and clothes regularly. However, several respondents reported that people struggle to afford to buy soap.

Kitchen cupboards

The HEWs have told households to cover prepared food to prevent contamination.

Livestock in the house

The HEWs recommended people to keep livestock separate from their living spaces. All of the households interviewed had separate rooms for livestock and some had separate houses.

Smoke-free houses

The HEWs have been training people, especially women, through the 1-5s to make improved stoves for baking injera using stone and mud. However, some people said that they do not think that most people actually use them. One respondent said she had heard that the smokeless stoves can cause fires. Indeed, during fieldwork there were reports of an accidental fire caused by an improved stove. This may have discouraged some people from using them.

Pest control

The HEWs recommended using insecticide and keeping houses clean to avoid pests at the leading farmers' conference.

Other

Disease prevention and control

Immunisations

The HEWs come to give new-born babies immunisations soon after birth and they teach mothers about the importance of having their children vaccinated.

Bednets

There is no malaria in the community

House spraying

There is no malaria in the community

Removing stagnant water

There is no malaria in the community

TB prevention

A few respondents reported that they had been taught about TB, how it is transmitted and how it can be controlled at kebele meetings.

HIV/AIDS prevention

The kebele has been teaching young people about HIV/AIDS, its causes and effects, and methods of prevention. In particular, they use informal clubs in the school. Several people reported that the government requires people to be tested for HIV before they get married, although the kebele has not implemented this. One respondent mentioned that voluntary abduction may contribute to HIV because these couples are not tested before getting married.

The youth respondents who admit that some young people have sex do not believe that they ever use condoms. They think they would be too embarrassed to buy them, even if they were available.

The poor farmer reported that the government used to provide condoms to the party cadres, but they refused to take them because they thought they were disgusting. As a result, the government has stopped supplying them.

First Aid at the Health Post

No mention in the fieldwork.

HTPs affecting health

The HEWs report that female circumcision stopped in 2011, but several respondents reported that the practice continued in secret. There were no reports of any problems caused by female circumcision or other HTPs.

Reproductive health& services

Infertility

There are no services for infertility in nearby towns and no mention of infertility in the interviews.

Contraception

According to the HEWs records, 223 women are using contraceptives and 164 of these use long-term methods such as implants. Injections, pills and implants are all available. No students get contraceptives from the HEWs, but they suspect that they may get them from pharmacies in town. Unmarried women are too embarrassed to ask the HEWs and may fear that they will tell their parents. The middle wealth 16-year-old said that she has a friend who uses contraceptives.

The use of contraceptives is widely accepted among the younger generations, although the wife of the middle wealth farmer mentioned that she does not approve of contraceptive use. She did not elaborate on her views.

Men are usually less interested in contraceptives than women, because they do not bear the burden of childcare and only see the benefit in terms of agricultural labour. As a result, some women may use contraceptives secretly, without their husband's knowledge. In the words of one respondent, 'Men are against contraceptives because the burden of rearing children is negligible. They do not know how mothers are required to raise a child from the day when they give birth until the child grows and establishes his/her independent household. Men do not care about the health consequences of giving birth to too many children. They only think about their advantage from having many children. They need to add to the labour power of the household so that they could get a chance to get individuals to share the farming work burden.'

A few women got family planning from the Health Post since April; in most cases they call her for an appointment as most of the time the HEW is not around. To get family planning service women have been begging the HEW to come to the Health Post. Women prefer injections as they last for 3 months and there is no need to remember to take pills every day. A young woman of 25 said she gets family planning service from the govt hospital in Debre Berhan. A young rich married woman said the HEW was very reluctant to hear feedback about bad side-effects of contraceptives.

Abortion

Abortion can be performed in Debre Berhan and Chacha towns. Some respondents said that they had heard that some girls who get pregnant before marriage go to Debre Berhan for abortions. Many girls also get traditional medicines from neighbouring kebeles to abort. They mentioned a plant called endod which many use. For example, the middle wealth 19-year-old said that in the last year, a young woman she knows was raped while she was going to school. She got pregnant. She decided to abort it with traditional medicines without consulting anyone. She took a plant named endod and started to bleed. While she was in the forest, she started shouting and people ran to her.

The infant was aborted but the placenta remained in the uterus. They took her to Debre Berhan hospital and was treated. She was trying to abort for the second time. A year before, she was raped by her relative and she aborted it by taking endod. She tried to use endod again because she thought that it always worked. In addition, she said that she knows two more young women who were raped and had abortions in the last year, all using endod. They do not want to give birth to a child from a man who is not ready to marry them.

One girl tried to abort using endod but the medicine was not successful. She was taken to Debre Berhan and persuaded to keep the child. Usually only if traditional medicines fail, they may go to the hospital in Debre Berhan. The rich 16-year-old reported that one girl who was pregnant in the last year was alone without any support, so when the child was born she immediately threw it into a deep pond.

Fistula

There is no service for fistula in nearby towns.

Other reproductive health problems

The wife of the poor farmer has had eight children, but claims never to have had a period in her life. The HEWs told her to go to the hospital as they were concerned about her health.

Pregnancy and childbirth & services

The wereda respondent reported that reducing maternal mortality is currently a high priority. Their work includes providing skilled delivery, family planning and ante-natal checks. The wife of a poor farmer said the Health Post has not been giving pregnancy, birth and infant care service since April.

Pregnancy

The wereda's aim is for women to have at least four ante-natal checks and to visit the health centre at least once during their pregnancy. At present 37% of women attend at least one ante-natal check. This has increased from 16% in 2010. Neither of the two respondents who were pregnant in the last 12 months had any pre-natal checks.

The HEWs advise pregnant women on the importance of maintaining a nutritious diet during their pregnancy, and the importance of immunisation for the mothers

Delivery

According to wereda officials, eliminating maternal mortality is a high priority for the government. In 2012 only 2% of births took place at the four health centres in the wereda. However, this has increased to 6% in 2013. The wereda officials attribute this increase to the provision of an ambulance to take women in labour to the health centre. However, it was out of order for three months. The wereda requested four ambulances, one for each health centre. However the federal ministry can only provide the one.

All but five of the 31 kebele in the wereda have a HEW trained in clean delivery. All of the health posts in the wereda have materials for delivery, which were donated by the Christian Child Fund. However only 30% of these actually provide the service because of their fear of performing the service. This year 8% of deliveries have been performed in health posts, compared to 18% the previous year. The wereda's intention is to reduce deliveries in health posts and to favour the health centres.

One of the health extension workers in Kormargefia has been given training in clean delivery. They have all the required materials, except they have run out of gloves. In June 2012 the HEWs and some officers from the wereda health bureau organised a conference, which aimed to stop the role of traditional birth attendants in delivery. They were told of the risks to themselves, including legal consequences, and the women of their services. They are now expected to refer women in labour to

the health centres. Nevertheless, many women still prefer the assistance of traditional birth attendants rather than medical professionals. Both respondents who had given birth in the last 12 months were assisted by traditional birth attendants. TBAs in the community have already rejected government warnings on home delivery. It seems that the wereda is not much concerned about TBAs but it was on female circumcision practitioners.

The wife of the poor farmer reported that one woman who had not been circumcised passed away during childbirth. She believes that this demonstrates that circumcision is not detrimental to women's health. The HEWs say that these deaths are almost non-existent in the kebele. There are no data on maternal mortality.

The successful woman heading a household said that delivery in Health Centre has been very limited as there is no access to internal roads. The female model farmer said most prefer to give birth at home because there is no cost; and no internal road to facilitate ambulance service. Women decide to go to hospitals when the delivery becomes complicated; men carry them to the road where public transport can be accessed. A female leader of the Development Team in Milki said almost all deliveries in Milki take place at home with the help of TBAs; when they face complicated cases they try to call the wereda ambulance but they have never agreed to their request. They give different reasons for not coming: the ambulance has run out of fuel; it has gone to another kebele. In 33 years she has never seen an ambulance in the sub-kebele. Recently a woman faced complications delivering at home and the TBAs confirmed it was beyond their experience. They tied her on a bed and young men carried the bed to the roadside which took about 45 minutes. She said: 'We got public transportation but he asked us to pay him 300 *birr* which we couldn't afford. We carried her on the shortcut to Debre Berhan that takes about 1½ hrs; at Tebase we waited for public transport and took her to Debre Berhan hospital where she gave birth without any problem.

One male respondent said in his hamlet only one woman gave birth at home and around 4 gave birth in the kebele all at homes. The poor farmer said 7 gave birth in the kebele all at home with the help of TBAs, except for one woman who went to DB hospital in the govt ambulance. The wife of the middle wealth farmer said HEWs were not involved in delivery as they have not taken training and are mostly absent from the HP. She added that although there is a government attempt to stop TBAs from attending deliveries it seems it will take years to get the general consent on the risks of doing so.

Mother and infant care

The HEWs provide immunisations for babies from shortly after birth. They visit the mother and child in their house. They also advise mothers about the importance of continuing the vaccinations and only breastfeeding until the child is six months old. The HEW vaccinated around 5 babies in August. She also vaccinated under-5 children and pregnant women and provided trachoma vaccination.

Illnesses and curative health services

A farmer was injured when a truck and public transport bus collided on the slippery snow piled on the main asphalt road passing through the kebele and a woman died.

Government

The wereda wants to establish an effective referral system from the health posts to centres and then to hospitals in Debre Berhan and Addis Ababa for those with serious conditions and diseases.

Health Post

The HEWs can provide advice and some medicines, but there is no diagnosis or treatment for serious illnesses at the health post.

Health Centre

No information.

Hospitals

There is a hospital in Debre Berhan that is easily accessible from the site. The only case of treatment at the hospital reported in the fieldwork was for typhoid. The patient first sought treatment at a holy water site, but then came to the hospital and was diagnosed and treated. The cost of treatment, including expenses at the holy water site, was 400 birr.

NGOs

None mentioned.

Private clinics and pharmacies

None mentioned.

Traditional practitioners

Going to tenquay (spiritual healers) has declined as people increasingly appreciate the benefits of medical treatment. However, some people still prefer to get treatment from traditional practitioners. When the daughter of the poor female household head fell ill, she first took her to a site of holy water for treatment. When she failed to recover she took her to Debre Berhan hospital where she was diagnosed and treated for typhoid.

Two other traditional medical practitioners were mentioned. One is a bone-setter who uses butter and various leaves and herbs. The other practitioner treats conditions such as skin allergies using herbs and roots.

Child-rearing

New ideas on child-rearing include giving vaccinations, improving personal hygiene and nutrition.

Newborn infants

In the past, people usually gave new-born babies raw butter for 1-2 days after birth to prepare them for breastfeeding. This practice has reduced, although many mothers still do this. Both boys and girls used to be circumcised 7-8 days after birth. Female circumcision has reduced as a result of the government's ban, but it continues to some degree in secret.

Babies

In the past people were not so concerned about the food given to babies, but now they pay more attention. Some people buy milk for their children and some prepare special foods such as a soup from mixed grain flour (atmit) or porridge to improve the child's nutrition. In the past people used second hand clothes for babies, but they are more likely to buy them new clothes now. Parents also use traditional medicines for their children less frequently and are more likely to go to the pharmacy for medicines. In the past older children, relatives and neighbours did a large amount of the care for babies, but now mothers take much more of the responsibility.

Knee children

In the past, knee children were put on the ground without covering it, which made them dirty and unhealthy. Knee children used to eat the same food as the rest of the household, but now mothers make them a special wot with eggs and butter and many people now also buy them fruit and processed foods from the market.

Pre-school children

The personal hygiene of pre-school children has improved. At this age children eat the same food as

the rest of the family, but parents often buy new clothes for the children in the holidays. There is now a pre-school class in the kebele, which was unheard of in the past.

Children 7-12

Children start to take more of a role in domestic and agricultural work, in particular herding animals. However, most children at this age now go to school, which was very uncommon ten years ago. As a result, most parents try to reduce the work burden on their children to allow them to pursue their education. In general personal hygiene has improved, and girls buy clothes and hair oil.

Adolescents 12-16

Ten years ago many girls got married at this age, but this is not usual now. Parents are more concerned about children at this age than in the past. They expect them to continue in education.

Young adults 17-20

At this age young adults are considered to be grown-ups. The involvement of parents usually declines as they are old enough to make their own decisions. In the past they may have had an independent household, but this is less likely now. Because of education they may stay with parents or migrate to Debre Berhan

Girls

In the past women wanted to have girls and men wanted to have boys. Now both prefer girls because girls care more about their parents. In the past fewer girls went to school and they tended to get married earlier. Now parents send children of both sexes to school.

Education

Education overview

There are three schools in the kebele, one in each sub-kebele. The main school in Kormargefia teaches grades 1-7 and also teaches pre-school and adult education. The school in Milki teaches grades 1-4. The headteacher is responsible for all the kebele schools. He provides weekly, fortnightly, monthly, quarterly, nine monthly and annual reports to the wereda. There are also unannounced inspections by the wereda. This started in 2009 but has become more regular recently and is currently about twice a month.

Table 6: Enrolment in education

	No. of enrolled students		Drop outs		No of teachers	
	Female	Male	Female	male	Female	male
2007/8	182	143	-	-	1	4
2008/9	166	194	10	23	6	1
2009/10	241	296	4	1	4	7
20010/11	294	358	2	2	8	3
20011/12	339	435	-	2	11	9
20012/13	356	438	-	-		

Source: headteacher of the Kormargefia kebele schools.

The main problem mentioned by the headteacher is that there are no water points in any of the schools. According to the headteacher, the main reasons for people leaving school are migration and divorce. The school works hard to reduce dropout rates and absenteeism (see table below). They use the development teams and 1-5s to tell people to send their children to school and to reduce their

work burden. The headteacher thinks that full day education would benefit the children compared to the present shift system. However, it would be difficult to implement because of the need to balance school and domestic work. The school takes a break for a few days if there is unseasonal rain during harvest time. The headteacher estimates that 99% of 7 year olds are in school. They are planning to negotiate with the few who are not enrolled in the next year. About 30% of the students are not in the right grade for their age and the oldest students in the school are 20-21.

Pre-school

There are 'zero' grades in each of the kebele's primary schools. This pre-school service was established in the main school this year. However, it is not practical for very young children who do not live nearby to travel to pre-school every day.

Alternative basic education

The 13-year-old male respondent mentioned that some children attend religious education and learn the alphabet before starting primary school. There is a religious school in Tsigereda kebele which at least four children attend.

Primary education

The primary schools

Some people at the edge of the kebele may send their children to school in neighbouring kebele, if those schools are closer. Four additional classes were built at the main primary school recently with money from Food For Children. There are now 19 rooms in the school. Previously the school only taught up to grade 3, but now it has been expanded to grade 6 and it may soon teach to grade 8. By November the school had been upgraded to grade 7 with plans for grade 8 next year. A library building for the primary school was completed. And a laboratory is under construction. In the past there was only one school in Kormargefia gott, but now there are also schools in the other sub-kebele. The school in Milki gott teaches grades 1-4. As a result of the expansion of primary schools, children do not have to move to Debre Berhan for education at such a young age, and parents avoid the need to rent a house for the children. Construction of a new standard building with federal budget for the 1-4 Milki satellite school is near completion.

1-5 groups are responsible for registering and reporting all school age children and whether or not they are in education.

School management and staff

There are enough teachers for the schools, but almost all of the teachers live in Debre Berhan and Tebase, but they have problems accessing public transport and this leads to them being late or absent. Since 2011/12, the schools have received a large budget to finance their activities. This year they have 67,000 birr for education in the kebele. Every student now has access to individual textbooks and the school has built toilets, bought new chairs and started to build a library.

Experiences of primary school

There is no registration fee for school, but there are associated expenses such as books, pens and clothes.

Secondary education

From grade 8, children must attend school in Tebase, a suburb of Debre Berhan, or Debre Berhan itself. The nearest secondary school is about a 6km walk from the kebele. Many children move to the town to pursue their education and their parents have to rent them a room. Rent costs approximately 75-90 birr per month. Students also pay a 50 birr registration fee at the secondary school. Passing points for grade 10 completion increased for both boys and girls so many failed.

Post-secondary education and adult education

Government TVET

One respondent had a daughter in technical school in Tebase, but she did not know what she was studying. They paid 200 birr in tuition fees per semester. Another household has a son in vocational school pursuing a three-year course. They pay 900 birr per semester for his education.

Government universities

None mentioned.

Private colleges

Some students who fail the national examination study for their re-takes at private colleges in Debre Berhan.

Adult education

Adult education started in the last year at the kebele school. The course lasts six months and has an introductory and intermediate part. The lessons are free and provided on holidays, when work is prohibited due to religion, and on Sundays. The lessons focus on agriculture, health, good governance and democracy. 440 men and 68 women are attending adult education and this has helped to address illiteracy rates.

Attitudes to education

Respondents report that attitudes to education have greatly improved in recent years and now all parents want to send their children, both boys and girls, to school. Several respondents doubt the quality of the education, however, arguing that the high failure rates in national examinations demonstrates that the teachers are not working properly. Overall, the interviews suggest that parents have very little information on education once their children start in grade 8 in Debre Berhan. Parents do not know what children are studying or whether they are working well.

Social re/reproduction domain

Social institutions and organisations

Local informal security regime

Several respondents mentioned that the thing they most like about the community is that people help each other in times of crisis such as deaths, fires or accidents.

Debo and wonfel are traditional labour sharing arrangements involving the preparation of a feast in return for labour (debo) or the reciprocal exchange of labour on one another's land (wonfel). These arrangements are still practised in the community, but most respondents acknowledge that they are less common than in the past. Many farmers now prefer to hire labourers to help them at busy times such as harvest. This is especially the case when there is unseasonal rainfall during the harvest. In these moments, all farmers are rushing to harvest their crop and it is very difficult to find people to help with harvesting through labour sharing arrangements. Nevertheless, these labour sharing arrangements remain very important for poor households, which cannot afford to pay labourers. Most house building in the community is also still done through debo with the participation of male friends or relatives. Neighbours will not necessarily participate. Female friends and relatives also help one another when they are required to prepare a feast for debo or Mehaber. Poor households with one or no oxen share livestock to plough and thresh their crops.

Almost every household in the kebele is a member of at least one iddir. There are male and female iddir, and cattle iddir in the community. Regular contributions are about 1-5 birr a month. The iddir provide assistance when iddir members or someone in their household dies, or when one of their

livestock dies. The iddir provides labour contributions to prepare the feast for the funeral ceremony. Women cook wot, roast barley and clean the household's compound. Men bring firewood, fetch water and set the tent in the compound. Some iddir members stay behind when they take the body to the church to make food. The iddir also contributes some combination of food and money. For example, for a close relative one iddir provides 20kg of wheat, 1kg of ground pepper, bean flour to make wot and coffee and sugar. Another iddir provides 15 birr and 12kg of fava beans for funerals. For deceased relatives from another household, the contribution is less. There was a new fine of 10 *birr* for absentees at burial ceremonies.

Livestock iddir make a financial contribution. For example, one man received 3,000 birr from the cattle iddir when an ox died of a disease, enabling him to buy a heifer. He also contributes 45 birr for each person that loses an ox. Another livestock iddir pays 2,000 birr for an ox, 1,000 for a cow. Finally, the poor farmer reported that he received 300 birr for a cow that died, and he has contributed 12 birr for a cow and 25 birr for an ox in the past.

As well as providing support, iddir are also used in dispute resolution, acting as a bridge between the people and the kebele administration. Many iddirs are able to settle disputes caused by land border issues. There are male and female iddirs. The wife of the middle wealth farmer said they are more social than political or economic.

Iddirs have additional services – oxen iddir, help to build houses destroyed by fire and health treatment for those facing chronic illness; examples were an active member with mental illness whose costs were covered for him and a caretaker while he was getting hospital treatment in Addis Ababa. This iddir also bought an ox for one of the most active contributors to their oxen iddir who didn't have an ox. Another iddir provided money to a poorer member to buy seed; the money came from the monthly contributions. Very few people have two iddirs; most of these are richer.

Messages can be communicated through iddirs. Iddirs are co-operating in persuading members to some kebele/wereda called meetings. Many people decided to give a mandate for the social court over their iddir to enable them to avoid disagreements among members.

Iddirs interact with the government through its representative *yehager shimagiles*. Once a month these from each iddir in a sub-kebele meet to try to solve disputes. By mobilising the community houses for dispute resolution have been built in each sub-kebele. The reps selected as judge and secretary report the disputes they have handled to the social court.

Most people in the kebele are also members of equb. These local credit and savings organisations usually have 5-20 members. The amount people save has increased in recent years, and at present respondents reported anything from 10-15 birr a month to 60 birr a week. There are no defined contributions, however, allowing people to save any amount they can. People borrow money in turn, although when a member faces an urgent need for money they may be allowed to borrow money out of turn. Every member has a guarantor who is responsible for the loan, if they are unable to repay themselves. Community members prefer equb to government credit and savings institutions because they require less bureaucracy.

Mehaber are religious organisations that are named after saints such as St George and St Mary. There are male and female Mehaber. However, one widow had remained a member of the male Mehaber after her husband died. Mehaber have about 20-50 members. Each member of the Mehaber invites the other members to a feast once every one to two years. Members also make contributions of tella and injera for deceased members, and provide money, for example 5 birr, in times of crisis. Mehaber have been criticised by some returning migrants who think that they are extravagant.

Community celebrations

There was a large community celebration organised for the end of the watershed public works in

February 2013. Each household was asked to contribute 20 litres of tella and 10 injera. One respondent also mentioned a celebration for the completion of the health extension packages.

Individual churches hold celebrations for the day of their particular saint. For example, St Michael is celebrated in June and parish members contribute 10-20 birr, 2-5 injera, 19 litres of tella and 1-2 birr for areqe.

Buhe, Inutatash, Kidus-Yohannes (New Year) and Meskel are celebrated by the community. *Demera* – the finding of the true cross festival was celebrated on Meskerem 17 and St Mary's celebration Tikemt 21 with horse riding competitions, and *ye-feres gugs* - spear-fighting on horseback with male spectators of all ages. The elders were there to prevent possible incidents of mock fighting turning into real fights and the police and kebele officials were also there.

A watershed tree planting feast ceremony was held and the community and up to 100 wereda officials were invited to a feast with food and tella at the end of tree planting. Based on the kebele administration's order every household brought something to eat like bread or kollo. The kebele administration had prepared bread and soft drinks for the wereda office guests.

Holidays

There was a celebration for Epiphany. Each member of the parish contributed 20 birr for an ox, 20 litres of tella and 5-10 injera.

Customary organisations

Iddir and Mehaber are discussed above.

There are no clan organisations, although interviews with the Oromo minority in the community were missing from the fieldwork.

Marriage, divorce, widowhood

In the past girls frequently got married at 14-16. Although underage marriage still occurs, most respondents believed that it is a lot less common. Girls who are not doing well in their education are more likely to get married earlier. They may still get married at 15 or 16, and lie about their age when asked by kebele officials. The common age for boys to get married is 18-25. Wealthy young men and women are in a better position to get married earlier, because they will get gifts from their parents to set up their own household.

In the past, the choice of marriage partner was exclusively by the man. Now, however, as a result of the government's intervention, women also have the right to choose their marriage partner. This is particularly the result of the government's new family law, which has been implemented in the kebele since 2009. Several of the youth respondents expected their parents to play a major role in deciding their marriage partners. The kebele is also intervening to prevent underage marriage. The police and wereda justice office intervene in such cases, warning parents that attempt to arrange such marriages.

The man sends a group of elders to the parents of the female. The elders ask the woman's parents whether they are willing to accept the proposal or not. The parents will then consult with their daughter. Marriage practices vary between the ethnic groups. If the bride is Oromo, the bridegroom should provide her with gifts of silver jewellery such as earrings, a necklace and a ring on the wedding day. In addition, he is expected to bring clothes (gabi) to her mother, father, uncles and aunts. The number of gabi he must bring to the bride's family depends on his economic status. On the same day, the families of the bride send households utensils. In the case of Amhara brides, the bridegroom is expected to bring only a few clothes such as shash and netela for her mother and a gabi for her father.

There is a huge difference in the extent to which people organise large weddings. In the past,

households competed in the amount of food and drink that they served for their guests as well as the number of people they invited. Those people who were able to slaughter a bull or an ox were considered as rich irrespective of the impact of the expense on their long run livelihood. Now it is reported that extravagant wedding feasts have been declining as educated young people increasingly get married through mutual agreement with partners, without or with only a small wedding feast.

One respondent reported that her daughter had been living with her partner for two years in Debre Berhan before getting married. The wedding involved a great expense because urban guests expect a greater diversity of food than those at rural weddings. The respondent spent 3,000 birr on beef.

Several young men reported that the main advantage of getting married was to have someone to cook and clean while the man works on the farm. The poor 19-year-old respondent, who is an orphan looking after his two brothers, said that he intends to get married so that he has someone to help him with the domestic work. Other benefits are that wives are wise and stop men from recklessly spending money and that marriage leads to children.

Several people reported that the kebele requires couples to take HIV tests in order to get married and that young women are also required to undergo physical examinations in order to determine their age. However, these rules do not seem to be implemented by the kebele.

Polygyny has never been practised in the wereda and is considered culturally unacceptable. Some women come to the wereda justice office complaining that their husbands have affairs with women in towns or other communities, but they have to tell them that there is nothing the government can do about this misbehaviour. Widow inheritance and marriage to a dead wife's sister are culturally prohibited.

The successful head of the female-headed household was divorced from her husband many years ago, but they still live in different buildings in the same compound. She reported that a neighbour recently got divorced and the request was processed by the wereda court within three days. She believes that the wereda court has greatly improved in its attitude towards divorce and now treats women fairly. The wife of the successful farmer has asked her husband for a divorce and this has become a source of tension in the household.

In the past men were favoured in the distribution of household assets on divorce. In particular men received most of the land, animals and agricultural inputs, while women received more of the household utensils. Most respondents believe that the wereda court now treats men and women fairly, protecting women's inheritance rights and that women are supported by the wereda Women's Affairs Office. However, some female respondents raised concerns about the elders continuing to favour man in divorce cases.

Death ceremonies and inheritance

The death of the person is announced early in the morning and the body is carried by men to the church for the burial. Afterwards people return to the house to eat. Iddir members, friends and relatives help the bereaved to clean the compound and prepare the food.

The head of the poor female-headed household held the funeral of her husband in the last few years. She reported that she could only afford a modest feast of injera and wot, rather than slaughtering an ox or a bull as was the practice in the past.

In the past, inheritance rules favoured men over women. These practices are increasingly challenged as a result of government intervention. Most respondents agree that the wereda court now treats women fairly and protects their rights. Several women believe, however, that the elders continue to favour men in their judgements.

Religion

All households in the community are Orthodox Christian. However, their commitment to religion varies. Some respondents attend church every Sunday and on all major saints' days. Other households only attend church for one or two major celebrations every year. Most respondents report going to church about twice a month. Even people who are not very religious will participate in religious institutions such as Mehaber.

Many people fast on Wednesdays and Fridays as well as the main fasting periods before Easter and for 16 days in August (filiseta). There is a change in the number of religious days on which work is prohibited. In the past there were seven days on which people were not expected to work. Now people work on three of these.

Sometimes people come from the churches in Debre Berhan and Addis Ababa to speak at the local church. Recently the church announced its support for the government's ban on female circumcision. They told the people that even Mary was not circumcised.

Some Development Teams near and around the parish church of Gebriel at Kabizigaw Gott were involved in labour construction for the construction of a new church.

New community-initiated organisations

None mentioned.

Key social actors and their networks

Kebele cabinet

The kebele chairman is the only champion farmer in the kebele and he has received awards from Meles Zenawi in the past. He is the leader of the core party in the kebele and is well connected with people in the wereda administration. Nevertheless, he has been criticised by several members of the community for not being committed to his kebele work and failing to hold regular meetings. He produces vegetables on a large-scale on irrigated land.

The vice-chair of the kebele is also the kebele manager and therefore a government employee. Like all of the other cabinet members, he is close to the kebele chairman. He has been in the kebele for three years but people complain that he is regularly absent and so they have to come to the office many times to speak to him. The other members of the kebele cabinet are: the youth representative, the women's affairs representative, the chair of the schools, a development agent, who was assigned to the kebele six months previously, and a health extension worker who has been in the kebele since October 2012.

Elders

One of the elders was also the cash holder of the parish preaching council, an iddir judge, the secretary of the dairy cooperative and a development team/1-5 leader. The second was treasurer of the dairy cooperative, the purchaser for the parish church construction project, and the secretary of both a development team and 1-5. The final elder was the kebele vice-chairman and the public information officer.

The elders interviewed were also close to the church administrator, the kebele chairman, the social court judge and the iddir judge.

Religious leaders

The first priest is also the treasurer of the church and the secretary of an iddir. He is close to the church administrator and the kebele chairman. The second priest is also the administrator of the parish church and an iddir judge. He is close to all the church priests, the kebele chairman and the cabinet members. The third priest is also chairman of the church control and audit committee, a

leading farmer and party member.

Clan leaders

None

Iddir leaders

No information

Successful farmers

Male

The first is a party cell leader, a development team leader and is involved in dispute resolution. He is well networked with party and kebele leaders.

The other is a cell leader, a member of the primary party organization, a development team and 1-5 leader, the secretary of the parish church preaching council, the secretary of the service cooperative, and the leader of two water point committees. He is also well networked with party and kebele leaders.

Female

The first successful farmer also works in the social court, looking into complaints about the court's decisions, she is a development team and 1-5 leader, a model farmer, she was a health volunteer for the last five years and she was given training by the wereda to organise women to take credit and generate income. She is currently an EPRDF member and helps mobilise support for the party during elections. However, in 2005 she mobilised people for the CUD/kinijit because the EPRDF had discriminated against her former husband who was in the Derg administration. She is in close communication with the kebele chairman and the rest of the administration.

The other is a model farmer, development team and 1-5 leader, and some of her relatives have been working in the kebele administration.

Successful traders/businessmen

Male

None

Female

One is the owner of a small bar in the kebele. She does not participate in kebele affairs, but the kebele chairman is her neighbour and spends time in her bar. She has good relations with the kebele administration.

Another successful businesswoman is a farmer and a trader of areqe. She is involved in dispute resolution in her gott and she participates in women's meetings. She does not have close relations with the kebele administration.

Women's leaders

The first is the chair of the women's association, which is expected to start operating in the near future, and a member of the EPRDF. She is also a farmer. She has close relations with the kebele chairman and the kebele manager.

The other is a model farmer, development team and 1-5 leader, and has relatives working in the kebele administration.

Political activists

Both political activists are members of the kebele core party structure and leading farmers who have

close relations with the kebele administration. They are both farmers involved in fattening livestock.

Social interactions within the community

Community-government relations

Community residents are unhappy about the time requirement of the mandatory public works campaigns, arguing that it disrupts their farm and other work. Respondents suggested that several of the health extension packages were implemented under pressure from the kebele, but that people were not convinced about their benefits. Many respondents, in particular women, question the government's ban of female circumcision, arguing that the practice has never caused any problems and that the government has not justified the ban.

A few people also complained about the number and duration of the party and various kebele meetings, arguing that they were not useful. The community has also requested government support in expanding access to safe water sources, water for livestock and building a bridge in parts of the kebele, which are cut off by the river during the rainy season.

Several people complained about the performance of the kebele chairman and manager, arguing that they are frequently away from their office and so people have to come many times in order to speak to them. The successful female farmer reported that she criticised the performance of the kebele chairman in a recent meeting and that the vice-chairman, who was also criticised, was removed from his position because of his poor performance.

The ban on the birokrasi participating in politics was lifted after the 2005 elections.

The kebele party primary organisation leadership organised the recent election process through cell and 1-5 leaders. All leading farmers (party exemplars) were given 7 days training to enable them to provide good leadership skills to mobilise the community. There were only ANDM_EPRDF candidates and all the former cabinet members were re-elected. Most of the previous wereda and kebele council members were re-selected by the party and re-elected by the people; only 8 were not due to alleged personal weakness, lack of devotion or health problems.

Male youth said kebele and party leaders were involved in co-ordinating farmers to use fertilisers, prepare land, plant seeds on time and in lines. Community generally co-operative in taking fertilisers and planting watershed trees. The kebele manager said that most of the farmers accepted and fully co-operated with the leadership but a very few were expressing their suspicions that the leadership was re-introducing the old Derg regime's systems of oppression especially complaining about working for the absentee leaders at the expense of their own harvests likening it to the Derg time when farmers were forced to contribute free labour to families of war conscript and kebele leaders.

Sub-kebele leaders said that ordinary community members accept and co-operate though the Kormargefia leader said there were some among bureaucrat farmers who expressed their opposition to the efforts of the leadership complaining that the leaders with large plots of land have no right to advise them as to how to use them as they are left with the smallest plots of land.

Local elite-people relations

Most kebele residents are not happy with the selection of farmers by the kebele to receive improved seeds from the NGO FFC. The kebele officials select beneficiaries in their network; these include farmers who regularly attend kebele organised meetings and training. The wife of a middle wealth farmer said: 'DAs give nothing to the poor; inputs and extension services are given to the model farmers who are relatively richer. The wereda agriculture office is not discharging its responsibility as it should be.' The wife of a poor farmer said that poor farmers do not get follow up by the DAs on their farm work and interventions limited to model farmers. The female household head said that DA training is available for all community residents but extension visits are limited to successful farmers. A young woman of 25 said that most farmers are not happy with the kebele leadership in

relation to improving community livelihoods. Some wereda interventions are very limited to people in the networks of kebele officials.

The chairman is a hardworking farmer for himself and is involved much more in his wealth creation than supporting the community. Most farmers don't complain because he is a sociable and disciplined man. A rich young married woman said the kebele administration is just a channel to transmit wereda commands to community residents. The kebele leadership has nothing to propose for women to change their livelihood. Also they are imposing ideas and directions which are not totally acceptable and visible to the farmers. Most farmers are positive towards the chairman because he is too loose to implement direction. A successful female businesswoman said the involvement of the DAs in the production season is very partial; they tend to work with a few farmers neglecting the majority. A female model farmer said the involvement of DAs is specific to a few male model farmers; they do not prefer females as most don't plough. She added that most people do not know the difference between kebele leadership and party leadership. The kebele leadership is lagging behind in terms of promoting economic development; nothing has been done since April. All leaders of the kebele love politics.

The female Development Team leader in Milki said that the kebele leadership has done nothing to promote economic development since April. For her everything is a plan, nothing is practical. She believes 'they do everything for their dirty politics; nothing is concerned with development issues'. For example the women selected to lead the 20 registered women have no quality of leadership at all; the kebele officials selected them to support them from the per diem they might get in wereda trainings and meetings by representing the community's women. The Development Team leader in Aloberet said she had been selected to lead a team of 30 households in the last year. They were told the administration will facilitate for them to get different trainings at the wereda office but nothing was done. She said that officials asked all iddirs to select Food for Children beneficiaries from their members on wealth criteria but then did not approve the people saying they did not attend kebele meetings; then they proposed their personal contacts. The female Development Team leader in Milki said almost all beneficiaries of ILCA improved seed were people living near the kebele office (Kormargefia zone) and the chairman's house. The distribution of government interventions is limited to the centre of the kebele. In a few gots in Milki drinking water still comes from the river. 'When we ask about it the kebele officials mostly laugh. I think they are laughing because we still share drinking water with our livestock.' The female Development Team leader in Kormargefia said in October 10 households were sent to the wereda for training on keeping milk hygiene but only two of them provided milk for sale. There was a per diem of 150. The selection was based on intimacy with the kebele chairman. The chairman is a good leader but the kebele leadership in general is weak in connecting people with the wereda

Ethnic/clan relations

Relations between the Oromo and Amhara are reported to be very good. The two groups share the Orthodox faith, join the same churches and social organisations, and inter-marry.

Relations among different religious groups

The only religion is Orthodox Christianity.

Class relations

The main sources of class differentiation are access to land, leading to a distinction between younger generations who are usually landless and older generation who are landholders. A few wealthy households also hire an agricultural servant to help with farm work. Otherwise differences in wealth are the result of the quantity of land, irrigation and livestock, which the household has, rather than qualitative differences in class relations.

Interactions affecting gender relations

Despite the government's work to address gender inequality in many domains, government interventions through development teams and 1-5s serve to reinforce stereotypes of men and women's roles. Male development teams work with the DAs and focus on agricultural development, while women's development teams work with the HEWs on health extension packages. Similarly the kebele distributed irrigable land primarily to young male landless, providing some opportunity for young men to earn a living, but did not do anything similar for young women. As a result, the government has done very little to challenge the assumption that women depend on marriage to become economically independent from their parents.

Interactions affecting inter-generational relations

Most people report that inter-generational relations are good and that the young are respectful towards their elders. A few respondents say that young people are disobedient.

Younger, landless respondents report concern about their future livelihoods and the challenge of accessing land. The successful male farmer reported that he was involved in a dispute over irrigated land that he had rented from the landholder. The son of the landholder registered a dispute, arguing that his father should not rent out the land, while the son was able to farm it himself. This may be a sign of the frustration of those lacking land access and the divisions between generations, which also overlaps with class relations.

The 19 year old male respondent also reported that there were some tensions between young adults, who expect their parents to give them some of their land, and parents, who argue that they do not have enough as it is.

External relations

Relations with other communities

Respondents report that members of the community have good relations with neighbouring communities. There are ties through marriage, family and social institutions, such as equb.

Community – NGO relations

Food For Children has been active in the community distributing improved seeds and livestock. The interviews did not reveal any information on how the NGO works with the community, although individual respondents reported that they appreciate the support provided.

Social cohesion in the community and beyond

The only reports of disruption within the community were related to young men who drink too much in areqe and tella houses and sometime get into fights. These problems had reduced recently since people patrol the community to prevent such problems.

Relations with other communities are reported to be very good. The only concern raised was that a few instances of cattle and crop theft several years ago were thought to be the work of people from neighbouring kebele. There have been no recent problems.

Ideas domain

Community cultural repertoires

Major areas of contention

The kebele has been very active through the HEWs and other channels in raising awareness about the ban on female circumcision and warning circumcision practitioners about the legal consequences of continuing to practice. The Orthodox Church has also announced its opposition to female circumcision. Nevertheless, several respondents report that many people in the community

still support the practice and continue in secret. Some respondents report that they have sought circumcision practitioners outside the community. In particular, respondents report that older women tend to oppose the government's ban, arguing that even though they have been circumcised themselves, they have never had any problems. Respondents also say that young boys insult girls who have not been circumcised, calling them dirty. A few respondents reported that although the government had publicised the ban, they had not adequately explained the government's motivation for prohibiting female circumcision.

The requirement to participate in 60 days of community public works each year is also widely contested. Most respondents argue that this is too large a burden and that the public works interfere with agricultural, domestic and other work activities. Several people also question the value of the public goods created, while development team and 1-5 leaders report that they have had problems mobilising their team members for the public works, with many people late or absent.

Few people reported any opposition to the government's ban on underage marriage. However, several respondents argued that the practice continues, with parents lying about the age of their children to the kebele administration. One respondent also said that some conservative people in the community also oppose the government's ban on forced abduction, but they did not provide any further details on how widespread this opposition is.

Finally, a few respondents mentioned that new ideas from urban areas, such as the use of cosmetics for women, new styles for hair and clothes were contested in the community. However, there are no further details in the interviews.

Conservative repertoire

Conservative ideas include the observation of holy days each month and the abstention from work on these days. Conservatives argue that crop damage due to hail, frost and pests is God's punishment for working on these holy days. Most adults continue to abstain from work on these days. However, as previously reported, the number of holy days on which people are not expected to work has been reduced from seven in the past, to four at present.

According to the HEWs, people in the community are too conservative to accept new government health interventions and refuse to change their practices. For example, although everyone in the community has built a latrine, as demanded by the kebele administration, many respondents report that they do not frequently use them. In one conference, the HEWs described the use of latrines as 'modernity in general', while using the open air is 'inhuman'.

Modern repertoire

Several respondents reported that people in the community were becoming increasingly 'modern' as they learned new behaviours and adopted technology common in urban areas and by learning from government officials. In general, these changes are regarded as contributing to 'civilisation'. Among the modern ideas in the community is an increased focus on income generation, with people seeking new ways of making money, in particular through dairy farming, livestock fattening and irrigated production.

Mobile phones are also becoming increasingly common in the community. Young, educated people have been the first to get mobiles, but their benefits are increasingly accepted by all people in the community, whether young or old. Solar panels have also been adopted by a few farmers and others hope to buy them in the future.

Increasingly, people eat from individual plates, cutting injera into strips, rather than spreading an injera over a larger, shared plate, as in the past. Respondents argued that this reduces wastage.

Cultural entrepreneurs

By far the most important cultural entrepreneurs mentioned in the interviews were government

officials, including the wereda and kebele administrations, the DAs and the HEWs.

Government ideology

The new ideas introduced by the government relate to changes in education, agricultural production, health extension and the prohibition of harmful traditional practices. The government attempts to spread awareness of these new ideas through discussions in kebele meetings and the work of the extension workers, development teams and 1-5 groups. The kebele also receives the party newspaper at least twice a year. The cells hold meetings to discuss these issues with their members.

Regarding education, parents are required to send their school age children, both boys and girls, to school, while the kebele has also recently started pre-school and adult education programmes in the community.

Regarding agricultural production, the DAs are encouraging farmers to adopt more market-oriented production for livestock and crops, in particular milk production, livestock fattening and irrigation production of vegetables. Some views that the community accepts co-operatives – they save energy, time and money of the participants / facilitates skill-sharing and effective time allocation. The wife of the poor farmer said they accept them as they have no option – people organised in co-operatives are not working to their full potential expecting other members to do their job. It would be effective for the government to invest in supporting individual entrepreneurs as it does not need the organisation of people with different views and choices.

Regarding health extension, the HEWs have required all households to build a latrine and, working through the female development teams, have focused on improving household sanitation, waste disposal and building improved stoves.

The government has also banned a number of harmful traditional practices in the interest of promoting gender equality. These practices include female circumcision, forced abduction, rape, underage marriage, arranged marriage and domestic violence.

Ethnic ideologies

None mentioned.

Religious ideologies

A few respondents report that adherence to religious practices such as fasting is becoming more strict. In particular, some people have started fasting on days on which fasting was previously only required for priests.

In the last five years, Amharic texts have been introduced alongside the Ge'ez versions so that people can easily understand what is being said in the church.

The Orthodox Church also recently announced its support for the ban on female circumcision, telling the people that even Mary was not circumcised. According to one respondent, the church has also encouraged people to work hard together in cooperatives in order to improve the community.

Other ideologies

A former ILRI employee has introduced solar panels into the community. He has sold panels and advised more than ten farmers who have bought them.

Urban connections and ideas

The community is very near to Debre Berhan. Many families have relatives living in Debre Berhan or another urban centre, including children attending school. Most people also regularly visit towns for markets or other purposes. As a result, people are exposed to changing fashions in hairstyles and dressing, as well as new technologies such as mobile phones. Returning female migrants have also

introduced the use of cosmetics into the community.

Diaspora connections and ideas

The remittances sent by young women working in Arab countries have influenced families and young girls in Kormargefia. Many people now aspire to send their daughters to Arab countries and regard these young women as heroes for providing for their families.

Modern media and ideas

Many farmers have radios, which provide information on government policies, national political events, such as the death of Meles Zenawi, and events in other countries, such as wars. Only the kebele chairman has a TV in Kormargefia itself, although people watch TV in cafes when they go to towns. When people hear something on the radio, they might discuss the news with their friends.

The poor female head of household said many young men would like to marry international female migrants as they are considered rich and modern.

Community management domain

Public Works

Environment

Main issues and activities

The most recent focus of the public works has been the watershed management schemes that have been constructed in two sites on communal and privately owned land. Public works are conducted annually in January, February and March, with participants required to contribute 60 days' work. Most respondents complained about the duration, arguing that 60 days a year was too much and that the work burden affected their other activities.

Watershed management, trees and grazing land

Terracing and check dams were constructed under the Derg but they were not maintained in the early years of the EPRDF. After the new govt took power environmental preservation was ignored for many years. One respondent even said that the EPRDF actually sold the stones that had been used in the Derg scheme. Respondents also noted that one of the past watershed schemes was recently demolished when thieves loaded all of the stones onto an Isuzu in the night.

Recent public works have focused on two watershed management sites over last three to five years, involving terracing and the construction of check dams. Respondents report that this has reduced grazing land, in particular for people living very close to these sites, but overall the area is small compared to the total grazing land available in the community. A few respondents did report a shortage of grazing land as a result. One of the problems faced was a shortage of tools since some people came without hoes and spades, saying that they did not have any tools of their own.

The agricultural extension programme brought a revival. In the five years three watershed sites on communal land and several sites on individual farmers' land have been worked on. DAs are responsible for selecting terracing sites. The old hasty campaign work style is being abandoned and watershed public works is now cautiously implemented – from quick-dirty to slow-clean type of change. One respondent said his terraced land have improved soil fertility. The more successful of the public sites is in Kormargefia as there has been tree-planting and better protection from livestock and human destruction. However some part of the site has been ploughed by a farmer who owns the land. He was promised replacement land but because the kebele administration delayed the farmer ploughed and sowed barley; kebele officials stopped him from continuing ploughing

A leading farmer said there has been a lot of Public Works terracing but it didn't bring much change due to lack of follow up and absence of interest to protect them after construction. Some farmers

complained that terraces on their farms were making their farms waterlogged affecting crops so they removed them to let the water off the farm.

A female development team leader said farmers don't like terracing on their farmland as it creates a conducive environment for rats. A young woman of 19 said the youth have loose communication with the kebele administration so that they would not be interested to engage in any community work until the wereda does something to change their lives.

NRM interventions

There have been limited tree-planting activities; however, in one of the public watershed sites in Kormargefia has been tree-planting. A young woman of 25 said the kebele administration does not give follow-up of the trees planted in the recent watershed management and because of this most of them are drying up. The kebele requested the youth to participate in the watershed tree planting but they resisted because they do not believe that the kebele is giving attention to income generation for youth.

Animal protection

In one of the watershed sites where there has been tree-planting there has been better protection from livestock and human destruction.

Soil fertility

The land in Kormargefia is mostly flat and not subject to erosion. There are only a few hills, which have been threatened with erosion. Respondents report that terracing and check dams have been constructed in these areas to protect the soil.

Infrastructure

Roads and transport

The internal roads in the community are maintained through public works before and after the main rainy season. Most recently this occurred in March 2013, with four days of public works in two consecutive weeks.

Two years ago public works were also used to construct a bridge over the river in an area that is frequently cut off by the river during the rainy season. The wereda provided a skilled person to advise the community members on their work. Other parts of the community still have no bridge and so are still cut off when the level of the river rises.

Electricity

None

Communications

None.

Water infrastructure

None.

Public buildings

Public works have been used in the past to construct the kebele office, the health post and for the expansion of the school. Public works on the school were conducted two years ago for a month, and people were required to contribute both their labour and wood for the buildings. In 2006 public works lasting a month were used to construct the health post and the kebele office. The wereda also provided corrugated iron for the roofs.

Urban development

None.

Organising Public Works

The community is mobilised for 60 days of public works in January and February through the development teams and 1-5 groups. Shorter public works are also assigned for constructing public buildings or maintaining the roads and these are assigned by the DAs or the HEWs. Leaders of each 1-5 meet at the end of the day's public works to discuss performance on that day and to plan activities for the next day.

Some people refuse to participate in the public works. According to the kebele administration, 'Most of these people are against the government in their political view but they do not oppose the government openly.' Development team leaders are responsible for tracking participation and reporting back to the kebele office. The kebele cabinet tries to talk to these people both individually and in groups, but according to the kebele, there is no punishment for refusing to participate.

According to the kebele respondent, people are less keen on participating in the watershed management public works than the construction of roads, bridges and public buildings. This is because they want to be able to see the benefits of their work, and the benefit of the watershed scheme is less direct.

Development team and 1-5 leaders are responsible for mobilizing their team members and monitoring their work. Some of the leaders interviewed said that the public works had been a source of tension with their members who were frequently late or absent. Several recommended reducing the duration to increase willingness to participate. One respondent reported that her neighbours were taken to the social court by the militia because they refused to participate in the public works.

The kebele organised a feast to mark the end of the watershed management public works in 2013.

Doing Public Works

In most cases, households are represented in the public works by the household head or an older child. However, most respondents complain about the duration of the public works and argue that participation is compulsory. Two respondents reported that public works take place from 9-11am each day. Respondents said that, once the public works are completed each day, they have little time or energy left to carry out their other agricultural and domestic work. Furthermore, the public works take place during periods that should be used for other activities, such as soil preparation for planting.

Taxes and contributions

Land tax

The wereda calculates the land tax rates for the kebele (see table below). The kebele holds a meeting for the community members to announce the deadline for payment of the land tax, usually one month. The table below details the land tax rates according to the kebele administration.

Table 7: Land tax rates

Land (ha)	Classification of land tax		Total tax (birr)
	Agricultural income tax (<i>Ye-irsha sira gebi - birr</i>)	Rural land use tax (<i>yegeter meret meteqemiya - birr</i>)	
1	35	20	55
1.5	50	25	75
2	65	35	100
2.5	95	35	130
3	130	40	170

Source: Kormargefia kebele administration

The kebele official said there is one individual who pays 250 birr for 3.5 hectares. Other respondents reported land taxes between 70-230 birr, but they did not specify the size of their landholdings. Several respondents also said that since they pay the land tax and other contributions at the same time, they were not sure how much the land tax itself was. The male development teams are responsible for organising land tax collection.

Grazing areas and tree plots are not taxed and there is no tax related to eucalyptus sale. However in the last month people from the wereda talked to kebele officials to report eucalyptus sale to the wereda tax office. The kebele gets money from selling eucalyptus from the community forest and renting communal land to individual farmers. A female Development Team leader said she had no idea how the kebele used the money.

Market tax

There is a tax on livestock sales in Debre Berhan market. According to the kebele administration, this is 5 birr for an ox or cow and 2 birr for a sheep. According to the poor female-headed household, the taxes are 2 birr for a sheep and 8 birr for pack animals. The poor and successful female-headed households agree that the tax on oxen is 10 birr.

Income tax

The owner of the grain mill is the only person in the community who pays income tax.

Licences

The owner of the grain mill is the only person in the community who has a business licence. One respondent who trades livestock on occasion was caught by the police and fined 60 birr for not having a trading licence.

Contributions in cash and kind

According to the kebele respondent, there are annual contributions for the Red Cross (5 birr), sport (10 birr), kebele office and school guard (6 birr) and the Amhara Development Association (36 birr). These contributions are collected at the same time as the land taxes, and as a result, many respondents were not sure how the total amount paid was split between the land tax and other contributions. For those that did give figures, their responses for these contributions varied considerably, but all were less than 10 birr.

In addition, party members must pay 6-16 birr in membership fees. Several respondents reported contributing 7 birr for the people who guard the road at night to prevent theft. Households contribute 7 birr to pay for community road watchers. There may also be one-off contributions in money or materials required for the construction of water points or for the expansion of the school that took place a few years previously. Community members also contributed 10 birr for the feast that marked the end of the watershed management public works.

The community dug pits for tree planting in June and planted the seedlings in July. They repaired internal roads/paths in June. A school library was built and the primary school was upgraded to grade 7. A waterpoint built with Food for children fund and community participation. In one got they planted eucalyptus trees for the 1-4 satellite school. Farmers were mobilised to harvest the crops and livestock grass feed for 10 kebele leaders and models encamped for a 25 wereda level training in Debre Berhan. Thirty farmers had collectively harvested barley and livestock grass for one cabinet member in their gott; a respondent complained that they were being forced to sacrifice their households harvests to work for others who were getting training, per diems, food and beds though he didn't blame the leaders because the government forced them to go at this time. It could have prepared the training when there was less farm activity

The wereda

Wereda policies and budget

The majority of the wereda resources are allocated to sectors expected to contribute to poverty reduction, namely: education, agriculture and health. Salaries account for 80% of the wereda budget and education is particularly prioritised, receiving the majority of the budget and 50% of the manpower. Although important, agriculture still suffers from a budget shortage because NGOs prefer to fund projects in health, education and water, rather than agriculture.

The MDG fund has also helped the wereda to make progress in education, safe water and road building. Indeed, the wereda is rated among the best in road building. Overall, in 2011/12 26% of the wereda capital budget came from government sources and the remainder from aid. In 2012/13, the proportion from aid had reduced to 51%.

Table 8: Wereda Budget for 2011/12 and 2012/13

	2011/12	2012/13
Recurrent budget	36,895,695.00	44,048,059.00
Of which:		
- Salary	32,541,480.00	37,646,996.00
- Operation costs	4,354,215.00	6,401,063.00
- Capital budget	765,942.00	1,146,051.00
Total budget	37,661,637.00	45,194,110.00

Source: wereda administration.

The land administration were removed by wereda order having been 'found to commit mistakes'

The kebele manager complained that the wereda should not have scheduled long meetings (25 days for kebele leaders; 3 for the Women's Association) at this time of harvest as many were already complaining against the 25 days for 10 kebele leaders and the imposition of collective labour contribution to harvest their crops. A 3-day meeting for youth was schedule for the next week but he feared very few would come as it was a working day so he will have to cancel it. Many would attend the next day as it is a non-work day. He had to change the meeting schedule for Saturday to Sunday as no-one would be available as it is the most important market day. The women's meeting was cancelled as only 15 people came.

There has been a *gimgema* at the kebele administration focused on the discharging of duties by different officials. The public was not involved. There was no replacement or punishment at the end; it was just to hurry up individuals in their respective roles.

Wereda progress

The wereda reported that health and education are the most successful programmes as a result of the financial support from international and local NGOs.

Working with NGOs

In addition to the regular government budget, the wereda has two channels of external budgetary support. Channel one is for foreign funds, which are channelled directly into the government's budget. The second channel is for NGO funds which are spent by the NGOs on priorities identified in the government's workplan. UNICEF, IAD, SIDA and the African Development Bank (ADB) all provide funds through channel one, and NGOs such as WASH, Adhno (Integrated Rural Development Association), CCF (*Tesfa Berhan Hltsanat ena beteseb Mahber*), Food For Children and Rotary all provide channel two support for projects which are integrated into government work plans.

There is no community-based nutrition programme in the wereda. However, according to the wereda respondent, the wereda is highly motivated and has started basic organising work to build capacity to expand community-based associations in order to minimise the wereda's dependence on

other non-governmental organisations which have a base outside the wereda.

According to wereda respondents, a few NGOs, including those working on HIV/AIDS, complained about the new regulations that limit administration costs to 30% of their budgets. This has affected their main activities.

There are nine local NGOs in the wereda, namely: Sustainable Natural Resource Management Association (SUNARMA), Ye-Ethiopia (Ethiopian Wild Animals and Natural Resource History Association), Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), *Tesfa Birihan Yehitsanatna beteseb limat Mehaber* (Association for child and family development), *Adihino Yetekenaje Geter Limat Meheber* (*Adihino* Integrated Rural Development Association), *Yeethiopia Goji Limadawi Dirigitoch Aswegaj Meheber* (Ethiopian HTP prevention Association), Soliyana Yenatochna Yehitsanat Ma'akel (Soliyana Mothers and Children Center), Noble cause Elder Care and Sport and *Migib Lehitsanat Dirijit* (Food For Children).

Many respondents described Food for Children as most important provider of multiple services for the community including sheep inseminators to farmers in groups buying from the research centre and sheep or cows to poor farmers for rearing; and improved seeds.

Sustainable Natural Resource Management Association (SUNARMA)

This association started to work in the wereda in October 2006. At present, it is working in 6 kebeles namely, Basodegora, Gudoberet, Abamote, Deble, Gosh Ager and Qeyit. Its programmes mainly focus on forest conservation, distribution of seedlings to farmers and establishing seedling centres. For instance, the association enabled the reservation of a forest in Dengora kebele which was previously communal land. Its budget is estimated to be 2,657,152.5 birr and it gets funds from the Methodist Relief and Development Fund (MRDF).

Yethiopia Yedur Ensesat ena Tefetiro Habit tarik Mehaber (Ethiopian Wild Animals and Natural Resource History Association)

The association started to work in the wereda in January 2009. Nowadays, it is working in two kebele namely, Angolala and Biribirisa. Their programme focuses on forest conservation, seedlings, and organising and training farmers to produce energy saving local stoves for the kebele. Its budget is estimated to be 1,606,345.2 birr, and it gets funds from the UK aid agency.

Education for Sustainable Development (ESD)

It started to work in the wereda in June 2011. It has a project in 14 kebele, namely: Wishawish, Wayu, Debele, Angolela, Muticheriqos, Moye, Mangult, Biribisa, Goshebado, Gifit, Bmaereager, Zendegur, Kasima and Dilila Sariya. Its programmes include providing schooling materials for pre-school and primary schools, capacity building for teachers and organising media programmes in schools. Its budget is estimated to be 4,076,915 birr, and it gets its funds from USAID.

Tesfa Birihan Yehitsanatna beteseb limat Mehaber (Association for child and family development)

The association has been active in the wereda since January 2011. It works in 5 kebele, namely: Bakelo, Qeyit, Abamotr, Gudoberet Zuriya, Gudoberet Tadagi ketema (Gudoberet Growing town) and Basodengora. Its projects focus on provision of safe water, maintenance of water points, distribution of vegetable seedlings, and provision of food for children with malnutrition, providing children for adoption outside the community, facilitating medical services for those children with health problems, provision of school materials for preschool and construction of toilets in schools. Its budget is estimated to be 26,418,176.30birr, and it gets funds from CCF(Christian Children's Fund).

Adihino Yetekenaje Geter Limat Meheber (Adihino Integrated Rural Development Association)

The association started to work in the wereda in 2012. Their project is targeted at reduction of poverty by strengthening conservation of natural resources. Under this programme, the association

established seedling centres and distributed seedlings, in particular Apples, to the farmers. In addition, it provides honey processors to an association named Tegulet Mehaber, and training on weaving and materials to a women's association. It is reported that around 231 people, who are members of the association, are benefitting from the honey processing technology. At first, it started to work in two kebele, namely Chinbire and Gifit. Since the end of 2013, it also started to work in another kebele named Moy Meda. In the past it was funded by the British Council. However, since last year, it has received funds from The Christian Fund (TCF). At present, its budget is estimated to be 1,538,020.00 birr.

Yeethiopia Goji Limadawi Dirigitoch Aswegaj Meheber (Ethiopian HTP prevention Association)

The association has been working in the wereda since November 2011. Its programmes cover 10 kebele in the wereda. The kebele are: Kasima, Zengedur, MehalAmba, Nas, Adisge, Debele, Wayu, Dibit, Wishawishign and Goshager. The association supports those female students who are forced to stop their education because of early marriage and facilitate medical services for people who face health problems as a result of harmful traditional practices. Moreover, it organises community dialogue on harmful traditional practices. Its budget is estimated to be around 4205910.76 birr, and it gets its funds from Plan International Ethiopia.

Soliyana Yenatochna Yehitsanat Ma'akel(Soliyana Mothers and Children Centre)

It provided its project proposal to the wereda in 2010, and it got permission for its activities in February that year. However, as the person assigned by the wereda to monitor NGO work explained, the centre has never started work in any kebele. When it was proposing to work in the kebele, the centre chose Gudoberet kebele. According to the proposal it provided, the project was planned to work on the construction of a grade 1 to 4 school in the kebele.

Noble cause Elder Care and Sport

It started to work in the wereda in April 2012. The project covers one kebele named Basodengora. Its projects provide support for elderly people without anyone to take care of them. Its budget is estimated to be around 799,940.00 birr.

Migib Lehitsanat Dirijit (Food for Children Organization)

It started to work in the wereda in April 2012. Its project covers two kebele, namely: Angolela and Kormargefia. The organisation's work focuses on children-focused integrated social development.

Investors in the wereda

The wereda has leased land to three investors, but has taken back the land from two of these. Both of these failed investments were supposed to be for sheep farming. 70 hectares were leased to Kibur Gena, the former chairman of the Ethiopian Chamber of Commerce and director of African Initiative. However, the investor fenced off the land without bringing any sheep. The other investor did not pay the required taxes to the wereda after fencing off the land and so his land was also reclaimed in consultation with the regional government. The third investor, who is from Addis Ababa, has leased land for a highland water bottling factory.

Regional and zonal plans for the wereda

The regional government is planning to upgrade the DBRC to serve the whole of North Shewa zone. They have allocated a budget for livestock and in particular sheep development projects in the wereda.

Wereda relations with neighbours

According to the wereda officials, they enjoy good relations with all neighbouring wereda.

The kebele

Wereda report on the kebele

Kormargefia is rated by the wereda as medium in terms of wealth, dairy farming and achievement in the health packages. It is rated close to last in terms of achievement of agricultural development work.

DAs provides weekly reports to the wereda agricultural office, while the HEWs provides weekly reports, either written or by phone, to the wereda health office. Each sector has a supervision team at the wereda level, and these teams send individuals to the kebele to assess the performance of the kebele. The kebele headteacher also provides weekly, monthly, quarterly and yearly reports to the wereda education office, while the wereda sends unannounced inspections to the kebele. At present these inspections take place twice a month.

The wereda provides training for the kebele cabinet and core party members at least three times a year. In February 2013 the chairman, vice-chairman and DA for farming spent two days on training, visiting other kebele where watershed sites were well managed. They were given a per diem of 150 birr.

Wereda plan for the kebele

The plan is to intensify market-oriented production through dairy farming, livestock fattening and irrigation crop production. The wereda intends to assign a veterinarian to the kebele to improve access to vaccinations, treatment and drugs for livestock. However, by the time of the second period of fieldwork, this had not yet happened.

Kebele and party structures and activities

The kebele administrative structure is described in the figure below. There is a kebele cabinet, which includes the chairman, vice-chairman and manager. There is also a 300 person kebele council.

The kebele is divided into three sub-kebele and then further into 28 gott. There is a core party structure at the kebele level, which is elected by all the party members. The core party structure has 16 members, including the kebele chairman, vice-chairman and manager. There is one woman in the core party structure, the head of women's affairs.

The members of the core party structure are responsible for a particular sub-kebele. So, there are six core party leaders who are also leaders of the Kormargefia and Milki sub-kebele and another four who are leaders of Aloberet sub-kebele. The leaders divide up responsibility for the gott within their sub-kebele among themselves.

Development teams and 1-5s were established between 2006 and 2010 (respondents' opinions varied). According to kebele administration respondents, in Kormargefia there are separate male and female development teams, and the female development teams were established later, in 2011/12. Female-headed households have dual membership in both the male and female development teams. Nevertheless, one of the research officers doubted whether this gendered division had actually been implemented in practice. It may be that respondents from the kebele administration gave information about the intended structure for development teams and 1-5s, perhaps even the structure towards which they are working, rather than how these structures are currently functioning in practice.

There are 28 development teams in the kebele, usually one in each gott, although large gott might have more than one. Male development teams have 20-35 members each and report directly to the DAs' office. Each development team has five leaders and each of these is also responsible for mobilising five neighbours as the leader of a 1-5. There is a chairman and secretary for each development team. In total there are 699 development team leaders. Of these, 551 are male and 148 female. There are 140 1-5s. These 1-5s are used for implementing agricultural and health

extension packages, mobilising people for public works, registering school drop outs, ensuring the repayment of debts to NGOs or credit institutions, and collecting land taxes. Development team leaders are supposed to provide monthly reports to the kebele office. These reports are supposed to help the kebele monitor activities as well as to inform them about social, economic and political changes in particular parts of the kebele, to enable the kebele administration to find solutions to problems.

In addition to the development structure, there is a party structure comprising party cells (*hiwas*) of 7-10 members. Each cell has a *sebsabi* (leader/organiser) and a secretary. There are 112 cell leaders of which only 4 are women. Although they are separate in principal, the party and developmental structures are linked. All development team leaders are leading farmers and, with few exceptions, development team leaders are also party cell (*hiwas*) leaders. As such, development team leaders lead both developmental and party activities within their teams. All cell members are leading farmers. Some leaders of female development teams are also cell leaders. However, not all development team members are cell members.

The party primary organisation consists of 16 leaders. Only influential young and richer hardworking exemplary farmers have been recruited for party membership and only a few youth related to the Youth Association are asked to be party members. There was a party meeting for women in July to discuss the organisation of women to enable them to engage in income-generating activities. Most ordinary community members don't know the difference between the party and kebele leadership. The difference completely disappears as you go down to Development Teams and 1-5s because the leaders are to be active party members selected from the *Hiwas* (party cells) and the kebele level party leadership. In a given area the same person is leader of party cell, 1-5 and Development Team. The party primary organisation mobilised leading farmers to become exemplary for the community and to be selected for the kebele and wereda council elections through *Hiwas* and 1-5s.

In theory, sub-kebele leaders are expected to meet the *sebsabi* and secretary of cells each weekend, while the core party structure is expected to meet sub-kebele leaders once a week. Furthermore, development team leaders are required to bring a weekly report to the kebele manager on development activities and to the kebele chairman, as head of the core party structure, on party activities. The wereda party office sends the party newspaper to the kebele party, which in turn distributes it to the cells twice a year. The kebele chairman reports that they have received positive feedback on the newspaper. In total there are 284 party members in the community. There are 25 female household heads who are party members.

There is an annual leading farmers conference and whenever there are urgent developmental or political activities, such as land tax collection, community members are called to general meetings using the development teams and 1-5s. However, the kebele administration says that there is no punishment for those that do not attend.

Performance and commitment of the development teams varies. Although all of these groups are supposed to meet regularly, in many cases respondents reported that meetings are ad hoc and not as frequent as is expected. Furthermore, some development team leaders have never provided a report to the kebele administration, even though they are supposed to provide monthly reports. For example, the poor female household head interviewed for the research is also a female model farmer and a development team leader. She was made a model farmer without being asked. She is a party member but has little interest in politics and thinks that government and party meetings are a waste of time. Although she is a development team leader, she has never organised a meeting herself. The only benefit she sees is that being a party member helped her to get fertiliser.

Sub-kebeles are Milki, Kormargefia (which contains Kabigizaw got and Faji hamlet) Aloberet. No formal sub-kebele structures except Development Teams. Sub-kebele leadership is controlled by those kebele officials resident in each sub-kebele. Cabinet members are assigned to follow-up one or two Development Teams each. Milki has 9 Development Teams and 45 1-5s, Aloberet 7

Development Teams and 35 1-5s and Kormargefia 10 Development Teams and 50 1-5s. For mobilising Public Works male Development Team leaders are more important than sub-kebele leaders. Development Team leaders also lead 1-5 groups and mostly use the structure to call meetings and organise Public Works.

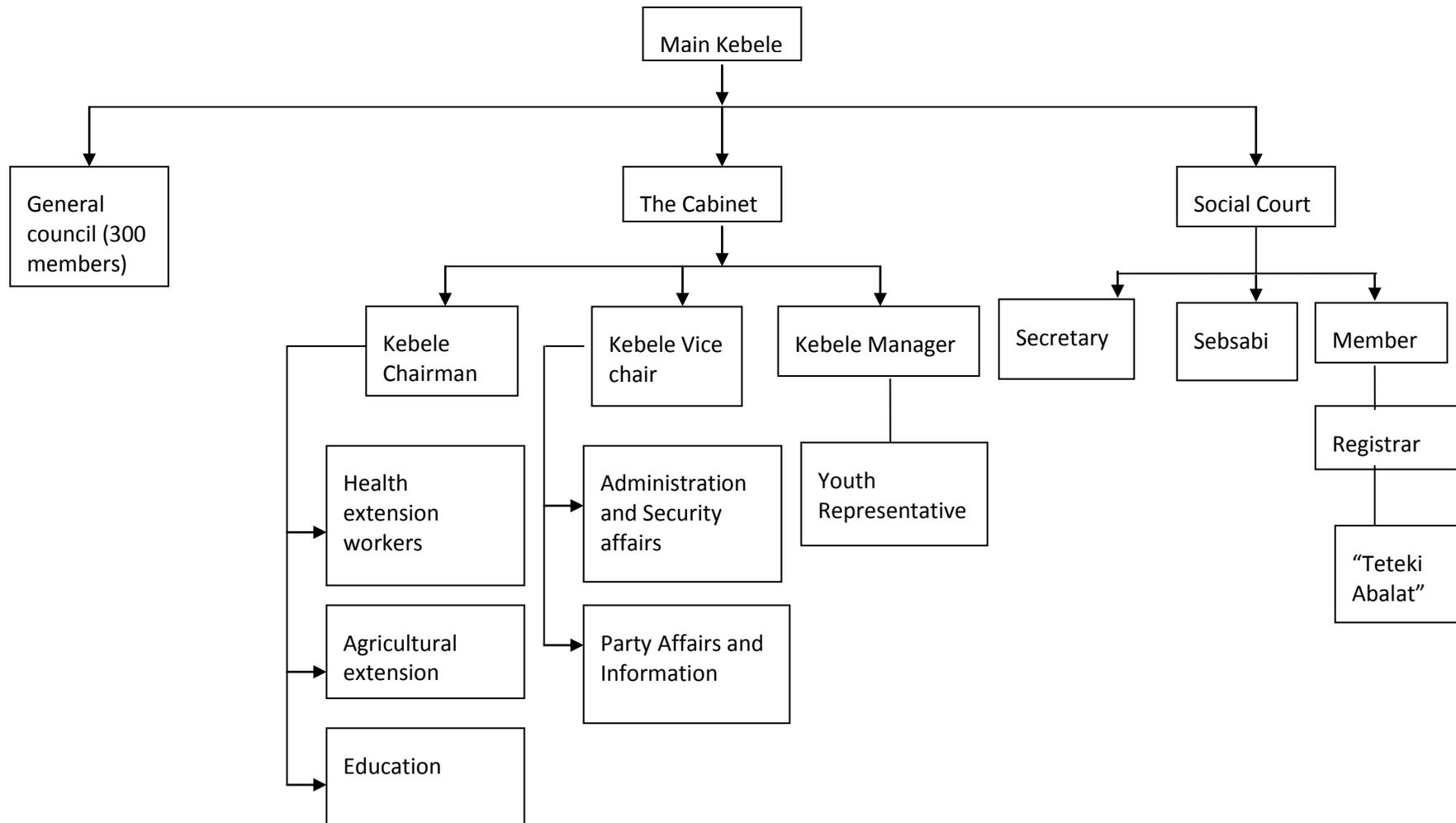
A leader from Milki has resolved 2 disputes over inter-farm flood diversion where farmers made canals to divert floods which they went on other farms. Most people in Aloberet sub-kebele are politically inactive as the kebele office is too far to attend party meetings.

All women including family members and households heads were being organised in separate Development Teams to be involved only in health activities with the HEWs and never in Public Works like watershed. One non-farming woman said in the 1-5 she belongs to one of the mothers was hesitating to send her 7 year-old daughter to school saying she wants her to herd livestock and also mentioning the cold weather condition. The 1-5 members worked hard to persuade her to let her daughter use her 'neat child mind' to learn new things. A Development Team female leader in Milki said she has never called the Development Team members for a meeting: saying: 'Why should we meet? What we do then?'

In September the HEW posted a map showing the members of female Development Teams in each development leader's home. The resident areas of the members are located. Though the kebele mobilised women to organise themselves in Development Teams they have not been used for any interventions yet. The successful female heading a household said there was a lack of commitment among women.

Several respondents reported that the young people who had secured jobs at the DBRC were all close to the kebele administration.

Figure 1: Kormargefia Kebele Structure



Kebele committees

There are four kebele committees: education, health, administration and security, and agriculture (see figure above). The most effective of these is reported to be the education committee since it has succeeded in mobilising the community to expand the school from grades 0 to 6, as well as commencing adult education last year. The committee has been working hard to minimise drop outs and absentees. The kebele chairman attributes this success to the commitment of the committee leader, the headteacher.

In contrast the kebele chairman says that the health committee has been much less effective because of the lack of interest of the HEWs. They are frequently absent and reluctant to attend kebele meetings.

There are also ad hoc committees at the sub-kebele level, such as justice committee and a case investigation committee. The membership of these different committees overlaps.

Kebele chair

The kebele chairman was first elected in 1991/92. At that time, the chairman was in charge of Kormargefia kebele, which corresponds to what is now Kormargefia sub-kebele. The previous chairman was in power for just a year after the EPRDF came to power and was removed for corruption related to land and weapons. The chairman complains that he has no rest time as a result of the burden of kebele work and his own farming activities.

Several respondents reported that the kebele administration was not working effectively and that they frequently had difficulty accessing the chairman and manager since they were frequently absent from the kebele offices. The successful female-headed household respondent reported that she had criticised the kebele chairman in the last kebele cabinet gimgema regarding his declining performance.

The chairman is popular in all parts of the kebele and in nearby kebeles as a good co-ordinator. He is an elected model farmer and has 2 irrigation pumps. He has been working for more than 10 years (one respondent said 17 years, another 20, and a third since EPRDF came to power) and is also leader of the kebele primary party organisation. He is also a leading model farmer and very diplomatic and intelligent. He is very popular but some youth complain about him. He has been very popular so the community repeatedly forced him to remain the kebele chairman. The chairman is the most popular at kebele level but the head of security and administration is well-known for his efficiency in co-ordinating implementation of tasks and even more popular in his gott than the chairman.

Kebele cabinet

The kebele cabinet comprises: the chairman, vice-chairman, head of administration and security affairs (represented by the head of the militia), a youth representative, a health extension worker, the headteacher, a development agent and the kebele manager (see table below). There is a 'Party Affairs and Information' desk in the kebele, but this is managed by the kebele chairman. As such, he has a dual role in the kebele cabinet. In theory, the kebele cabinet should meet once a fortnight, although there was no meeting held in the time that the research officers were in Kormargefia.

According to the kebele manager, there is a lack of knowledge and skills among the cabinet members. Although some of the cabinet members are dedicated and execute their responsibilities well, many are not active and all members of the cabinet meet together rarely because of absenteeism. He believes that the cabinet members should be paid in order to provide incentives for members to dedicate time to their responsibilities.

Table 9: The kebele cabinet

Cabinet position	Livelihood + other activities	What other elite positions do they hold?	Who is in their networks?
Chair	Model farmer He received an award from the ex-prime minister at the wereda level He produces vegetables on a large scale on irrigated land and sells to wholesalers.	Chairman of the kebele Leader of the 'core party'	People in the wereda
Vice-chair	Government employee	Kebele manager	The kebele chairman
Member	Farming	Head of administration and security	
Member	Farming	Youth representative	The kebele chairman
Member	Farming	Women's affairs	All the kebele cabinet members
Member	Government employee	Chair of the schools	The kebele chairman
Member	Government employee	Development agent	He is new to the position as well as the kebele He was assigned 6 months before and it is difficult to recognize who is in his network
HEW	Government employee	Health extension worker	She was assigned by the wereda in Oct 2012 and it seems that the kebele manager is in her network

Government employees

See information in Table 10.

The headteacher of the schools is in his fifties and originally from Debre Berhan. He has been in the kebele for the last five years. He is a very organised man and was praised by the other kebele administrators for his success in leading the education committee and expanding education in the kebele.

The DAs for crops and natural resources are men in their early thirties. The DA for livestock is a women in her twenties. All three DAs were transferred to Kormargefia eight months ago. The DAs complained about their salaries, arguing that the nature of their work requires them to work more than the normal eight hours a day and that they should be properly paid for this.

The HEWs are both women in their twenties. They have been in Kormargefia for eight months and are both from another part of Basona wereda. Both HEWs live in Debre Berhan town and commute to the kebele. As a result they are frequently absent or late because of transport problems. This is despite the fact that the kebele has already provided them with houses in the kebele. As a result people in most of the kebele think that they are lazy and neglect their responsibilities. Residents of Aloberet sub-kebele are more favourable, however, since this part of the kebele is closest to Debre Berhan and the HEWs visit the area much more frequently.

A woman heading a household said that livestock has been getting less attention from the DAs from the beginning. They have been much more concerned with farming and environmental preservation work. A young woman of 25 said that DAs have nothing to add for community productivity; they are too theoretical. They intensively worked on awareness creation about row planting but farmers did not accept it.

Table 10: Government employees

	Age	Sex	Place of origin	Time in community	Appreciation by the community
Kebele manager	28	M	Basona Werena wereda, Baso Shengora kebele	Three years	He is well accepted. He is a polite and communicative man. However, people had been complaining that he is usually absent from the office. So for one single case, individuals must come to the kebele many times.
Head teacher	52	M	Debre Berhan	Five years	-the kebele officials consider the head teacher a prospect for the future improvement in the education sector -he is a very organized man; the way he preserves data regarding the school activities is very admirable -education committee is one of the main committees under the kebele structure which has been relatively successful and planning and achieving goals; the kebele officials give the credit for the past achievement to the leadership skill of the head teacher, who is the leader of the committee.
HEW 1	25	F	Basona Werena wereda	8 months	-generally, except for residents in one of the sub-kebele, Aoberet, people tend to reject the HEW. The reason they gave is that the HEWs are very lazy in discharging their responsibility. And, they even do not live in the community. They work in the day and go back to Debre Berhan, where their resident is located, in the night. However, the kebele administration has already provided them with houses. The residents of Aoberet sub-kebele are positive towards the HEWs because the workers go there frequently as it is nearer to the town, Debre Berhan. 1 HEW went for training since July; 1 remaining is rarely at the HP –lives in Debre Berhan
HEW2	24	F	Basona Werena wereda	8 months	-generally, except for residents in one of the sub-kebele, Aoberet, people tend to reject the HEW.
DA Crops	33	M	Merhabete	8 months, transferred in August	Was transferred to another kebele and was promoted as head of agricultural office since September
DA Livestock	27	F	Merhabete	8 months, transferred In august	Ok
DA NRM	34	M	Gosh-ber	8 months	Has been attending upgrading courses in Kombolcha since July.

Government volunteers

The head of women's affairs was elected in 2010. She completed grade 12 in 1998, but failed to get a good enough grade to join university. She was elected a model farmer before becoming head of women's affairs. For the moment she has not started trying to organise women to work together but has so far focused on passing messages to women when she meets them in iddir, while in mourning or at the market. The government provides her with training on government strategies twice a year. Once this training is complete, the women's affairs office holds a meeting for women in the community. However, she says that women are not very interested or active. She says that the wereda has also been trying to organise women to generate their own income, but to date women have not shown much interest and so there has been little progress.

The militia head reported that his responsibilities are not time limited and so he can be called at any time of the day or night. Whenever the social court, wereda court or kebele administration order him to bring someone, he must work. When prisoners are to be transferred to the wereda the next

day, he has to guard them during the night. His responsibilities increase during elections and when wereda officials visit the community. While he believes that the militia has been successful in reducing crime, he complained that his work for the militia has affected his other household responsibilities.

The vice-chairman was dismissed following criticism at a recent kebele cabinet gimgema for his poor performance in executing his responsibilities. The kebele chairman was also criticised in the same meeting regarding his performance.

The chairman reported that government volunteers lack commitment because of their lack of salary. He said that they have responsibilities without receiving anything in return. In turn the kebele work conflicts with their agricultural work.

Kebele council

There are 300 members of the kebele council, 80 from Aloberet sub-kebele, 120 from Kormargefia and 100 from Milki. The education level of the council members varies from those that are unable to read and write to those that have passed grade 12.

The kebele council is also supposed to meet once a fortnight. However, as with the kebele cabinet, there was no meeting held during the research officers' fieldwork. In total there have been only three meetings in the last eight months.

The main role of the council is to prepare the plans and budget for the kebele.

Kebele manager

The kebele manager is in his late twenties and originally from Mendida, another kebele within Basona wereda. He got a diploma in Maths from Addis Ababa University, attending classes during a summer school. He was hired in October 2010 and was previously working in Baso Shengora, another kebele in Basona wereda. He was transferred to Kormargefia by the wereda. The wereda commonly transfers managers from one wereda to another periodically.

He does not like the job, however, and does not want to continue,

'The only thing I enjoy about my job is the good opportunities that it gives me to solve people's problems, especially the poor, in relation to government administration. It gives me satisfaction to see the poor get answers to their problems related to their basic rights on which their livelihood depends. For instance, dealing with questions of divorce as well as widow's right to land give me more commitment to my job. My job has risks attached to it. For instance, recently two people from Debre Berhan came to our kebele and asked for kebele identity cards. The two young males had migrated to Debre Berhan while the rest of their family is living in the community. When the kebele chairman and I tried to investigate why they needed the kebele ID, we found that they had been involved in crime; they beat up two men who used to live in Debre Berhan town. They were looking for the ID just as a means of persuading other people that they are not residents of the town so as to avoid the charges.'

The kebele manager lives in Debre Berhan because Kormargefia is a rural area, without the facilities that he feels he needs to live a decent life. However, his low government salary is insufficient to live in town and the cost of transportation is also expensive. The kebele manager reports that he has good relations with the chairman and that they meet at least twice a week. He thinks that they work well together on developmental and political activities. However, during the research officers' fieldwork, the kebele chairman and manager only met once briefly in a month.

The kebele manager said that all cabinet members are also members of the kebele party organisation performing both government and party tasks and many are involved in monitoring tasks assigned to particular Development Teams informally clustered in ketenes. There are very few who are not interested to participate in politics and other kebele/party leadership activities. They

are also required to be exemplary in applying new inputs and technologies introduced by the government to promote development (e.g. 4 of them planted in lines).

Women's Organisations

There is no functioning women's organisation. At one point the wereda called women to a meeting saying that they wanted to organise them in income generating activities, but the wereda never followed up this original meeting. One respondent was elected leader of the Women's League three years ago, but the organisation has never been functional. Some respondents report that the wereda wants to establish a Women's Association, but the kebele and the women themselves are reluctant.

There was a re-organising activities to strengthen the Women's Association – 3 days kebele women's meeting during the second round of fieldwork in December 2013. The kebele manager expressed his doubts that many come even for one day let alone three consecutive days.

Youth Organisations

The vast majority of respondents were not aware of the existence of any youth organisations. However, the research officers interviewed one young man who is leader of all youth organisations: the youth association, league and federation. The youth association has only 60 members, the league has 45 members and the federation has no separate leadership but has 15 leaders: five from the league, five from the association and five from HIV/AIDS clubs. These are informal clubs in schools to teach young people about HIV/AIDS.

The League is responsible for recruiting party members, and mobilising the youth for development work and elections. The Federation facilitates work and land access opportunities, defends young women's right to equal payment, and represents the interests of young people in the kebele cabinet and council meetings. The leader reported that young people who are involved in political activities, especially League and Federation members, receive incentives such as attendance at trainings with per diems, access to irrigable land in groups and could be elected as kebele leaders.

The middle-wealth 19-year-old respondent reported that the kebele had called meetings to register young women as party members. The first meeting was for those who are more than 16 and the second for over-19s. She believed that few people attended the meetings.

There are re-organising activities to strengthen the YA planned for after the women's meeting in December 2013.

Security and policing

The community policeman was reportedly working well until he was arrested on allegations of theft. There is no community policeman at present.

In the past there were frequent fights between men who had been drinking in areqe bars, and occasional burglaries of crops and livestock. Three or four years ago the community assigned nightwatchmen, paid through contributions from community members. These two nightwatchmen are elected from the community and are paid 350 birr per month from the community contributions paid along with taxes. Respondents vary in their opinions of the effectiveness of these patrols. Some people claim that as a result, there have been no robberies in the last three years and fights are less common, others argue that fights are still increasing and that theft of crops and livestock still occur.

Many people also believe that the militia and the nightwatchmen have reduced the occurrence of rapes and violent attacks on women. Several female respondents, however, report that they still fear such attacks and have heard of cases still occurring.

A female Development Team leader in Milki said the kebele does not have militia and they are facing the problem of trying to settle disputes among neighbours or family members. The kebele has

no structure to assess security issues and threats in the kebele.

Justice

The social court has a secretary, chair, member and registrar. It also has a structure of standby replacements (*teteki abalat*). The successful female-headed household respondent is a volunteer in the social court and she says that she works to ensure that women's rights are protected in all cases. She believes that witnesses frequently lie or hide information in order to support their friends or relatives. In the past the social court was criticised for delaying cases for months or even years, but they were criticised in the leading farmers' conference and have improved since then.

Most respondents have not had any personal dealings with the elders, social court or the wereda court but report that they have heard positive things about the way that they work in general. However, a few female respondents argued that the elders are still biased towards men and that to protect their rights, women should refuse mediation by elders and instead take their cases to the wereda court which is more fair.

Community leaders

Ethnic group leaders

None

Clan leaders

None, although there were no interviews with the Oromo minority.

Elders

All the elders are Amhara, although the elders insist that they are also accepted by the Oromo minority. Some exceptionally gifted young people could be accepted as elders for their wisdom but people usually start acting as elders in their 40s or 50s.

The respondent acted as an iddir elder, resolving disputes between iddir members either as a *ye-wenz shimagle* (literally, a river elder) or *ye-dem irq* (blood reconciliation), where kin groups are in conflict over a murder. Common disputes that they dealt with include border disputes and encroachment of livestock onto another person's fields.

Both the social and wereda courts write letters to refer cases to the elders for mediation. In some serious cases they request the help of religious leaders to reconcile disputants.

Religious leaders

The respondent reported that all residents within the Egziabher church territory are Orthodox. There are 100 household heads who are Orthodox Christian faith followers, 17 of these are young households, and all family members of the households are Orthodox. He insisted that the people have been strengthening their faith so that many have started observing more fasting periods than those which were previously considered mandatory for the common people, but just for priests, monks, nuns and the older devotees. Churchgoers have increased and their contributions to the church are growing. He insisted that the introduction of other religions into the community is unthinkable as the church will never allow anyone to bring 'Pente' (Protestantism) or Islam to the community. He said educated preachers from the wereda church administration come and preach twice a year, on Tir 13 and Ginbot 12 when special annual festival celebrations are held. He argued that the methods of preaching have been improved such that the Amharic versions of the bible and other prayers and song texts are used side by side with the original Ge'ez texts so as to enable the people to easily understand. He indicated that in the past they used to sing and read out texts in Ge'ez, but *sibkete-wengel* (gospel preaching) and *Kidasie* (the service) have been conducted in Amharic for the last 5 years. Both Amharic and Ge'ez versions of the bible are available at the church.

He said the church advises followers coming to the church to participate in government development activities such as in watershed work, and teaches them to stop harmful traditional practices. He argued that female circumcision has been maintained by custom and their religion never mentioned anything concerning female circumcision. He says that male babies should be circumcised on the 8th day after birth and it is clearly indicated that the days of christening should be the 40th and 80th days for male and female children, respectively.

He said that the church taught people to strictly observe the practice of abstaining from work on holy days. He said the church was not involved in helping the poor in any way, but it teaches followers to behave and to avoid bad habits, to respect their marriages, and religiously shape children. He said religious leaders are actively involved in peace and reconciliation as most of the serious conflicts used to be mediated in the churchyard.

Iddir leaders

No information provided

Other community leaders

None

Annex 1: Seasonality of activities 2005 EC (2012-13 GC) Kormargefia

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons	Semi rainy	dry	dry	dry	dry	dry	dry	dry	dry	Semi rainy	Rainy	rainly
	Heat, frost, wind etc	wind	wind	wind	heat	heat	heat	heat	heat	heat	frost	frost	frost
Income streams: hungry season											X	X	X
School/college terms		X	X	X	X	There is semester break for about 20 days	X	X	X	X			
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13		X			X				X				
Work on main cash crop	Land preparation	There is no difference in seasonal calendar for the community's cash crop such as faba bean and lentils											
	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
	Selling												
Work on other rainfed crops	Land preparation				X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Planting									X	X		
	Weeding										X	X	
	Harvesting			X	X				X	X			
	Selling				X	X	X	X	X	X			
Work on irrigated crops	Land preparation				X	X	X						
	Planting						X	X					
	Weeding							X	X				
	Harvesting									X	X		
	Selling									X	X		
Livestock-related work	Fattening cattle/shoats					X	X	X	X				
	Milk production	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Other livestock products	None											

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		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing						X	X	X	X				
Community work mobilised by government						X	X						
Government meetings – officials, model farmers, community...		X	X			X	X				X		
Non-farm work	Trade and related business					X	X	X					
	Manufacturing	NA											
	Services	NA											
Commuting for work													
Male migration	Seasonal										X	X	X
	Not seasonal	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Female migration	Seasonal										X	X	X
	Not seasonal	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

NB. The numbers of months taken for land preparation depends on the commitment of the farmers on his work; it is not uniform

A few model farmers keep shoats/cattle for fattening all through the year. However, the majority keep cattle for about 3-4 months and provide them to market in April, which is a period of high demand in both towns and rural areas as it is time of holiday.