# Interviews with a range of people on the Community and its History since late 2002 in Do’oma kebele, Dera-Malo wereda, Gamo Gofa, SNNP

[The community and its leaders 1](#_Toc439521661)

[Community features 1](#_Toc439521662)

[Households in the community 7](#_Toc439521663)

[Mapping the community’s links with other communities 7](#_Toc439521664)

[Notable people living in the community 8](#_Toc439521665)

[Important events since 2005 10](#_Toc439521666)

[Crisis events 10](#_Toc439521667)

[Economic events 11](#_Toc439521668)

[Social events 11](#_Toc439521669)

[Cultural events 12](#_Toc439521670)

[Political events 13](#_Toc439521671)

[Livelihoods – changes in the last five years 13](#_Toc439521672)

[Marketing outputs 13](#_Toc439521673)

[Buying inputs and consumption goods 14](#_Toc439521674)

[Theft and burglary 14](#_Toc439521675)

[Human re/pro/duction – changes in the last ten years 14](#_Toc439521676)

[Child-rearing changes 14](#_Toc439521677)

[Traditional medicine 15](#_Toc439521678)

[Attitudes to education 15](#_Toc439521679)

[Social re/pro/duction – changes in the last ten years 15](#_Toc439521680)

[Marriage 15](#_Toc439521681)

[Widowhood and divorce 16](#_Toc439521682)

[Death ceremonies and inheritance 17](#_Toc439521683)

[Holidays 17](#_Toc439521684)

[Work and other exchanges 18](#_Toc439521685)

[Dispute resolution 18](#_Toc439521686)

[Social support to vulnerable people 18](#_Toc439521687)

[The informal social protection system 19](#_Toc439521688)

[Advantages of inclusion in community leaders’ networks 19](#_Toc439521689)

[Clan rules and roles of clan leaders 19](#_Toc439521690)

[Lineage rules and roles of lineage leaders 19](#_Toc439521691)

[Religion 19](#_Toc439521692)

[Community-initiated organisations 20](#_Toc439521693)

[NGOs and CBOs 20](#_Toc439521694)

[Social cohesion 20](#_Toc439521695)

[Community management in 2011 – popularity of government interventions 20](#_Toc439521696)

[Ideas in 2011 21](#_Toc439521697)

[Local modern repertoires 21](#_Toc439521698)

[Local customary repertoires 21](#_Toc439521699)

[Incoming ideas 21](#_Toc439521700)

## The community and its leaders

### Community features

#### Terrain

Do'oma is a kebele now administered as main and sub-kebele where most of the landscape is flat except the edge of the Zage river which goes round the kebele. However, the land from the kebele office up to the way to Wacha is sloping down to the town. Except for the western side of the kebele all the remaining sides are circled by the Zage river that makes the boundary.

Escarpments are found at two different corners on the north which are boundaries in addition to the Zage river. The River Maze is found inside Maze National Park which is now expanding onto grazing land of the Do’oma people. There is no lake or forest in the kebele except the savannah type vegetation with some scattered indigenous trees and eucalyptus trees planted by farmers and the kebele administration. On the sides of the river farm lands are eroded and people are trying to make terracing and ploughing horizontally to prevent it.

The lands protected are the park, the land meant for kebele forest, and for harvesting grasses for covering hut roofs.

#### Climate and weather

Do'oma is low land where the temperature is high all the year though it is at its extreme in December and January. The rainy season is from 15th March April 15 (spring season), and the longer summer rain comes from May 16-to July 30. Though the kebele Manager think that the heat has decreased and rainfall amount increased, the participants here say that the temperature is increasing so much recently since 2009 and the rainfall fluctuation and its amount are becoming more unstable and irregular as well. As the area is very hot it is mentioned that there was no frost at all. There is wind in January and February that usually demolishes rural huts and even took away corrugated iron sheet roofs in 2009, and in 2011 as usual four huts had their roofs taken off, and the health post was damaged in this year. Though there is extreme heat in the mid year, there is no crop that can be affected by it, hence heat is not a problem that causes damage.

#### Spatial patterns

The informants mentioned that the settlement pattern of the community is shaped by the expansion of the two small villages that existed at the beginning in 1985 The expansion increased the small villages to big settlements with many households; as a result, the kebele was divided into main and sub-kebele with one of the settlements on the north made a sub-kebele and the other as main. Both the sub and the main kebeles have expanded and the main kebele even stretched to Wacha town, now part of it decided to be part of the Wereda town in 2008. Average size of small holding is 50x50 metres, and the communal grazing land has diminished through time due to expansion of the park and investment sites and is now estimated to have only about 1800x1800 metres left. There are no new roads inside the kebele except the new road going to the investment site constructed in 1999 by the investor.

#### Farming technology

The farm technology has remained the same, by the hoe, and ploughs for which is estimated that more than 90% of the people have at least a single ox. From 2009 the wereda agriculture provided curved iron that is hoped to improve the ploughing by replacing the old plough made locally, mainly to model farmers, though it is found to be hard for the oxen to pull it on farm lands that are not smooth. There is nothing new in regard to farm tools. Improved seeds began to be given to better off farmers before 2005 with the rationale that they are the only ones who can repay debts properly. However after the election everyone got access to them with fertiliser that is a must to borrow, and if somebody is not interested, his farm land will be taken away. Pesticides have been introduced recently with the introduction of onions by Amhara farmers since 2007. Though the DAs have educated about compost people are not making compost, but animal dung is applied to plants as it is, apart from using it rarely for plastering walls.

Only new types of chicken were provided for sale with discount in 2007and 2009 by the wereda agricultural office, 30 birr each allowed only a hen and a cock for everyone. Except for the chicken programme no livestock types were introduced.

#### Irrigation

Irrigation in the kebele is a canal system that existed with the help of UNICEF since the establishment of the settlement, which is now extended to many farmers through the PSNP public works. The volume of the water is said to be insufficient as the rivers dry up when the temperature is so hot in winter after January, and the canal is a small one for drawing a huge volume of water. Though not functional at the moment the new change is investor irrigation in 1997 which is much bigger than the community canal. Both the community and investor farm irrigation canals are built on the Zage River. The water harvesting introduced with the emergence of the agricultural extension programme after 2006 is not working there due to shortage of rain and evaporation. In addition to the natural factors people in the area have no culture of producing vegetables that can be grown in short period with such irrigation like the water harvesting though Aleko and local cabbage are common in their multiple cropping system. Recently migrants from Amhara region have been introducing the people to vegetables like onions, and red pepper. The plastic bag meant for water harvesting is misused in many ways.

#### Domestic technologies

The grain mill that was provided by UNICEF functioned from 1988-1995 and failed, after that the people had to travel to Wacha town to access a mill. But in 2005 private service provider cooperatives or joint venture by 7 people who came from Gidole/Konso began to provide a mill service at Do’oma till the service was discontinued and the people left the area when they disagreed on financial management/ corruption between the members. Cooking fuel is firewood and maize part which is called KOROKOND in Amharic and BURCHEA in Gamo the part left after the crop is removed. There is no change in fuel consumption. Sources of drinking water changed from river and stream to hand pump water provided by UNICEF in 2004. People still use the riverside stones as a place to wash clothes using water from the Zage river. Types of stoves are traditional types either with three stones to support dishes on the fire, or clay made into three equal sised items called MESKELETIA in Gamo which has nothing to do with fuel consumption.

#### Drinking water

The water points (hand pump water) were constructed in 2004 and replaced the river and spring water used for drinking. There was no boiling of water when it was from the river or stream. In the water points the wereda adds chlorine though not regularly (two or three times a year).

#### Balance of livelihood activities

Enset is produced by few farmers, and its importance in the kebele is minimal. The informants mentioned that the hot climate and the soil type in the kebele are not suitable as suitableareas in the wereda are where the climate is semi highlands/weynadega. Maize is the main crop in Do’oma followed by teff, and sweet potato. Recently since 2005 peanuts, peppers, sesame, onions, tomato etc. have been introduced by a few Amhara migrants and now they are being taken as cash crops in addition to sugar cane, banana, mango and potato which were the earlier cash crops. Many people are trying these high value products and there are a few who have even improved their livelihood, among them 4 even built corrugated iron sheet roof houses, and one young man bought a motorbike that is now used for transport business from villages to the town/ Wacha.

Sugar cane and mango, eucalyptus trees, avocado, ALEKO/the cabbage, have been important cash crops for a long time. However, recently onions and peppers are becoming important.

Chicken are now being taken as immediate insurance for urgent needs like covering children's medication, to cover immediate food needs (cash earning ), to pay land tax, etc. that protects small ruminants and cattle from sale. If the need is beyond the chicken price, then it forces people to give away livestock. The trend to buy tape recorders and other electronic goods as cash storage has changed since 2006-8 but the massive livestock death in 2008 made people hesitate to buy livestock as a saving system. There is no banking system in the area including the wereda town, and people in the neighbouring kebeles now have begun to buy motorbikes for transport business by selling their cattle though this is not the case in Do’oma.

Better off farmers hire poor farmers to work on their farm by paying 20 birr per day. Though discontinued in 2005 the huge investment in Do’oma provided alternative earnings for many farmers in the kebele. The investor used to pay 3-5 birr per day when the value for labour was only 3 birr in any other places in the area. People make seasonal migration to various places, mainly to Abaya Agriculture Development around Awasa, to Harar, Wolayita and Arbaminch for daily labour, and to Jimma where there is Wesh-Wesh Tea production. Migrants are young men who are not married; their earnings are important to them for consumption like for clothes and other expenses. Long-term migration is to the same places mentioned above mainly by youth who sometimes come to visit their families. There is no international migration or non-farm business in the area.

Food-for-Work is mentioned as it is important during drought seasons as the alternative for survival. Recently in 2008 2010, and 2011 there was frequent drought and FFW programme in Do’oma kebele. The programme was there permanently 1992-2005 every summer, but it has been used only during drought time since then

#### Sources of cash from agriculture

Maize is the main product for food and earning, teff and sweet potato are produced as well. Mango, sugar cane, eucalyptus trees, avocado, red pepper, onions and sesame are cash crops. The main cash crops before 2005 were eucalyptus trees, avocado, sugar cane, mango, sweet potato and maize, after 2005 due to the extension programme being launched and mainly due to the Amhara migrants’ introduction of new agricultural products like red pepper, onions and sesame the cash crop items increased their numbers. The newly introduced cash crops are said to allow higher earnings because within a small area of land and and with lower water consumption, a high value product is harvested.

#### Off-farm and non-farm work opportunities

Off-farm labour opportunities for women are cutting grasses and firewood collection for sale, and weeding; only 1/3 of women in the kebele work in these mentioned activities as an alternative earning.

Pottery is an alternative earning for about 10 women in Do’oma kebele. Female household heads are among those who are eligible to be part of the FFW programme and it is estimated that there are 30 women in the kebele whose husband has died of malaria and meningitis among other things.

Men have farm labour like ploughing, weeding, cutting grass for sale, making charcoal, cutting construction wood from the forest for sale unlike the vice chairman's word mentioned that there should be permission, that doesn't exist at all. A few, about 10, people are engaged in the charcoal business, and 1/3 of men in the kebele work in farm labour. After the expansion of the park after the year 2008 there was diminished access to natural resources like forest and grass which slightly reduced the number of people who were engaged in selling wood and grasses. After 2005 people did not have access to employment on investment farms and processing in any of the sectors. In regard to craftworks it is mentioned that there is no major change since 2005.

#### Migration opportunities and remittances

Young women walk to Arbaminch which takes one and half days mainly for housemaid work and prostitution since 2005. They live there and come back only for Meskel holiday.

Men migrate to Awasa, Jimma, Weyto/south Omo as seasonal migration for seasonal farm work for three or four months. They also migrate to Welayta, Arbaminch and Harar for labour work in towns but they return in five or six months and never go there again, and there are a few migrants that have been staying in towns to where they migrated. No remittance comes from migrants elsewhere to families in Do’oma kebele and they bring very small amounts of money mainly to use for their own consumption like for clothes or rarely for family clothes. As mentioned above the migration of young women mainly to Arbaminch for commercial sex work is a recent phenomenon since 2005.

#### Independence of the farming economy

For example in 2006 there was a good harvest, and in 2007, which covered the food consumption of many households up to March that required FFW as a gap filler. In 2009 there was a rainfall shortage and crop failure that made 2010 a serious drought year which caused sale of livestock and any property available, to supplement the support from FFW and PSNP. The farming economy therefore, is dependent up on emergency aid (given to almost about 75% of the population) and productive safety net programme, besides other minor earning alternatives available mentioned above.

#### Effects of inflation

fertiliser was 466 birr in 2006 when it first came, in 2008 it became 499 birr, in 2009 it rose to 515 birr, and currently it is about 561 birr. Improved seeds increased from 240 birr per 50 kg up to 400 birr. Pesticide is given free by agricultural extension workers since 2006 and it is free till now though not widely available. Oxen used to be 1000-1200 birr now are up to 2500-4000 birr. Labour cost increased from 5 birr in 2005 to 20 birr now.

1 quintal of maize had a value of 340 birr in 2005 but now it has risen to 540 birr. Sweet potato added from 1 birr per kg, now it is 2.5 birr. Butter now is 100 birr per kg, which was 40 birr in 2005. Ten birr for a eucalyptus tree earlier is now 30 birr, 4 pieces of Mangos used to cost 1 birr which is now four birr. A piece of sugarcane raised its value from 1 to 5 birr. The change in price of Avocado is the same as what happened to Mango.

Consumption goods are also changing and oil moved from 9 birr to 45 birr with a dramatic change in 2010. Salt increased its value from 1 birr to 2 birr. Soap was 3 birr and it is 10 birr now though it depends on the size of the product. Sugar was 8 birr and it is 25 birr in 2003. The Wacha municipality provided oil and Sugar with discount, 15 birr per kg of sugar and 25 birr per litre of oil in 2003, still functioning though no one can buy more than a kilo or a litre. Kitchen accessories like dishes rise from 60 birr to 100-120.

The transport from Wacha to Morka was 3 birr now it is 10, and from Wacha to Welayta it is 50 birr which was only ten before 2005.

#### Household wealth inequalities

There are about 14 better off/ very rich households out of 450 in the kebele. They have up to 4 pairs of oxen, 400x400 metres land, 3-4 cows, and can survive easily during drought season. They also have corrugated iron sheet roof houses, beds, sponge mattresses, sofa type wooden chairs, tape recorders, mobile phones, etc.

Middle class farmers usually have a single ox, half or one hectare of land, bed with sponge or grass made mattress, radio in some of the households though none of the items mentioned above is uniform to every household.

Worse off are those who always need to supplement their livelihood by doing labour work on others' farms, who sell grass and firewood, who have no ox, have small land holding, are part of PSNP direct or public work, are old and sick unable to be productive etc. A quarter of the community is mentioned to be worse off, having one or no livestock, except chickens or goats, and no bed or facilities at home except some clay and plastic goods that don't cost much.

There are no destitute people in the kebele except a few old people and one handicapped person who can't walk without the help of his hands; all of them are PNSNP direct beneficiaries. The handicapped person mentioned above makes some of the traditional clothes/ Gabi/Buluko etc., and never asks for help from other people or organisation.

Source of wealth is wider farm land, and ability to store their products that can be sold when the price is good, because these people don't have to sell at low prices as other section of the community do.

The reason why people get poorer is that if they lose their ox due to disease or by selling at time of drought, they may not have the power to plough their small land, selling of products at low price etc.

#### Status differences

Gamo, Gofa, Welayta, Male/Werazea from Jinka and Amhara are the ethnic groups found in the kebele and the last two are small in proportion, and the size is consecutive from Gamo to Amhara. Gamo and Gofa are thought to be 3/4, and Welayta 15 percent, and the Werazea being 7% and Amhara 3% though the proportion is a rough estimate. Gamo people are mentioned to be better off than others because they have larger farm land, since they are the first settlers holding large land size and also have many oxen. The relation between different ethnic groups is mentioned to be positive and good.

The two major religions in the kebele are only Protestant and Orthodox Christians 90% of which are estimated to be Protestant. In regard to religion and economic status there is no difference between them. The relation between them is a good one also. No conflict so far.

In relation to clans, for instance Gamo have various clans like: Demuta, Kalicha, Huduga, Barya and Amara. The first two are better status clans and respected, but usually Huduga are rich people, the last ones are believed to have their half ancestors from Amhara from the north. The clan called Barya (Slave) was the one which is believed to be the generation from earlier slaves in the community working on clumsy works for rich households and as craft workers, but this naming is not functioning now after intervention made by the wereda administration since 2007.

There are craft workers like wood workers, weavers, potters, blacksmiths, skin scratchers/relaxers, etc. all these jobs are less respected and the order shows respect from top to down. The relation to the community is not good because they are not given equal status with others. If the host is not Protestant others in the culture don't give these people good seats except a stone at the door, they can't drink/be given milk in any house and their funeral ground is different from the wider community’s. There are no slaves except the description given above. There are about 25 craft workers in the community/Do’oma.

Amhara migrants are new since 2005 and others who moved in from neighbouring kebeles like Kucha and Boreda are 16 immigrants who in general have good relations with the community. The Amhara immigrants are now being taken as agents of change introducing new items of crops to the area and are considered as naturally clever and hard working as the vice chairman of the kebele mentioned.

#### Vulnerable people

There are two people who are mentally ill, one handicapped, about 10 orphans, and 2 old women who need support, 30 female household heads, and 25 craft workers. But there is no intervention to support them except the government effort to abolish discriminatory attitudes towards craft workers.

Though not few, migrants who couldn't get access to land are vulnerable followed by youth who are also only getting smaller land holdings. There is no welfare service in the kebele and the wereda as well except ORBIS for eye treatment, which leaves the needy and helpless alone to remain vulnerable. Women who are being expelled from the community due to their 'powerful eye' or BUDA are victims that are forced to divorce, and separate from their children and their community. This is an incident that happened even in 2011 that affected about three women from the kebele. The emergence of PSNP direct support is one new change in the last ten years that helps needy and vulnerable people. There are no sex workers in the kebele and the trend for domestic servants is very low.

### Households in the community

There are about 450 households in the kebele, the average HOUSEHOLD size is 5. The ideal household structure is same as in any other rural Ethiopian community, patriarchal administration in a household containing parents and children, where married children live together in their own hut from shared land from parents or elsewhere in the kebele if the kebele administration provides them with land. There are about 30 female household heads in both the main and sub-kebele. It is mentioned that everyone in the community should pay land tax and even those who don't own farm land pay it for the land on which they built a hut. The number of immigrants is 16 both from Amhara region/ North Shewa and from neighbouring kebeles, but people couldn't give proportion of out-migrants since it is haphazard and seasonal. The number of people in the kebele is estimated to be 2250. There are about 70 dependent youth who still live with their parents.

### Mapping the community’s links with other communities

#### Rural linkages

People from Do’oma kebele intermarry with people from other neighbouring kebeles like Hoya Degeza, Shela, Dimo, Zala and Masta. Protestants have religious contact with neighbouring kebele churches in regard to exchange of evangelists and attending big conferences. Orthodox Christians go to Eli kebele for the St. Gebrel annual holiday.

Markets that Do’oma community use are those at Wacha twice a week (Thursday and Saturday), once a week at Maze market in Kemba wereda and Dimo market in the same wereda. For education the people come to Wacha to attend grades 5-10, and other places elsewhere for college or university as they are assigned by the federal ministry of education.

The health centre at Wacha and the hospital at Wolayita Sodo are places where the kebele people should go.

There was a conflict between Do’oma kebele and Menena youth due to marital issues when a young DA took/ married a girl from Do’oma who was meant to be for another young man in Do’oma. The guy in Do’oma sent elders to get permission to marry her by the tradition from the girl's parents and gave some gifts to her family and officially she was recognised as his fiancé, but the girl finally preferred to marry the DA from another kebele, and she did it. The victim organised Do’oma kebele youth and went to Menena for fight, police intervened and the conflict became under control. The youth from Do’oma and the groom and the bride were all imprisoned for two days. This happened in 2010, but the marriage continued with the DA.

There was a border conflict between Do’oma and Zala kebele people in July 2007 in which a few people were hurt. The conflict was resolved by the wereda administration and the land over which they were in dispute was taken by Maze Park.

Peace and reconciliation is done by community elders and if this doesn't work the case is referred to court at the wereda.

#### Urban linkages

Do’oma community mainly interact with the nearby Wereda town/Wacha where health, veterinarian, court, mill, shops, other wereda offices and market are available. Thursday and Saturday are the main market days at Wacha apart from the regular market every day which is very small. To walk from Wacha takes 45 minutes, and 10 birr by motorbike.

To sell livestock and buy clothes people sometimes go to Moka which is now about 12.5 km and 10 birr transport by car and about 40 by motorbike.

Whenever hospital or higher education should be accessed, people have to travel to Wolayita Sodo town which is about 95 kms, or Arbaminch which is far away up to 223 kms. To travel to Wolayita the cost is 50 birr, 100 birr to Arbaminch. Theriver cut off to go out of the wereda was a big problem, now to be solved soon and next summer the two bridges will be completed (one has already been done)and people may not have a problem in this regard.

#### International linkages

International migration is not a case for Do’oma kebele community and they don't have international linkages with anyone abroad.

###

### Notable people living in the community

#### Community elders

There are 8 community elders four in the sub kebele and four in the main. They carry out reconciliation if there are individuals in conflict in the community, they decide fines for offenders, detecting offenders/theft, and they call the community for detecting issues which they call DUBUSHA / Awchachign in Amharic etc. Their livelihood is farming as for any other community member.

Elders are those who are old, talented to make good speeches, have a good personality, and who have stayed long in the community.

These people are respected more than the kebele chairman, and have more power than the kebele chairman holds. If anyone is out of their words, they have the power even to expel the person from the villages.

The elders don't have any other position in the community. The kebele administration is in the network to cooperate in bringing offenders to the elders and to public meetings.

#### Clan leaders

There are clan leaders situated in Malo Ezo kebele where the main Gamo clan is found. There is no clan leader in Do’oma kebele.

#### Religious leaders

There are more than six religious leaders from the Protestants and two from the Orthodox Church. These people are respected though they don't have equal power with community elders. The leaders preach, reconcile, mobilise members for public cooperation etc. Among the people mentioned above NB holds a dual position as community elder and religious leader.

Religious followers are in the network of their own church.

#### Other community-specific customary leaders

DUBUSHA is a customary action used for two purposes: one to get rid of evil like frequent death of people mainly when women die at delivery and to detect theft, and to find out any kind of criminal. When many deaths happen people contribute money and buy a sheep and butter to be taken to the DUBUSHA leader (DUBUSHA GODA) who is NN at the moment (N and his heirs only can hold this position, and if he dies his son will take over, if he doesn't have a son his brother will take it). He will slaughter the sheep and pray to God/TOSO, in front of public gathering to take the disease and death away from the community. The sheep and the butter are meant for the prayer and will not be eaten rather they should be thrown away for hyenas.

This person has no network and no other position in the community. However, his family line is much more respected than anyone even than the community elders, who will abide by him.

#### Rich successful farmers

Rich and successful farmers are a few, up to 14, but there are three main ones. These people are respected by everyone in the community due to their economic status. However there is no position that they hold. Their main activity is farming. There is no network around them.

#### Traders, businessmen, delalas

Trade/ business is not a livelihood or part time activity for people in Do’oma, mostly they depend on agriculture. Those who are food insecure support their family with the support from PSNP. There are only two small rural shops, one in the main and one in the sub-kebele, though the main kebele shop is not functioning. People sell their agricultural products, but do not try to trade them. Therefore there are no dealers.

#### Educated opinion leaders

CC and BU are teachers in the high school at Wacha from Do’oma kebele, and HU is also from Do’oma and is now working in the Wereda administration; these are the three main educated opinion leaders who guide in some issues. For example, people had an argument with the Park administration and the guards when their grazing land was taken away. But these people convinced people that the Park attract Tourists which is an advantage for the area and that after demarcation is made, changes couldn't happen. People now accept it.

#### Women’s leaders

There is no trend of women's leaders for other purposes or to rule their own issues. There is a women’s association in which women lead the whole structure. Otherwise their participation in the community is negligible.

#### Political activitists

Almost everyone in Do’oma is a member of the political party/ruling party, and pays 6 birr contribution every month. People are organised in cells to organise the community in smaller groups. The EPRDF Party representative is part of the kebele and wereda cabinet. Most of the informants believe that being a member of the EPRDF party is something that is expected from everyone and a must. People participate in party meetings every 15 days in their cell, and monthly with the kebele administration. People participate in elections including women. It is said that the ruling party uses community elders to convince people to vote for it.

#### Kebele Cabinet

There are nine kebele cabinet members Chair, Vice Chair, Manager, health extension worker, agricultural extension worker, Political party appointee,Information, Militia head, School director. These people hold the positions mentioned above and do not have any other position. The main activities of the cabinet are to discuss and decide on kebele administration issues. The network of the cabinet extends to the general council at kebele level and to the Wereda administration.

#### Kebele manager

The kebele manager is respected in the community though not holding equal status with the kebele chair or vice chair. He performs all activities in the kebele by remaining in the office except decision making that needs the chairman and cabinet discussion. The kebele seal is put with the chairman, not with the manager. The manager is just a government employee who never holds any elite status and he works in farming like any other peasant in the kebele.

The manager is male, 35 years old, was born in the kebele and has spent his life there.

## Important events since 2005

### Crisis events

The respondents said that 2007/8 and 2010/11 had been a drought season. The drought seasons resulted in death of people and animals. It is reported that nothing was provided for the most affected households. However, there were FFW programmes in both years mentioned above though the process of selection was reported to be unfair and benefited those people who are relatives and friends of the kebele officials. Those community members who are in PSNP were not participants; it was exceptionally for non PSNP beneficiaries. In addition to this in 2010/11, the wereda had given 150 birr in two rounds for those who were victims of the drought. Above all, the PSNP food aid programme provided wheat for one month. The maximum amount for households was 35 kilograms.

In general, in those years malaria had chronically expanded; because of the food shortage community members lost their immunity. There had not been any measures to alleviate the problems, which were there because of the drought.

Flood is one of the factors, which make the community unproductive, and self insufficient. In rainy seasons, Zage River floods the farmlands located near to the river bank. The flooding was severe in summer seasons of 2009, 2010, and 2011. The respondents explained that in these years, the flood damaged around 50% of the farmlands, especially irrigable lands. The flood had eroded farmland cultivated with different cereal crops and vegetables like Maize, Banana, Avocado, Mango, Papaya, Sweet potatoes and Godere. The respondents said that there have been lands completely damaged by the flood. The Wereda had given 75 kilograms per household though the beneficiaries were few. The aid not even covered those households who were left nothing on the land.

Additionally, there is a seasonal wind causing many problems in the community. The respondents said that mostly it happened two times per year; usually happened in December to March and April to July. These winds caused serious problems, particularly in 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011 demolished 20, 2, 2, 3 and 2 houses respectively. In addition to this, in 2011 it demolished the health post. Winds, which occur in December to March, are more severe. There is no aid programme to help households to rebuild their houses. Similarly, the health post is there as it was, as the result it ceased to give service.

There are crop diseases, which damage and decrease productivities of Maize, Onion and tomatoes. Kotokole, is a crop disease which occurred in 2011 in maize. Though it occurred in limited maize farmland, its impact on productivity was severe. Starting from last year’s harvesting season, the quality of onions and tomatoes produced was low because of vegetable diseases. The household has been buying and using pesticides without consulting the agricultural bureau. However, it does not resolve the problem. In addition to this, diseases which occurred on papaya trees had led the production to be low since 2009/10.

The respondents explained that there are livestock diseases and it led many oxen, bulls, heifers and calves to death. Livestock disease, occurring in 2010/11, was severe. Gezimu is a respondent from the poor class who lost 48 poultry, ox, cow and 2 calves in April 2011. He explains that in the year mentioned herein above a household with 10 household members lost six livestock. He says that previously the frequency of livestock diseases was low as compared to the last year.

The only human epidemic in the community is malaria. It leads people, particularly the children and the old ones, to death every year. However, in 2008/09 and 2010/11, it was chronic. The respondents explained that there had been many people who died because of scarcity of curative medicines at the health post. Additionally, those patients, who are economically incapable to get treatment at the health post passed away because they had been using different herbs like Gara, Chemish and Haleko to treat themselves.

There is no earthquake in the community since many years ago.

There is fire in the community each year. Mostly it begins in drier season, particularly in December. The respondents said that there are people who put fire on grazing land expecting better grass to grow in the rainy seasons. The kebele, by involving the community members in campaigns, tries to put off the fire. They use branches of different trees; if not possible, they let the fire burn until it stops by itself. The fire damages straw, which is used to build roofs and grazing lands. They explained that the fire burned 25 houses in 2001; since then it does not damage houses.

### Economic events

New crops introduced in the community since 2005/6. Before the year mentioned, the predominant cash and staple crops were Maize and Teff. The Amhara farmers introduced new seeds to the community since 2005/6. They cultivate sesame, onions, green pepper and tomatoes.

There are new livelihood technologies introduced to the community though not working. A few households, particularly models, own a new tiller. However, they resist using it because it is heavy for the oxen. It is around 5 kilogram.

There is a change in use of land since 2005. The kebele distributed grazing land to the community members as farmlands in 2006, 2007, and 2008. Terracing introduced on steep areas located in grazing lands, but not practiced on farmland. The community used to plough horizontally which were there from the beginning. The irrigation technology is the canal /trickle that existed from the beginning. However there is one big canal added that takes water from Zage River to the investment site. In addition to this, the kebele coordinated public works PSNP and community labour contribution to extend the canal branches to individual farmlands.

In the community, farmers start to sow in rows since 1998.

There are new means of transportation introduced since 2 years ago. They started to use motorcycles to travel from Wacha to Do'oma and Wo'mala. The tariff of the transport is 10 and 20 birr to Do'oma and Wo'mala respectively.

In 2011, all community members contributed 44 birr for the new school building in "Do'oma Mazoriya" primary school compound and salary for the guard of the health post.

The wereda is providing micro finance service. The respondents explained that around 60 individuals took a credit from the institution. Some of them built a metal-roofed house while the others spent the credit on consumption goods.

The kebele do not provide immigrants with different opportunities. However, the respondents said that for the Amhara immigrants pieces of land were provided. However, they should have to show a declaration letter written from their previous residential area.

Zage Agro industry had employed around 600 daily labourers. Their per diem was around 20 birr. Above all, it created new permanent employment opportunities. For instance, the guards of the investment site are permanent employees. The respondents explained that the investor ceased to work since 2005. The regional improved seed bureau had tried to produce maize in 2009 though the land was unproductive. In 2011, the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia had announced an auction. The winners of the bid visited the investment site recently.

### Social events

There is no notable celebration in the community. There is an interesting story, which is common in the community, particularly in Wo'mala. The respondents explained that in Wo'mala those people suspected to have evil eyes were forced to leave their home. In the previous three years, five married women left the community. The elders group decided based on the appeals of the community members. If there are repeated appeals, the elders group call for a meeting at large. In the meeting, they ask the husband of the woman who is suspected to be evil eye to let his wife go. If he resists accepting their decision, they call the youngsters of the sub kebele to demolish his home at night. Most of them are not ready to take the risk so the elders easily convince them.

In 2010, a journalist from the southern region visited the community to make and release news on Zage River flooding. In 2011, Zonal cabinet members had visited the community to mobilise electors for the national election.

There was big meeting, locally called dubush, organised by the kebele officials in December 4, 2010. It is called "awchachign" and commonly takes place on open ground. The officials prepared the meeting to know those individuals who steal a water harvesting plastic well and measurement of kilograms of grain at the grinding mill. The community members had pointed at four individuals. The elders group requested them to give their oaths. After all, one of them hesitated to do so and promised to pay back.

The respondents said that the frequency of conflict within the community is very low. In 2009, a 25 year old male killed his two peers by slasher (Gejera). They explained he committed the crime emotionally.

Recently, a young male of the community raped a 9 year old girl. The community members at large appealed to the kebele officials to take the case to wereda court. However, the accused persuaded the girl and both declared they are in love with each other. The community and the court could do nothing if the accuser does not want to continue the case.

### Cultural events

The Amhara immigrants introduced a new idea about work, since 2008. They introduced different new crops and vegetables. The respondents explained that the community members are getting lessons from their working culture. In addition to this, farmers started to till farmlands repeatedly. This is helping them to smooth the soil and so that it can easily capture moisture.

There is a new idea about domestic work, since 2006, the health extension workers began to work in the community. They started to dig holes for latrines and waste disposal. Some members have gardens, mostly covered by flowers around their compounds. Others cultivate trees of different kinds. Some community members have kitchen cupboards of different kinds.

There is no new leisure activity in the community.

There is a new style of clothing in the community. In the past, it was not common for women to wear trousers but since 2005, a few female youths wear trousers. Similarly, pyjamas were uncommon years ago. However, after 2005 they are becoming common for females. The respondents said that before, plastic shoes were common. Nowadays, a few community members wear leather shoes. Male youths wear sport shoes of different makes.

There is no significant change in what people eat. They eat bread of corn (kita), sometimes with Milk and Cheeses. They eat Sweet Potatoes, Godere, wood boe and boe. Seasonally, they eat maize before it gets dry. The respondents said that a few people eat spaghetti and macaroni. Additionally, more than 50% of the community has started to use food oil regularly.

There is no change in the way they eat. All family members, including children above three years, eat together which is common from the beginning.

There are new household goods, which the community members started to use since 2005. They use plastics for dough, wooden beds and sponge mattresses. Children sleep on a carpet called "Ginja".

Before 2005, children used to sleep on ox skins.

They use material locally called "Qil" to drink milk, which is common from the beginning. Community members start to buy tables and chairs since 2005. Around four households use wooden kitchen cupboards. They used wooden boxes to put in their clothes, which were from the beginning.

There is no new house building style. The roof is built from straw and tin. They use welters and mud to build the wall. The floor is commonly earth.

Recently the community members, particularly the male youths, play football. They also drive motorcycles as leisure. They play a chase like game (Dama) using corks. They play cards since 2005.

Recently, husbands are getting involved in domestic work. The respondents said that there are around four males in the community who make Enjera, particularly in holidays. In addition to this, there are males who are involved in nurturing of infants and caring for children. They take care of their hygiene and follow up on their lessons.

Since 2005, Idir based on lineage had started. Gezo mala, is a lineage of Gamo, start to organise members together in the form of Idir. However, there are Idirs with members of the same religion.

Years ago, there were pagans, Muslims, Protestants and Ethiopian Orthodox Christians. Nowadays there is no Muslim in the community and the number of pagans is reduced to four. Protestantism has expanded since 2006. The respondents said that Orthodox Christian followers are around 70 households.

There are community members who aspire for a modernised life style. The respondents say that three individuals had built a house at Wacha town. Among them, one individual had opened a shop and sells soap, sugar, biscuits and other related items. There are farmers who have been trying to cultivate high value crops. There are businesspersons who are involved in crops, vegetables and fruit trading outside the zone.

The celebration of Meskel as a social and religious day is reducing because of the expansion of Protestantism. The community call Dittas and Dorzes as 'slave'. Now, there is a tendency to consider them as craft workers. There is reduction of expenses for different ceremonies in the community. Harmful traditional practices have declined since 2006. The kalichas, traditional believers, are no longer available at the kebele.

### Political events

Since 2007, the kebele started to employ kebele managers. Until now, two males serve as manager. DA and health extension workers are engaged in the community since 2006. The ruling class has started to organise members as a league and cells and members started to pay 0.50 cents as membership fee. The kebele chairperson had changed 4 times since 2005. However, one of the chairmen had been re-elected.

The respondents said that the 2005 and 2010 elections were unfair. They said that the election committee was forcing the electors to elect the ruling party.

## Livelihoods – changes in the last five years

### Marketing outputs

The respondents said that the number of cash crops is increasing in the community. The community members supply Maize, Teff, Tomatoes, Sweet Potatoes, Hot pepper and Onion to the market. In addition to diversification of product type, the amount of staple and cash crops supplied to the market is relatively high compared to the past. Particularly, those community members with irrigable land provide large amounts of cereal crops and other high value crops twice a year. However, the amount of supply to the market varies depending on the production of the community. Enough rainfall and a suitable environment for crop production help community members to supply large amounts of products to the market. Since 2005, a few households start to sell eucalyptus at farm gates. Coffee is no more a cash crop in the community. A few households cultivate it in small plots of land for their consumption. There is no production of Chat in the community. However, some individuals buy Chat from the neighbours' highlands and sell it at Wacha town. There are community members who sell livestock. In addition to this, there is an association involved in fattening livestock.

The community members start to sell different kinds of non-farming products. There are women who sell pottery and spinning products.

Before 2005, the common cash crops were Teff, Maize, Sweet Potatoes, Chat and Coffee.

### Buying inputs and consumption goods

Community members buy staple foods, vegetables and household goods in greater amount than they did before. According to the respondents’ explanation nowadays few households, roughly around 3, buy meat from Wacha town. Few households can afford to buy and drink pure coffee. Mostly, they mix coffee with the seeds of eucalyptus. All farmers are obliged to buy fertilisers and improved seeds , particularly after 2005. As the result, they are buying more of these improved agricultural inputs than they did before 2005. In general, the community members are not interested to use other farm inputs. However, a few farmers buy pesticides from vets located in Wacha town and use them for vegetables. The respondents say that with the diversification of agricultural products in the community, farmers are using more inputs compared to years before 2005. For instance they start to use pesticides and insecticides for tomatoes and onion production.

### Theft and burglary

There is theft of Maize, Mango and Sugarcane, which is common in time of harvesting. The kebele officials organise meetings and discuss it though there is no improvement. The elders group impose sanctions if there is witness against the suspect. If the suspected robber insists to accept, they will force him to leave the community. They usually punish robbers in different ways; they force the robbers to apologise and to pay 400 birr.

The respondents said that in May 2011, the elder groups made a 25 years old male leave the community because there were individuals who witnessed that he stole bananas from the field. The respondents explained that robbery from people is happening occasionally. There were two well-known robbers in the community; one is in a jail and the other promised not to steal, because of shocks that happened to his family.

## Human re/pro/duction – changes in the last ten years

### Child-rearing changes

There are changes in child rearing since the health extension workers start to be involved in the kebele. Previously, mothers resisted immunising their children and as the result, the health extension workers give the service as obligation. In addition to this, the community members give additional food for infants aged below 6 months and mothers were not serious about breast-feeding. Today, though it is not possible to say it is inclusive of all, mothers feed infants with their breast for the first 6 months and there is better understanding about the importance of it in infant rearing. The respondents said that because of the unavailability of balanced food for breast feeding mothers, it is difficult to feed the infants. To compensate for this, they give them soup, which is a mixture of different cereals including Sesame, Maize, Teff and Sorghum.

On the other hand, mothers were reluctant to give food on time for children who were aged above 6 months. A few community members believe feeding them is exposing them to malaria.

In connection with those girls and boys who are aged from one to seven, mothers, particularly those who are in middle and rich class try to give care and follow up them. However, the respondents argue that there are community members who are even incapable of feeding their children 3 times per day.

According to the respondents' explanation, it is becoming difficult to follow up Adolescent boys and girls. However, some families try to check out where and on what their boys and girls spend their time. Similarly, some also follow up how they are dressing, eating and the manner they communicate with people.

In the community, older male and female youth are free to do whatever they want without getting permission from their family. The respondents said that they are expecting associations and leagues operating in the community and expecting to be in action in the future to care about the older males and females.

### Traditional medicine

The respondents said that more than 25% of the community members are not economically strong enough to get treatment for their illness at the health centre. Mostly, patients prefer to treat themselves using different herbs commonly used as medicine in the community. There are bonesetters who take care of dislocation of bones resulting from different reasons. When something bad happens to their bones, all most all members of the community prefer to visit bonesetters. It is not common to visit the health centre in cases related to bones.

There is no holy water in the community. However, Orthodox Christians use the holy water called "bilibo tsebela", which is located in the neighbouring Zala kebele. There is one man who gives service of abortion using traditional medicine. Nevertheless, few community members are using it. For traditional abortion, community members prefer to go to the nearby kebeles. A few community members visit hospitals in Welayita. They prefer to travel far from their kebele because they fear the cultural influence.

There is no spiritual healer in the community. The kalichas terminated their work. They became Orthodox and Protestant Christians. However, a few community members go to the neighbouring highlanders to visit kalichas.

The respondents said that it is difficult to say that there is a change for the last ten years in all respects. However, the accessibility of curative services at the health post, particularly for malaria, is reducing the number of individuals who use self-treatment. Similarly, the number of individuals who use holy water to treat themselves is reducing because there is expansion of Protestantism.

### Attitudes to education

There is some change of attitude toward education at all level by both sexes since 2005. The attitude of boys and girls toward secondary, TVET and university education is significantly changed since 2005. Accordingly, the number of students, particularly males at the TVET and university is increasing. The respondents explained that there are a few females who join TVET, but not yet universities. The number of females at the primary school is increasing significantly. However, as the grade level goes up, their numbers start to decline. The respondents say that there is no significant change in boys’ and girls’ attitudes towards primary education. Both perceive it as very essential. Relatively, more girls want to join secondary and TVET than universities.

In general, the students are becoming aware of the importance of education to lead a better life in the future. Therefore, students are resisting to be farm assistants for their families.

## Social re/pro/duction – changes in the last ten years

### Marriage

The respondents explained that customary age of marriage for girls is 15 to 18. Above 18 is the commonly accepted age for young men. There are different forms of marriage among the community members. There is marriage by betrothal, marriage by common consent between couples, marriage by religion, and marriage by abduction. The predominant form of marriage is marriage by betrothal. It is performed by the agreement of the two partners' families after long and careful consideration. The groom sends four elders to the bride's family. The elders should have asked the bride’s family repeatedly. When the bride’s family accept the marriage request for their daughter, the elders would call the groom to come to the bride’s house. The groom is obligated to pay 400 Birr on the same day, locally called "Donapagiso". In addition to this, the groom is supposed to give bride wealth to the bride's family. He gives butter, heifer (Gider) and traditional clothes like Biliko. He is also supposed to give gold ring, earring, clothes and sometimes gold necklace. On the other hand the bride may have a gift from her family; the type and amount depends on their economic status.

The wedding ceremony may cost 3000 to 4000 Birr. Both the groom’s and bride’s families are supposed to prepare food and drinks for the guests. However, the groom’s family are expected to have a big ceremony, which is culturally known to all.

In addition to different kinds of monogamous marriage, polygamy is a type of marriage that rarely happens in the community. However, the community is against marriage by abduction though it is difficult to control it. The community members are trying to bring abductors to the court. However, the female insists that he abducted her. Then, they get married. If one of them is below 18, the court will extend the marriage time until the marriage age. Consequently, the abduction considered as engagement. Abducted girls do not want to accuse the male because they fear that if the community members heard about it, others would not be interested to marry them.

The respondents argue that, in connection to customary age of marriage for girls and young men, there is no significant change in the last 10 years. Even though, different bodies provided education for the community about underage marriage and its defects, there are adolescent boys and girls who still want to get married below 18.

Previously, the most common and predominant type of marriage was marriage by betrothal. However, this time marriage by consent is becoming common. Even if the couples might go through the customary practice of betrothal marriage, they are the predominant decision makers.

Customary wedding is still acceptable though the gifts on both sides are reducing in amount and kind. The brides' parents give to their daughters different kinds of weaving products, particularly "Buluko". Grooms’ families provide butter, "Buluko" and sometimes heifer to the couple. However, the gifts on both sides depend on how wealthy they are. In the past, calves and heifers were common gifts. Today, the common type of gifts is "Buluko", butter and money. In the past, groom's family was supposed to give bride wealth to the bride's family, now, this practice is reduced.

The type of wedding ceremony is more likely the same. However, the cost is becoming high because of inflation.

### Widowhood and divorce

The respondents said that marriage to a dead husband's brother is common in the community. The family of the dead husband force their son to get married to the wife of his dead brother because they consider the marriage as a means to control their son's property and to safeguard his children. Mostly, the dead husband's wife is willing to marry his brother because she fears that it would not be easy for her to remarry. Above all, she fears his families will take their property and children away.

 However, though there are husbands who marry their dead wife’s sister in the community, their number is negligible. Usually, this kind of marriage happens suddenly. When the dead wife’s sister goes to her dead sister’s house to visit her nephews and cousins, she might start a sexual relationship with her dead sister’s husband and get pregnant. Therefore, they may decide to get married and raise children together.

According to the community custom, if the widow has older children, the elder groups distribute lands among them. The widowed woman is forced to be dependent on their children. Moreover, she may spend the rest of her time with her youngest son.

The respondents said that the frequency of divorce in the community is low. Divorce may happen if the couple remain infertile for years, particularly the woman. It may also happen if the woman is suspected to have a sexual relationship with other man. This reason does not work for men. They are free to go to other women and even to have children as they wish.

If the couple get divorced, the woman can take her dowry and children aged below five. In addition to this, elders may distribute land between the divorcees. The man would take the higher share depending on the number of children above five. Practically, it is difficult to remarry for the woman. However, the man gets to remarry very soon. The community is in favour of divorcee man remarriage. They say, "It is a must for him to remarry because he needs someone to help him to rear his children".

 The respondents explained that marriage to a dead husband's brother is becoming more acceptable in the community because it is one means of securing property.

The frequency of divorce has changed in the last ten years. The respondents said that the protestant churches are intervening to reconcile couples who quarrel for different reasons. Taye, is a kebele manager who tried to divorce twice because his wife gave birth twice from different men. The kalihiwot churches, where the divorcees are members, get them to a discussion to solve their problem. Finally, they start to live together again.

Since 2005, divorced women get the right to share land. The respondents argue that this right may give a chance for divorced women to remarry.

### Death ceremonies and inheritance

The respondents argue that the family of the dead individual may feed those community members participating in funeral ceremonies. If they are economically well off, the death ceremony following the funeral may extend to a week. They said that there are community members who invite people to celebrate the 40 days of the death. Especially, when fathers and mothers passed away, they used to sell many properties to invite people for the ceremony called “Teskara".

Inheritance will takes place if the father or both the father and mother die. Both sons and daughters are equally privileged to inherit their families’ property. However, daughters do not have the right to inherit the house. Even though, there is a law, which gives inheritance rights to mothers, it is not practiced. This time, both the elder groups and the court convince mothers to live together with their unmarried children, until they get married. When the elder ones get married, she will spend her lifetime with the youngest son.

There is a little change in customary ceremonies for death. Most of the community members are very happy to invite people to the ceremonies prepared in the name of their dead family member. However, it is obvious that drought which frequently happens is becoming a reason to reduce expenses for death ceremonies. .

### Holidays

In the past, Orthodox Christians were insisting not to work on saints' holidays. There are around five in number excluding Sundays. The Protestants do not work on Sunday, which is a praying day. Above all, all community members do not work on their land until the dead body in the community is buried. A few Gamo elders used to consider Friday as a holiday.

The celebration of Meskel is declining because Protestants do not want to celebrate it since 2006. However, Orthodox Christians collaborated with some Protestants and are celebrating Meskel as social and religious event. They contribute 16 birr per month for a year. Then, in Meskel they slaughter a bull or and an oxen and share if there is any money left.

On Meskel day, community members prepare different kinds of food like Maize and Bula porridge, Qocho, maize bread (kita), Raw Meat, and Enjera. In addition to this, people buy clothes for their children and for themselves.

In April, after 55 and 3 days of fasting for Orthodox and Protestants respectively, they celebrate Easter. Most of the time, they prepare Doro wot and Enjera. A few community members may also slaughter goats.

The wereda had prepared a general meeting to give awareness against these practices.

The respondents explained that the Orthodox Christians are trying to minimise saint’s days. Today, they do not work only on yearly-celebrated saint’s days and Sunday, called "senbet". The other thing is that the number of Orthodox Christians has declined, which resulted in reduction of community members who are interested to celebrate saint’s days.

The community is not celebrating Meskel as it was before. They celebrate it using the money and foods at hand. They do not sell properties to refinance the expense.

### Work and other exchanges

Large working parties, called "Dego" are common in harvesting and cultivating seasons. In addition to this, these working parties/groups are involved in house building and ploughing. Similarly, the community also commonly practices small working parties, called "kripe".

Sharecropping is common especially for landless community members. The owner of the land is obliged to work together on the plot, to share equally the cost of inputs like fertilisers, improved seeds and others if any.

There is share rearing in the community. The household in charge of rearing may take livestock products like milk, butter or the newly born livestock such as calves.

Ox sharing is also common. Especially, those farmers who own one single ox look for others' oxen to pair for ploughing.

The respondents said that from different customary work exchange, small working parties and ox sharing have expanded in the last ten years.

### Dispute resolution

When a dispute happens in households, the immediate kin group try to settle it. However, they might not give a solution for all. In this case, the parties in dispute themselves may choose the means to settle disputes. Previously, most household preferred to bring cases of dispute to elders groups. This time, the majority in the community do not trust the elders. The respondents explained that the elders' decision is in favour of relatively rich community members. Because of this, households prefer to take their cases to the Wereda court. However, the court is not willing to deal with intra household disputes. It refer the case back to the kebele, elders group. If parties in dispute question the judgment of elders, they take the case back to the court.

In the community, dispute between couples is reducing. The respondents say, "Men are not aggressive to their women as it was before because if they get divorced he knows that she will take her share".

There are inter-household disputes in the community. Mostly, the reason for these disputes is stealing of irrigation water at night. These kinds of disputes were there from the beginning. However, the respondents said that there is a tendency to stop stealing because there is a punishment fee, which is around 50 birr.

Sometimes, conflict happens between the kebele officials and community members in time of campaigns. Usually, neighbours and kin groups of the individual in dispute try to settle it.

### Social support to vulnerable people

In first place, the family is responsible for supporting vulnerable household members. Secondly, government actions, though they might not be permanent, are very essential to support vulnerable people in the community. It may be in the FFW and PSNP programme. However, the respondents explained that, most of the time the committee does not take vulnerability into consideration rather it prefers to give chances to committee members’ relatives and friends, particularly in FFW programmes. Thirdly, economically well-off neighbours could support them. This is common if the individuals' families and relative kin groups passed away.

The respondents say that in 2004 and 2009, the wereda distributed clothes, shoes, and money for four orphans.

Concerning social support for vulnerable people, the involvement of government in different programmes is the only change in the last ten years.

### The informal social protection system

Husband's kin are relatively more important in social protection than wife's kin. If the wife's kin are more important, it means either notable individuals among the husband's kin passed away or they are not willing to give protection. Grown up children may help their families. But it is very rare in the community. The respondents explain that neighbours’ and friends' role as informal social security is reducing because of low living standards, which results from low productivity of the area. The respondents say that rich patrons’ importance as informal social security is negligible from the beginning.

### Advantages of inclusion in community leaders’ networks

The respondents said that the kebele leaders are the most important decision makers in the community. A community member who is in their network could get priority in whatever programmes run in the kebele. The network is a way to get emergency food aid, farmland, credit, and improved seeds from the wereda agricultural bureau. In addition to these, they may get the chance to represent the kebele in different meetings organised by different bodies.

The wereda leaders are more important for those individuals who need power. Kebele officials tend to have attachments to wereda leaders in expectation of promotion on different occasions. Some may also need the network to maintain their position.

The respondents said that there is no advantage of exclusion from both leaderships. In most cases, it might be the reason for discrimination.

The importance of kebele leaders is becoming crucial as the kinds of government interventions diversify.

### Clan rules and roles of clan leaders

There is no clan system in the community. There is no clan rule or leadership in the community. It is common among neighbouring highlanders.

### Lineage rules and roles of lineage leaders

The respondents say that there is no residence based on lineage. Members of a given lineage help each other in time of difficulty. They contribute 200 to 300 birr for special events like weddings. Some also have Idir. The leaders of lineages do not have a significant role. They may lead Idir. Lineages do not have unique marriage rules other than the marriage rules, which prevail in the community. Couples who belong to the same linage cannot marry each other. All lineages are bound by community's customary marriage and wedding practice. Youths tend to count their lineage and they want to have attachment to members.

Recently, lineage Idir was introduced by the Geza Mala pedigree. It is the first lineage based Idir and all members contribute 1 birr per month. In addition to this, youths are becoming more interested in lineage membership.

### Religion

There are three religious groups in the community: followers of the Kale Hiwot Protestant church; followers of Meserete Kiristos Protestant church; followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox church; and the traditional believers.

The followers of Kale Hiwot Protestant church are around 75% of the community. The followers of Meseret Kiristos Protestant church are estimated to be around 20% of the total population. In Do'oma there are only four households who are traditional believers. The rest of the community, estimated around 5%, are followers of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity.

There is a steadily growing Protestant community in Do'oma since 2006. Accordingly, the number of congregations has increased from one to two for both Protestant churches. On the other hand, there is a congregation, called Gebriel, for Orthodox Christians in Wo'mala. The Kalichas were what the community call the Muslim of the area. However, now they have become members of Orthodox and Protestant churches.

### Community-initiated organisations

There are four Idirs, which support the deceased during mourning with memberships 60 to 100. The Idirs are organised on religious, lineage and community base. The Kale Hiwot Protestant followers organise Idir and contribute 2 birr per month. The Ethiopian Orthodox Christians contribute 3 birr per month for their Idir. The lineage based Idir contribute 1 birr per month. The community idir, which is the largest, contribute for the deceased community member.

Beyond the increment in number of Idirs and their participants, there is no new additional activity.

Equb is not widely practiced in Do'oma. There is only one Equb in the kebele. The number of members is around 20 and all members are traders. The amount is 40 birr per month. There are two Meskel banks, one in Do'oma and the other in Wo'omala.

Beyond this, the banking system of the community called "Bankiso" is widely practised. Members save money per year for a month in the Bankiso's house. They choose the "Bankiso" depending on trust and economic capacity. The amount of money is not constant. It depends on one's ability. At the end of the year, they take back the money they put in Bankiso's house.

### NGOs and CBOs

There is no permanent NGO activity. There is one community-based organisation. The organisation provides sand to the Wereda's projects. They take the sand from Maze River. The respondents said that all most all members are male youth.

### Social cohesion

There is peace and security in the community. The community help each other in times of difficulty and share happiness together. As the respondents explained, before 2005, some individuals created a public disturbance under the influence of alcohol. They knocked on the doors of household at night and made the community noisy. The community has drafted a law to punish them. After this, the toxic individuals become calm and stop disturbing.

There is no intention of inflicting disturbance.

## Community management in 2011 – popularity of government interventions

The respondents say that PSNP, livelihood policies and packages, campaign approach, preventive health services, drinking water, HTPs and education are the most common popular government interventions in the community. Though there is environmental work in the community, the majority do not consider it as useful. For instance, when the kebele officials organise a campaign to work on terracing in steeper lands for soil conservation, many households resisted participating. The respondents explain that land use interventions are not popular with the community as compared to other interventions.

## Ideas in 2011

### Local modern repertoires

The respondents explained that the progressive are those community members who engage in business, particularly trading of cereals. These businesspersons are the most influential and get acceptance by both the community and the kebele.

They favour all government policies and interventions but they are against improved agricultural technologies such as fertilisers and improved seeds.

### Local customary repertoires

The conservatives are those people who conceive cultural practices as correct and they want to promote them. They are against the government intervention on harmful traditional practices. There are about four elders, aged 60 to 70. These individuals are pagans and against the expansion of religion. They favour all most all government policies except government action against female circumcision, females’ inheritance right, divorced and widowed women’s right to land and property. They believe these actions are against the tradition of the community. These individuals tend to maintain the status quo. In addition to this, they are against improved agricultural products such as improved seeds and fertilisers. They believe the soil is naturally fertile.

### Incoming ideas

The respondents argue that the Amhara migrants promote new ideas. They introduced high value crop production to the community. Above all, the respondents say that the community members are getting a lot from their working culture.

The respondents explain that the kebele administration is expanding associations on different bases since last year. The community members are motivated and expecting to change their life using those new structures. The NGO called ESTA (Ethiopian Sustainable Tourism Alliance) is working on HIV/AIDS and it is introducing a new way of teaching people about HIV/AIDS. This helps the community members to access education at their homes with without going anywhere.

Similarly, local religious leaders are promoting blood testing for HIV/AIDS by make it an obligation to get married at the church.

There are no new ideas promoted by returning migrants, diaspora connections and media.