

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

**COMMUNITY SITUATION 2013**

**SIRBA, OROMIA REGION**

**STAGE 3 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 5**



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*24 April 2014*

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 Sirba in Oromiya 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, the second gap-filling fieldwork was undertaken 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). Comparisons of the trajectories of change are addressed in separate parts of the Stage Two Final Report documentation. Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on [www.ethiopiawide.net](http://www.ethiopiawide.net).

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## Community features

In the past, Sirba was an independent kebele. However, it was merged with neighbouring Ude and Kumbursa kebeles 12 years ago. The new kebele is called Ude and the kebele office is located in Ude village. There are separate administrative structures for the rural and urban parts of the kebele. Ude village and Denkaka town are part of the urban administration, the rest of the kebele is under the rural administration. There is one building for both administrations but separate offices and separate officials, with the exception of the kebele manager, who serves both the rural and urban administrations.

The kebele spans the main Addis Ababa to Nazret (Adama) road and is situated in between the towns of Debre Zeit (Bishoftu), the wereda capital, and Mojo. Not only does the site enjoy very good transport links to major markets, but Sirba is also located in a fertile agricultural area. The economy of the community is based primarily on crop and to a lesser extent livestock production. The entire wereda, including Sirba, is an important area for teff production for the national market. High market prices and the adoption of new agricultural techniques and technologies, such as improved seed varieties, have provided farmers with good access to land, labour and oxen with opportunities to increase their production and incomes.

The majority of agriculture is rain-fed, with one production season during the long rainy season. An NGO called Passion Connects Ethiopia and individual farmers have established a few small-scale irrigation projects using groundwater. Farmers with irrigation produce vegetables for sale. According to respondents, there is potential for irrigated agriculture to be expanded, and the wereda has plans to greatly expand the area covered by irrigation using pumped groundwater.

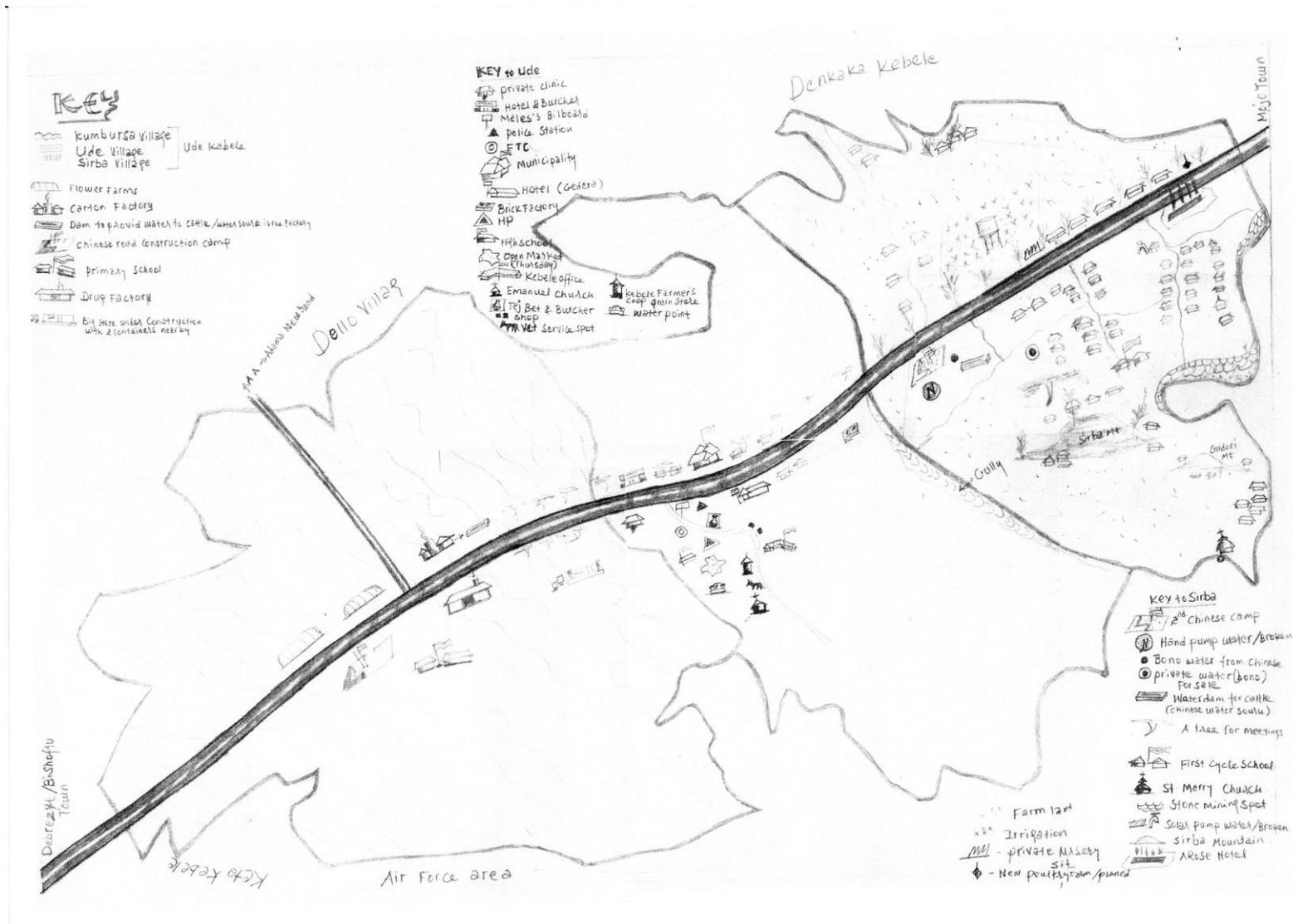
Livestock fattening and dairy farming have become increasingly important in recent years as a result of the high prices for livestock and livestock products. Improved breeds of livestock are available and these provide increased milk production compared to local breeds. However, since there is no communal grazing land in the community, households must keep their livestock in their compounds during the growing season. The high prices of livestock feed mean that some less wealthy households have been discouraged from keeping livestock.

Overall, these economic opportunities have also led to growing inequality. Although many farmers with large landholdings and the ability to rent in additional land have greatly increased their wealth, those with small landholdings have found it much harder to take advantage of these new opportunities, while also facing rising prices for food and other goods as a result of inflation. Among the latter group, young adults have faced particular challenges, given the shortage of land and the absence of land redistribution in the last 25 years. Although there continue to be limited employment opportunities outside agriculture, recent years have seen the expansion of flower farms in the local area and a number of factories in neighbouring towns. These businesses have provided some work for young people from Sirba.

The majority of the population of Sirba are Oromo and Orthodox Christian. There are some minority ethnic groups, including: Amhara, Tigraway, Kembata, Wolayta and Gurage. There are also a few Protestants living in Ude village. Respondents say that relations between these groups are good and there are no reports of any tensions or conflicts.

Until relatively recently, 'harmful traditional practices' such as female circumcision, abduction, rape and underage marriage were commonly practised in the community. The wereda and kebele governments have been working in recent years to raise awareness about the negative effects of these practices, to educate people about the laws and to publicise the punishments for offenders. Although instances of each of these practices do still occur, most respondents believe that their occurrence has greatly reduced as a result of the government's interventions. In particular, respondents suggest that female circumcision is now exceptional, rather than the norm as in the past.

Map 1: Map of the community



Government respondents claim that virtually everyone in the community is a member of the ruling party (the Oromo Peoples' Democratic Organisation - OPDO). Furthermore, the kebele has established development teams and 1-5 groups in the community and these structures are used for a wide range of purposes, including: mobilisation for kebele meetings and public works programmes; disseminating information about the agricultural and health extension programmes; and night time security patrols in the community. These structures are also frequently used for political, as well as developmental, activities, mobilising the community for participation in party meetings and disseminating and the party newspaper. There is considerable overlap between the development teams, 1-5 teams and the party cell system.

## **Place**

### **Altitude and terrain**

For the most part, the terrain in the kebele is flat. There are two hills, called Ude and Sirba mountains, which cover 81 hectares of land. Sirba mountain is situated in the middle of the kebele, Ude mountain is at the edge of the kebele (see map, above). There are also several gullies in the kebele, one in between Sirba and Ude, another in Ude and another at the border with neighbouring Gubseyea kebele.

### **Soil**

There are three types of soil in the kebele: black soil (koticha), which comprises 50% and is used to produce teff, chickpeas, wheat and lentils; red soil (gomberie), 40%, used to produce beans, peas, barley and wheat; and sandy soil (ashewama), 10%. The black soil is the most fertile but dries quickly, cracks and is hard to plough when dry. The red soil remains soft but is less fertile. The sandy soil is not fertile and unsuitable for production.

The fertility of the soil has reduced since the farmers started using chemical fertilisers ten years ago. At present the soil would not produce a crop without use of fertiliser. Crop rotation systems are practised by some farmers, alternating between planting teff and chickpeas. The latter help the soil to recover since they are nitrogen-fixing.

There have been some problems with flooding and strong winds that have contributed to erosion. The government has undertaken activities including planting trees, and constructing terracing and check dams through public works to address erosion.

### **Ecosystem**

The forest in the area was all cleared during the Derg era. There was a community forest on Ude mountain – mainly eucalyptus planted during the Derg. By selling this forest (390,000 *birr*) a school has been upgraded and Ude village has got electricity (from 35% to 99% of households) The kebele administration manages the forest and announces auctions of the wood. 8 years ago the wereda discouraged eucalyptus and advised many farmers to cut it out as it dries farmland and some did. But the wereda continued to provide seedlings every rainy season and those who stopped have planted again.

A reforestation programme began about ten years ago but this has not produced great changes. Currently the reforestation programme, conducted through public works, covers 12.5 hectares set aside by the kebele administration. Three years ago the kebele reserved some plots of land for growing trees and these are becoming forested. They are situated on and around Ude and Sirba mountains and are community land. Many Individual farmers also increasingly plant eucalyptus trees around their houses and farmland, increasing the tree cover in the community.

There are some hyenas, monkeys, snakes, foxes and antelope. The wildlife reduced when the forest was removed, but with the reforestation programme, some animals have returned to the area.

One farmer said it is not advised to have eucalyptus around farms but around mountains where there is no farm. The Rich farmer said he thought there was less eucalyptus.

### **Weather and climate**

The climate in the community is woynadega or moderate, which is suitable for production of teff, wheat, chickpeas and peas. The belg rains are very short in the community and insufficient to produce a crop. Consequently there is only one production season, meher. The weather in December can be cold, with frost. However, this does not usually affect crops as they are already harvested by this time (see seasonality calendar in the annex to this report).

The successful businessman said there is very good climate change – ‘maybe this watershed work brought it. Such important things should be done throughout the country. I never knew rain after September but this year the whole of September was rainy – the clouds brought very good weather and climate. 5 years ago it was a really dry and hard climate’.

### **Problems caused by weather**

Very rarely there is a shortage of rain that affects production. However, this does not create serious problems for the farmers. In the 2012 agricultural season, the rains came early and stopped early, and were followed by strong winds. As a result the soil became cracked and this damaged the crop. Flooding can also be destructive to the crops. However, the government has promoted flood prevention schemes through the public works schemes and the risk has reduced.

During the second fieldwork in November rain fell which could spoil the harvest.

### **Weather since 2008**

There have not been major changes in the weather in the community. Several people mentioned that the temperatures have been slightly more extreme than the past with some very hot days, but this has not caused any problems. According to other respondents there is slightly less rain and this has become more irregular. However, only the 2012 harvest was affected (see tables, below).

**Table 1: Weather during recent agricultural seasons**

Year	Belg rain	Meher rain	Unexpected rain	Heat	Frost	Wind describe
2009	NA	There was normal rainfall	No	No	No	No
2010	NA	There was normal rainfall	No	Some heat in the dry season	No	No
2011	There was some rain in April but it did not stay long. It is not used to produce crops.	There was normal range of rainfall	No	Some heat in the dry season	In December	No
2012	There was some rain in April but it did not stay long. It is not used to produce crops.	There was less rain which reduced the crop production	No	Some heat in the dry season, mainly in early May	In December	There were winds which affected <i>teff</i> and Wheat.
2013	There was some rain in April but it did not stay long. It is not used to produce crops.			Higher temperatures in March than ever before	In December	

### **Seasonality and work**

Most stored crops are sold before Easter and trading activity diminishes. It is also preferable to sell livestock before the rainy season as common diseases occur at the beginning and end of the rains. Also most crop and livestock traders prefer to sell what they have for Easter as there may not be any

buyers after the feast. Even so there are some customers who would like to buy chickpeas, tef, wheat and maize for consumption expecting their prices to rise June-September. The middle wealth farmer said that he is happy that the new irrigation will allow them to work in the dry season so there will be no idle time in the future. He added: 'The community will be rich I hope'. Drink house incomes is mostly seasonal; they sell more during the rainy season when it is cold and people need areke to warm themselves up; they almost stop in the farming season because customers are busy working.

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

**Table 2: Seasonality of work for men and women**

	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Meher rains end				Short belg rains				Meher used to start	Meher rains	Meher rains	Meher rains
Male work	Weeding	Weeding / harvesting	Harvesting	Harvesting				Ploughing	Ploughing	Ploughing / Sowing	Sowing	Weeding
Female work												

## **Community land use**

### **Land use**

In total 2,957 hectares are used for cultivation in the kebele and there are 50 hectares of unproductive land which has been eroded by flooding. 12.5 hectares are covered by forest as a result of the government afforestation scheme. For the most part, the land on the mountains is public/communal land, with the exception of part of Ude mountain, the less steep side of which is partly privately held and cultivated by individual farmers.

There is no communal grazing land in Sirba itself, although data at the kebele office show that there are 15 hectares of communal grazing land in the kebele as a whole. In Sirba all the communal grazing land was allocated to individual landless farmers in the 1970s. There is, however, some communal land, which has been given to youth cooperatives to quarry stone.

There is a brick factory in Ude village, and a flower farm, drug factory and cardboard factory in Kumbursa. In Sirba itself, there is a big hotel and a camp for the Chinese Construction Company, which is building the new Addis Ababa to Nazret road and has built a water point for the community. There is also a nursery for flowers owned by an Ethiopian who is thought to have a flower shop in Debre Zeit. In each of these cases, the land was previously individual farmland and compensation was paid to the landholders.

### **Settlement pattern**

There are three main villages, Sirba, Ude and Kumbursa, although there are also scattered hamlets in addition to these villages. Religion, ethnicity, clan and wealth apparently do not affect who lives where in the community.

### **Urban areas**

Denkaka town is where the kebele offices are situated. This is administered by the separate urban administration within the kebele structure.

The rich farmer appreciated urbanisation in Denkaka. He said that businesses like metal and wood work are coming which helped his household have doors and windows for the new café and to weld when something broke on the car which was done in Debre Zeit before. He said people are now shifting to trade in Ude; some buy cars, open shops, trade grain. In the past 2 months 5 people

bought minibuses for taxis that work from Debre Zeit to Mojo and Adama. A young man said he heard that in the future the area is going to be urban and this would attract investment and might help youth get different jobs. A knowledgeable woman said there has been new information about the master plan of the town which is going to include some gotts from Sirba. There are areas in the village where new identification codes (like kebele 01, 02..) have been given which indicates they are now part of the town and not the village. The poor woman heading a household had heard from her neighbours that kebele officials have told the community in Sirba not to construct new houses as some part of Sirba will be included in the town's new Master Plan; if new houses are constructed before the Master Plan is finished they may be destroyed. There are some marks around the internal roads that indicate there will be a new road to be constructed.

### ***Community water use***

#### **Rivers and springs**

There are no rivers or springs in the community. The nearest river is Mojo River, which is outside the kebele boundaries.

#### **Underground and harvested water**

In Sirba village there are about 30 private water wells for individual households, at Kumbursa village every household has a well (approximately 150). Ude village has about 90 water wells. In Sirba gott boreholes are the main source of drinking water. Recently, however, the majority of the people have started to use clean water from pumps. Most people buy the water from individuals or from the communal 'bono' water. This latter source was constructed by the NGO Passion Connection Ethiopia. The water is pumped out of the ground using an electric motor at a water point. The price of one jerry-can of clean water from individual sellers is 30 cents and from the communal source, it is 20 cents.

Respondents vary in their opinions on the change in the level of groundwater, perhaps reflecting variation across the territory of the community. Some claim that boreholes now need to be much deeper than in the past in order to reach water. Others say that the water is easily accessible below the surface. Estimates vary between 4m and 30m below the surface.

Water harvesting was attempted in 2004, but the water dried up quickly and it was abandoned. At present there is no water harvesting.

#### **Irrigation infrastructure**

In total there are 8.5 hectares of irrigated land in the kebele. Irrigation is provided from the water point built by the NGO Passion Connects Ethiopia. This water point now serves 18 farmers to produce vegetables. Some individuals have also dug boreholes and pump out water to sell to local farmers. The uncle of one of the teenage respondents lives in Beirut and owns a pump, which is managed by his brother. The pump required for this is large and cost about 15,000 birr. A few farmers pay him to use this water to produce vegetables using drip irrigation.

The wereda is planning various irrigation schemes in the kebele and other kebele in the wereda. This includes a dam constructed by the regional government, which is expected to irrigate 3,782.75 hectares in 10 kebele, although this will not cover Ude kebele. Within Ude kebele, the wereda plans to exploit groundwater by digging boreholes to provide irrigation for much of the kebele.

The wereda dug 11 water wells for irrigation in the kebele, 3 in Sirba. There is a 5-year plan to make the kebele's land irrigable by digging 150 wells. The wells provided by the wereda under the Ada'a Bocho irrigation project are dug with heavy machines that go 289 metres deep. One of the biggest should cover 80 hectares. The water will be pumped out by electricity. The project is funded by the Ministry of Water and Energy at national level. The plan is to irrigate up to 700 ha of land in the kebele from which 300 households will benefit. Some pipelines to the farms were installed but the

rain didn't allow them to work in the summer and after harvesting the work is going to continue. Kebele chair said installation of pipe lines had begun on 8 of the wells. The government is planning to charge for the water and electricity depending on their use though the rate is not yet decided. If the plan is realised all farmers in the kebele who have land would have access to irrigation. The rich farmer said the wells were dug 2 years ago but the new thing is pipes have been begun to be extended into farms last June. A woman informant said no clear information has been given on how each household can participate in the programme.

Irrigation provided by Passion Connect initiative for 18 households which started in 2010 was stopped 9 months ago due to corruption of the NGO leader; the irrigation committee couldn't keep organising the members to proceed to the scheme and all the farmers preferred to plant teff until the problem is solved. The water was a private source pumped by electricity and there was drip irrigation. When the corrupt NGO man left those landowners who had exchanged land with the members of the irrigation who had been selected took their land back and began to plant teff on it. The irrigation committee didn't do anything to report the case to the kebele or the wereda. The landowners complained about ploughing scattered land which was far away. Previously tomatoes, onions, cabbages, peppers, carrots etc were grown. The water still works and the electricity is connected. Those who had irrigation access collected the drip pipes and kept them in their compounds as they are indebted for the pipes. The landowners who planted teff haven't asked for access to the water for fear of the cost of the drip pipes which were given with a high price by the corrupt NGO manager. If landowners begin to demand access to the water it is expected there will be a conflict with the ex-irrigation users. The Development Agent said that the Passion Connect project stopped because the NGO was interfering: trying to restrict the types of vegetables to produce, where to sell, how much to sell etc. This discouraged the members who stopped the work. Also the NGO was providing poor quality seedlings and the farmers wanted to be involved in private business rather than group business so they didn't put enough effort in to achieve group work. A rich farmer said the land belongs to landowners who swapped it when the irrigation was working; the irrigation machinery belongs to the irrigation farmers who now no longer farm the land. The dispersed irrigation group discussed asking to use it in the dry season but the request has not yet been forwarded.

Since April there are 2 farmers (in addition to the previous one) who took initiative to have their own well water pumped out by electricity in Ude village; they plant potatoes and onions. Each farm hired 3 and they were successful. They loaded the products on an Isuzu truck and took them to Debre Zeit to sell. The rich farmer has a pump in his private garden. The only problem is that sometimes the electricity goes and then the pump doesn't work. During the dry season he is planning to dig for water on his land and pump it out for irrigation; he was too busy to do it in the rainy season.

## ***Infrastructure***

### **Public buildings**

The kebele office was constructed 20 years ago using mud and wood through public works. It has six rooms for the kebele manager, chairman, speaker, election board, social court and militia head, but it is now dilapidated and does not have adequate office furniture. There is no electricity or telephone.

The school in Sirba was opened in 2008. The headteacher has been there since 2009. There is a plan to upgrade the school from grades 1-4 at present to grades 1-6. There are already sufficient classrooms but insufficient budget to hire new teachers. Recently the school was fenced and trees were planted. The school was also able to hire a guard. In 2011, the kebele, working with Passion Connects Ethiopia collected 20,000 birr from the local community to expand the primary school in Sirba, building four classrooms in addition to the previous three and provided 54 desks. In 2008 an NGO called Engage Now provided 62 desks, three classrooms and an office. The kebele high school

in Ude village has been expanded from grades 1-8 to 1-10 by constructing three additional classrooms, a toilet and an office. The wereda provided the finance for the expansion. There is also a school in Kumbursa.

A health post was constructed in the kebele with community participation. However, the post was partially destroyed last year by a fire after an oxygen tank exploded. It is estimated that re-construction will cost 100,000 birr. At the time of the first fieldwork in April 2013, all of the iddirs in the community had collected a total of 60,000 birr and the wereda had promised financial and technical support. There-construction began shortly prior to the second round of fieldwork in October 2013 and was expected to be completed in January 2014. In the meantime, the health post was functioning using the rooms that were not destroyed in the fire, and there is also a health centre in Ude village.

There is a Farmer Training Centre made of brick, with two rooms for an office and training room. It has electricity, a phone and a computer. A vets centre was also built last year in the compound of the kebele store. The centre is made of brick and has two rooms for an office and a drug store.

There is considerable demand for public works because there are many needs and the kebele's budget is insufficient to pay for everything.

### **Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport**

There are several dry-weather only roads in Sirba that are wide enough for Isuzu lorries to enter the village and collect crops. During the rainy season these become very muddy and the lorries cannot enter. It also becomes difficult to walk around the kebele during the rainy season. The internal roads are maintained and re-constructed through public works each year once the rains have finished. Public works on flood prevention have also helped as the roads have not been so badly affected in the rainy season. Parts of the internal roads eroded by floods in the rainy season were maintained recently by Public works.

For the most part, people get around by walking. There are also some horse carts that take people to Ude village, the kebele centre. However, there are few available in Sirba compared to the other villages in the kebele. Five people also have bicycles. One man in Sirba village owns a car and two people in Ude have a minibus.

### **Other infrastructure**

#### *Mobile phones*

Most households have at least one mobile and often several. In total there are about 500 mobiles just in Sirba village. Mobile phones have worked in the kebele ever since they were introduced in the cities. For the most part, the signal is good, but sometimes it fails completely. Phones are used to communicate with family, to check market prices and children use them to listen to music in groups on the way to school. In Kumbursa village there is no electricity to charge phones and the signal is also weaker.

#### *Electricity*

Sirba and Ude villages have electricity and all houses have connections, but Kumbursa does not yet. Electricity was brought to the community 6-10 years ago. It is used for lighting, charging phones, TVs, DVD players, satellite decoders, tape recorders, refrigerators, stoves and to pump groundwater. Many households now have TVs and several restaurants and bars have refrigerators. Since the electricity arrived, two barbers have set up in Sirba and three in Ude using electric razors. There are also two mobile charging services.

All but 5 households are connected to electricity; these 5 are further from the centre and can't afford the cost of wire extension from the main supplier. There has been fluctuation in electric power at the time of the fieldwork in November in some parts of the village only. Due to the

problem people are buying kerosene for light and candles. Those households with electricity get a clean water service but those without don't so many people have to travel 10-20 minutes one way to get clean water from the Chinese company or individuals who sell water.

## ***Community economy***

### **Local macro-economy**

The local economy is based primarily on agriculture and, in particular, rain-fed crop production. Teff production for the market is a particularly important source of income and high prices, along with improved seed varieties, fertiliser, pesticide and farming techniques such as planting in lines, have led to increased production in recent years. According to the head of the health office in Ada'a wereda, the wereda produces one-third of the national teff production. Production of lentils and haricot beans for sale has also considerably increased with the provision of improved seeds and fertiliser by development agents. Small-scale production of vegetables and spices for sale, as well as household consumption, has also increased in recent years as a result of high prices.

Improved breed livestock are increasingly common as a result of the efforts of the kebele agricultural office and the Melkasa, Asella and Debre Zeit agricultural research centres. This has resulted in an increase in the production of milk for sale in the community. A milk processing enterprise in Debre Zeit buys the milk direct from the farmers every day. A few people also engage in cattle fattening for sale in local markets. However, the shortage of feed for livestock limits this activity.

Many people produce eucalyptus trees for sale. The trees are grown around their homes or farmland and are sold for 100-150 birr each.

Within the kebele there are several investments, including a brick factory, flower farm and two hotels. There is also a petrol station under construction and some Arab investors have leased land for poultry production, but have not yet started production. These investments have provided some people in the community with employment, with the flower farm employing only women. Around 300 people from the kebele are employed in the brick factory and flower farm, but only three in the hotels. The Chinese road construction company has also provided employment for some local young men.

### **Main livelihood activities and notable changes**

#### *Established adult males*

Most men who were adults during the last land redistribution at the end of the Derg regime received land. Their livelihoods are based on agricultural production, involving crop production and livestock. Relative wealth depends on access to land and other agricultural inputs. Farmers produce both for their own subsistence and for sale. Magna teff and vegetables are produced largely for sale, while the less desirable sergegna teff is produced for household consumption.

#### *Established adult females*

As a result of the recent land registration, wives of farmers are now joint landholders. Women are usually involved in many farming activities including weeding, harvesting and threshing crops. In female-headed households women may also take a leading role in managing the farm, hiring labourers and working on the farm. In other cases, female landholders sharecrop or rent out their land to male farmers given the lack of male labour for ploughing.

In addition, several women have opened shops and small bars for local drinks such as areqi and tella. Local crop trading activities have also long been dominated by women, with more and more women getting involved in recent years. For the most part, this trading is on a relatively small-scale and conducted on a seasonal basis. Most of these traders are the wives of relatively wealthy farmers.

### *Young men*

As a result of the shortage of farmland, relatively few young men have access to land unless they have inherited it from their parents. Several young men from the community are employed by the Chinese road construction company or in local factories and flower farms. The government has also organised young men in cooperatives to work in stone extraction within the kebele. Other young men migrate to urban areas to seek daily labour or remain in the towns after education to seek work.

### *Young women*

About 30 young women from the kebele are employed in nearby flower farms and several others are employed in local factories. There is some seasonal employment available in flower farms providing employment for young women during school holidays. Kebele officials estimate that about 32 young women have migrated to Arab countries to work as housemaids or to seek employment in urban areas within Ethiopia, in particular Debre Zeit, Mojo and Addis Ababa.

### **Notable recent changes**

Among the recent changes in livelihoods is the increase in international migration, with many young women migrating to Arab countries to work as domestic workers. This increase is partly the result of legal changes that have made migration much more straightforward than was the case in the past.

Furthermore, the establishment of new investments, such as factories and flower farms have provided more employment opportunities for local youths. The Chinese road construction company has recently provided employment mostly for young men, but this work will only be temporary while the road is being constructed.

High prices for crops and livestock products have increased the returns to investment in agricultural production and the incentives for farmers to increase production specifically for the market. This has provided opportunities for those with sufficient land and resources.

### **Independence of farming economy and future potentials**

The main future potential for agricultural production lies in the expansion of irrigation. The wereda plans to expand irrigation to reach much of the kebele's farmland by digging boreholes and using electric pumps. Some boreholes have already been dug, but they are not yet used for irrigation.

### **Inflation**

Inflation has meant increased prices for crops, livestock and their products and this has resulted in great incentives for local farmers to increase production for the market. For example, five years ago the best teff cost 500 birr per quintal, but the price is now 1,500 birr per quintal. The cost of agricultural inputs such as fertiliser and improved seeds has, however, also greatly increased, as has the cost of hiring labour and transportation. Five years ago fertiliser cost 300 birr per quintal but has now reached 2,000 birr per quintal. Weedkiller previously cost 12 birr per litre and has now reached 50 birr per litre. Agricultural labourers now ask for 50 birr per day. Nevertheless the returns to investment in production remain considerable. The costs of education and healthcare in government facilities has increased much less than other prices. Clothes, soap, coffee etc became expensive.

At the time of the second fieldwork in November 2013 the successful female household head said she expected the price of grain to fall due to good harvests.

### **Social structure**

#### **Demographics**

In total, there are 835 households in the kebele. In Sirba there are 224 taxpaying households, of which five are female-headed households. In total there are 1,570 people of which about 600 are

under 20 and dependent on their parents. 117 have completed education, either grade 10, college or dropped out and remain dependent on their parents. 6% of the households lack any farmland, although they still pay land tax for the land on which their houses are built.

### Wealth and poverty

The following table gives an indication of the rough proportions in different wealth categories, the types of property found in their houses, the sources of their wealth and also how poor people get by.

**Table 3: Attributes and sources of wealth/poverty**

	Very rich	Rich	Middle	Poor	Very poor	Destitute
Rough proportions in community (number or %)	13%	28%	33%	28%	7%	2 people, one old woman who is a beggar, and a homeless woman who is 40 and has mental problems.
Household goods found in these houses	TV, Sofa, <i>Bufe</i> , modern chairs and tables, modern bed, satellite receiver, DVDs, refrigerator	TV, Sofa, Modern furniture like bed, and table	TV, wooden chair, wire bed	Seats made of mud, small tables made in the village, radio	Some dishes, plates, water containers and bed made of mud, small box to put their clothes	No property except what they wear
Sources of wealth	Farming, bull fattening, dairy farming, some of them are engaged in grain trade, transport service with their own cars	Farming is the only source of income including crops, livestock and dairy farming	Farming, mainly crop production, and shoats	Farming from small land, they may have an ox, a cow or two sheep or goats	These people may not have any land, but they have a house, and they sell dried animal dung, clean other farmers' cattle houses, bake enjera, work as farm labourers, cut wood, plaster houses with mud	Begging is the only source of food and the one was able to get shelter from a good household who gave a small hut to the old woman
How do poor people get by?				They take grains on credit, some engage in farm labour, stone production, and receive assistance from relatives	They survive by farm labour, and other labour like fencing, house construction, extracting stone, getting grain from relatives as assistance	These people beg from door to door. Community members give them food, clothes and also people from church sometimes give them money

Changes in the proportions in the different wealth categories in the past ten years were characterised as in Table 4.

**Table 4: Explanations for changes in the wealth distribution**

	<b>Very rich</b>	<b>Rich</b>	<b>Middle</b>	<b>Poor</b>	<b>Very poor</b>	<b>Destitute</b>
Changes in last 10 years in propns of each category (more or fewer)	Those who were very rich in the past 10 years, became richer but a few became less rich due to age, and their young children got education and left them. They are less able to work in the farming activities	Those who were rich at that time now became very rich, because they were young then and they could work harder in the past ten years. Because age matters on farming activity	Those who were middle class ten years ago, mostly became rich and others became poor	Among poor ten years ago most joined middle class and few became rich, a few are still poor	Some became middle class mainly those who are able to plough others' land by contract, and some lifted up to poor level, some were able to be at poor level by poultry and getting goats or sheep	Those who were destitute in the past ten years were about 6 all died and the last death was in the past three years. These people were labourers living in the same neighbourhood before, when they get old they began to beg and lately they died

### **Social identities**

In total there are 177 Oromo households in Sirba, 10 Amhara, 6 Tigraway, 3 Kembata, 1 Wolayta and at least 1 Gurage man. There are also two children of an American father and Oromo mother who are locally called ferenji (foreigner). Several of the Amhara respondents originally came to the village during the Imperial era. The Amhara and Tigrayan are all wealthy or middle wealth, while the Kembata and Wolayta are all poor.

There are good relations between all the ethnic groups and some inter-marriage between them. Social organisations such as iddir are not based on ethnicity. Indeed there is one iddir called haya gasha that includes every member of the community. There are some seasonal migrants from neighbouring areas who come to work as labourers during harvest season. Otherwise there are no recent migrants in the community.

In Sirba all of the households are Orthodox Christian. However, in other villages in the same kebele there are some Muslim and Protestant minorities. According to interview respondents there are no clan divisions.

### **The community in its wider context**

#### ***Political economy context***

##### **The kebele in the wereda**

According to wereda officials, there is a check-list given to the kebeles for the measurement and listing of development activities. This has helped to foster a sense of competition among the kebeles, which has helped the wereda to achieve more than ever before. Competition among zones and weredas is also another area that has brought motivation. There is a culture of experience sharing at all levels in review meetings. At present rewards for kebeles are limited to congratulating good performers in meetings, but in the future the wereda plans to provide kebeles with new interventions as rewards.

##### **The wereda in the wider world**

At the regional level, regional bureau officials share out the zones in Oromia amongst themselves to provide supervision. As it happens, the regional president is responsible for the zone where Sirba is located. Furthermore, when the weredas in the zone were allocated to zone officials, the zone administrator also took Ada'a wereda. The wereda respondent thinks that this gives the wereda an advantage in accessing important people and the allocation of resources.

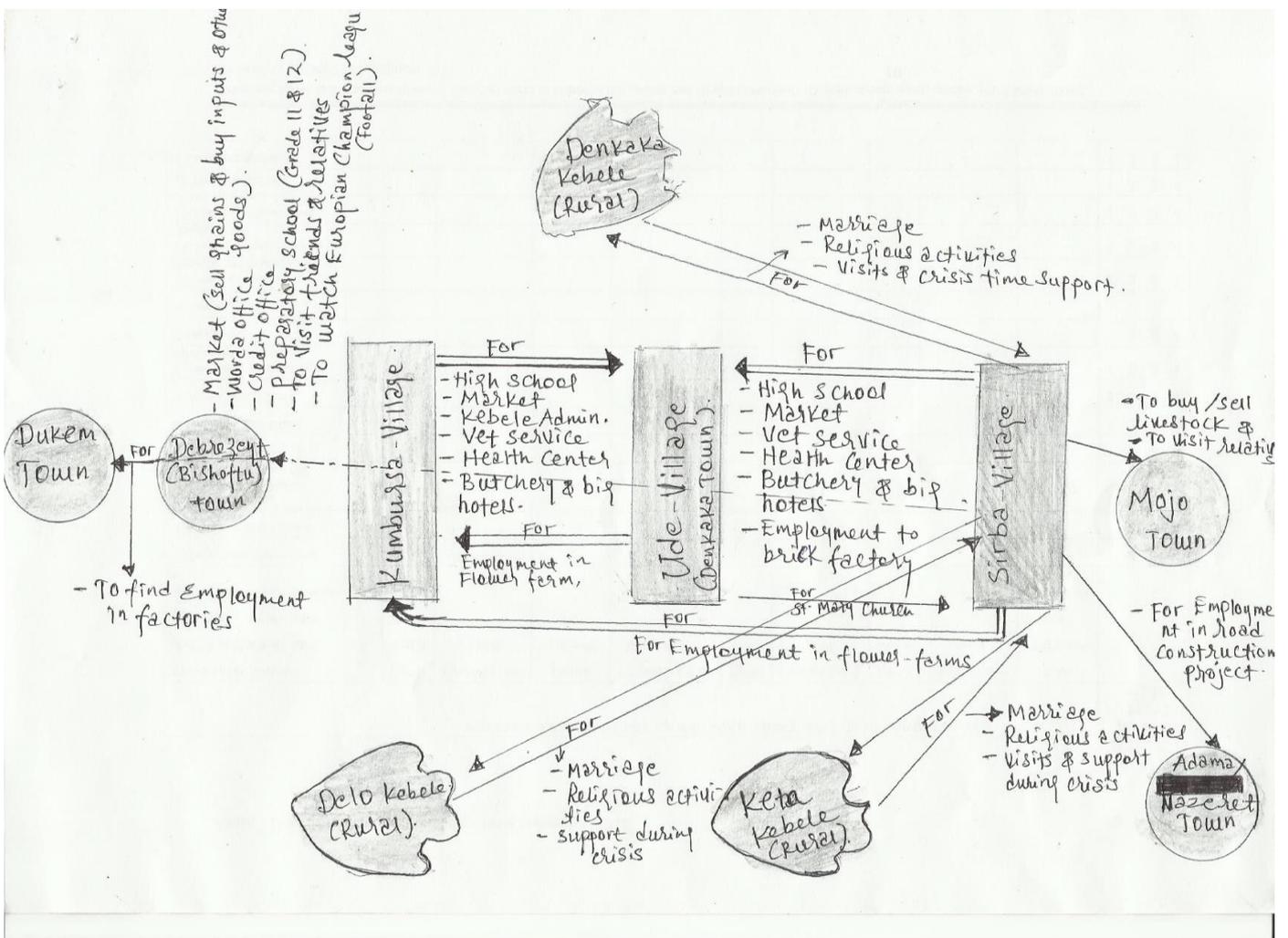
### External roads, bridges & access

The main Addis Ababa to Adama highway passes through the kebele. This road was constructed about 15 years ago and is regularly maintained and in a good condition. Minibuses are always available to travel to Debre Zeit, Mojo and Addis Ababa. These minibuses are frequently overloaded, with 20 passengers even though they are supposed to only carry 12. Transport costs 6-7 birr one way to Debre Zeit, with additional fees for packages brought by passengers. The lorries and buses on the main road create noise and air pollution for those who live close to the road. The road is busy at all times of day and night.

There is also a paved road that passes through Ude village and connects to GAFAT industry, a metal works owned by the Ministry of Defence that makes armaments, and the neighbouring airforce base. The new road from Addis Ababa to Adama is currently under construction in a neighbouring kebele, near to the community.

### External linkages

Map 2: Map of the community's linkages



## Rural linkages

### *Other kebeles*

There are marriage links with neighbouring kebeles such as Delo, Keta and Denkaka. When there are weddings, the families exchange gifts including money, grains, sheep and goats, gabi and kitchen utensils, although there are no formal requirements. There are also some links with parts of North Shewa, Gojjam and Wollo since some agricultural labourers come to the community from these areas to work during harvest season.

### *Rural/agricultural migration*

One of the poor farmer's sons migrated to Arssi several years ago. He has been given farmland there and tells his family that he is successful. He contacts his parents by mobile phone. There is increasing migration by young women to work in flower farms around Debre Zeit. These investments have expanded considerably in recent years.

## Urban linkages

### *Local towns*

The market in Debre Zeit is particularly important for local people. They buy clothes, pesticides, vaccines for chicken, TVs, radios, DVDs, furniture and other consumption items. They also sell crops and livestock products. Local people also buy and sell livestock in Mojo market, but not other goods. On special holy days some people might go to church in Debre Zeit or Mojo. Some relatively wealthy people have bought houses in Debre Zeit either to live in themselves or to rent out. Young men go to Debre Zeit to watch Champions' League football on satellite TV.

**Table 5: Linkages with local towns**

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 Zeit	For market, to access wereda office, court, credit office, preparatory school, colleges, DSTV football, to sell grains, to buy farm inputs like pesticides, to visit relatives/friends	Not walking distance	Yes- minibus	30 minutes	6 birr	No	Government officials at different offices, traders, relatives, friends, teachers etc.
Mojo	Mainly to buy or sell livestock, but also to visit relatives	Not walking distance	Yes – minibus	30 minutes	5 birr	No	Livestock traders, those who sell own livestock, or relatives
Dukem	To find jobs in industries like plastic and iron processing or to visit relatives	Not walking distance	Yes- Minibuses	45 min	9 birr	No	Factory managers, co-workers and other people in town
Adama	To find jobs in road construction projects	Not walking distance	Yes – minibuses	55 min	14 birr	No	Construction work managers, workers and other people

### *Urban migration linkages*

Until the secondary school was upgraded to grade 10 in the last few years, students who wished to continue their education had to move to Debre Zeit. Even now, to study for the university preparatory exams and in colleges, students must go to Debre Zeit or Addis Ababa. Some young people who were able to complete their education have gone on to find jobs in other places. For example, some are working in the Addis Ababa electric power office, as development agents around Mojo, Debre Zeit and Dukem, in the police or as traffic police in Asella or Fitcha. There are also health extension workers working in Kaliti and Addis Ababa, a nurse in Debre Zeit and a lawyer in Addis Ababa. Some young women migrate to Addis Ababa or Debre Zeit to work as housemaids or waitresses, and there is also some work available in factories in neighbouring towns such as Mojo, Dukem and Debre Zeit.

### **International linkages**

In recent years many young women have migrated to Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Lebanon and Dubai to work as housemaids. Many of these women send remittances to their families in the community. There is no male international migration.

### **Cultural imports**

The proximity of Sirba to towns, in particular Debre Zeit, means that the urban areas and lifestyles exert influence over the community. In particular, many respondents say that young people increasingly aspire to an urban lifestyle, adopting fashionable hairstyles and clothing, and new technology such as mobile phones. Young men also go to bars in the town to watch the Champions League on satellite TV.

Some young women who have migrated to Arab countries have returned permanently or periodically visit their families. Return migrants have new dressing styles, wearing, for example, miniskirts and trousers, carrying shoulder bags, wearing glasses and carrying mobile phones and cameras. They have also decorated their homes in different ways, buying sofas and TVs. These new styles have also influenced the choices of wealthy local people.

Radios and even televisions are relatively common in wealthy and middle-income households in Sirba. As a result, local people watch the news regarding events in the country and beyond, as well as programmes about the successes of model villages in Ethiopia, for example a village in Tigray that is exemplary in implementation of a watershed management scheme.

## **Community changes since 2008**

### ***Crises***

There have been no serious crises in the community in the last five years. In 2004 EC (2012) the rains came a bit early and stopped early, causing some damage to production, but this was not particularly serious. There has been no crop disease because of the use of pesticides and prevention techniques, and only limited cases of livestock disease. The vet provides vaccines and medicine for sick animals when there are problems. There is an outbreak of malaria every year. However, infected people receive treatment quickly.

### ***Environmental changes***

There has not been any forest in the area for many years since the Derg regime, so there is no recent deforestation. According to some respondents, the rainy season is becoming slightly less predictable. In particular, in 2012 the rains came early and stopped early, but did not cause serious problems for agricultural production. According to some respondents, daytime temperatures are also increasing. In the past, flooding was a problem in the rainy seasons. This made travel difficult and contributed to

soil erosion, but in recent years terracing and watershed management activities have been undertaken and as a result flooding is less common.

### ***Economic changes***

Recent years have seen increasing market prices for crops and livestock products, which have provided incentives for farmers to increase their production. The DAs have also been working to increase agricultural production through the adoption of improved seeds, fertilisers and new techniques such as sowing wheat in lines, rather than broadcasting the seeds. The production of cash crops has also increased in recent years, in part because of the DAs attempt to encourage farmers to change the crops produced.

The kebele agricultural office, with support from local agricultural research centres at Melkasa, Asella and Debre Zeit, has also introduced improved livestock breeds. Improved breeds of cattle have contributed to an increase in milk production.

As a result of these changes, those with land have been able to take advantage of new economic opportunities and increase their wealth. However, the poor have few opportunities and as a result their status has not changed much and inequality has increased. In recent years there have been more employment opportunities in local flower farms and factories for young people. For the time being, the Chinese road construction company has also employed a number of young men.

### ***Social changes***

Five years ago theft and murder was more common in the community. As a result of patrols by the militia and 1-5 teams, these activities have considerably reduced. During fieldwork, one man who is a driver of an Isuzu was arrested for stealing household furniture and storing it in his house.

### ***Cultural changes***

There have been some cultural changes with respect to women's rights. According to the HEWs the rate of female circumcision has reduced as a result of the ban and campaign by the government. Many women now also use contraceptives as a means of reducing the number of children. In general, the use of traditional medical practitioners has declined, people increasingly seek care in the health centres or hospital when they require treatment.

There is also a broad change in the community's attitude towards economic activities. All households now want to maximise their income, rather than just providing for the consumption needs for their family. So, men and women are investing in agricultural production for the market and undertaking other activities to find ways of earning money.

Young people have adopted new dressing and hairstyles, copying those common in the towns. Wealthy families and those with relatives in urban areas also increasingly have 'modern' household furniture and kitchen utensils.

### ***Political changes***

The kebele chairman and vice-chairman were replaced one or two years ago because of poor performance and corruption. They were criticised (*gimgema*) in a kebele meeting and the decision was made to replace them.

## **The community's households**

### ***Household structures***

Households are based on a nuclear family structure in which parents and their children reside. Parents tend to share their land with their sons and so sons usually live nearby. New couples lead their own lives with very limited interference from their parents. Some families have a large size, with up to 10 children and the smallest family contains parents and only two children.

There are about 5 female-headed households in the village. Everyone in Sirba pays tax and there are 224 tax-paying households. Only about 6% of households are landless, but these people nevertheless pay land tax for the land on which the house is constructed.

### ***Household case studies***

#### **Successful farmer's household**

AT, the household head, is 45. He lives with his wife, TB, two daughters, who are 18 and 8 years old, and two sons aged 7 and 13. All the children are in education between grades 2 and 10. The niece of the wife also lives in the household and attends grade 10. The family also has three daughters who have left home. Two got married after reaching grades 4 and 6 in school and currently live elsewhere in the same kebele. The other daughter moved to Dubai four months previously.

According to AT, the household had financial problems in the past, but recently there have been great improvements in the household economy. AT was recognised as a model farmer three years ago and a champion farmer in the last two years. TB is also famous in the kebele as a model farmer and is among the most economically successful women in the community.

AT is an Amhara, whose grandfather came from Gondar. However, both he and his father were born in Sirba. TB is Oromo. AT is an iddir leader, a member of the improved seed promotion and distribution group and he acts as an elder informally in dispute resolution. He is also a party member, member of the kebele council, and a leader of a development team and 1-5.

The household has two hectares of land and AT also rents in four additional hectares. The household's land is located next to Sirba mountain and used to be affected by erosion due to the water running of the hill during the rainy season. Since the watershed management scheme was introduced, this erosion has greatly reduced. They grow teff, wheat, chickpeas, beans, peas and lentils, using improved seeds. The household also cultivates vegetables under irrigation on a plot of 400m<sup>2</sup> within the compound. They grow cabbages, carrots and onions some of which are used for household consumption and the rest is sold. AT is a member of the irrigation association and pays contributions of 500 birr a year. He earns up to 3,000 birr per harvest from vegetables and produces two crops a year. In the past, he used to plant eucalyptus trees for sale, but he stopped in the last seven years because he does not earn as much money from the trees as other crops and because they dry up the land. He has recently planted coffee in place of the trees but these have not yet produced berries. In total AT earned 45,000 birr from the previous year's harvest.

AT has received advice from the DAs about using fertiliser, planting in lines, using the Broad Bed Maker (BBM) plough, which types of crops to plant, the use of weedkiller and the types of pesticides to use on the vegetables. He said this advice had been valuable. However, he noted that the cost of fertiliser is increasing. AT has watched TV programmes about how farmers in other parts of the country have been successful, and this has encouraged him to work hard and to increase his production. TB also prepares compost according to the DAs instructions.

The household is engaged in dairy production, bull fattening and keeping chickens. AT has increased his livestock holdings from four oxen five years ago to eight at present, in order to plough the extra land that he has rented. He is currently fattening two bulls for sale. He sold another two fattened

bulls in the last year. He bought one for 6,000 birr and sold it for 13,000 birr after fattening it for three months. He bought the other for 3,500 birr and used it for ploughing for four years. He sold it for 12,000 birr. He also owns four hybrid cows. He says that he has not sold any milk this year because the cows are not producing. However, his wife says that the household is a member of the association that supplies milk to Ada'a milk factory. They supply 2-12 litres a day, but at the moment the cows are pregnant and so they only produce 2 litres. She also produces butter for sale.

The household started poultry farming four years previously. At present they have 100 hybrid chickens to produce eggs. They earn 1,100 birr a week from selling the eggs, but spend 660 birr a week on chicken feed. AT originally bought 50 hybrid chickens and three hybrid cows based on his own initiative, but when the NGO Passion Connection saw what he was doing they also gave him another 50 chickens and one cow to support him. He sold his local breed cows because there is no grazing land available anymore. However, hybrid cows can be profitable if you keep them at home, despite the high cost of feed.

The household hires two daily labourers to look after the livestock and to help with agricultural work. These labourers are paid 50 birr a day, which AT thinks is expensive. The household cooperates with others in the community during harvesting, ploughing and transporting crops to the house. They also cooperate in house building and when there are feasts to be prepared for weddings and funerals. AT saves money in the village credit and savings institution. He used to borrow money, but not in the last five years. His savings earn 15% interest.

There are seven rooms in their compound, including a living room, bedroom, kitchen, a room for their employees and one for livestock. The living room and bedroom were constructed in the last three years and are made from stone and corrugated iron. They recently replaced the wooden door with a metal one. They have a wooden bed, refrigerator, TV and 'modern' TV stand, wooden cabinet and a sofa. The household has four mobile phones. In the last year TB was taught about bednets and the house was sprayed by the health experts.

For the last five years they have accessed water for drinking and all other uses from a tap in the compound. They pay a water bill of 260 birr per month the owner of a private well and tap, who lives in Beirut. They constructed a latrine 15 years ago and everyone in the household uses it. The wife uses biogas for cooking and boiling tea. Hers was the first household to demonstrate this technology 20 years ago. They use livestock dung for baking injera and bread, and electricity for lighting.

The regular food consumed in the household is injera with different sauces, mainly shiro, vegetables, meat, eggs, lentils and milk. Adult members of the household avoid eating meat and eggs during fasting season. All household members have three meals a day. However, the younger ones may eat more. The household has increased its consumption of fruits and vegetables because now the household is producing them in the backyard of the compound. Children also eat more eggs and milk now because of the availability of the products in the household.

The total work burden of the household has increased in recent years because of the increase in their livelihood activities. However, the domestic work burden on TB has reduced because she has hired a housemaid and two daily labourers to help her. She has also brought her niece to the household to help with domestic work. The niece and employees fetch water and take grain to the mill. The wife is engaged in all domestic and agricultural work activities, but particularly childcare, cooking and shopping. She estimates that she spends 40-56 hours on domestic work each week.

All of the children living in the household currently go to school in Ude and have to walk 30-40 minutes each way. They also have a child studying at preparatory school for university in Debre Zeit and another studying hairdressing and beauty in Debre Zeit. One of the daughters migrated to Dubai four months ago. She calls the family once a month at least and says that she is doing well. She has a job, but they are not sure what she does. She completed grade 10 but could not find a job. The

intention of sending her there was that she could have an opportunity to improve her life. She has not sent any remittances, but that was not the objective of the family in any case.

According to the husband and wife at this time there are no sexual attacks or abductions in the community and female circumcision is no longer practised as a result of the government ban. TB circumcised her older daughters, but did not circumcise her younger daughters because she was concerned that she would be punished if she did. AT believes that women now enjoy equal rights in most respects. He acknowledges that there are not yet opportunities for women to be kebele chairs or vice-chairs. However, he believes that, 'women are wise and careful when they administer, if they are assisted and given chances. The problem is there is not an initiative to lift them into such administrative positions. But I hope it will change, as it changed in the council and in the cabinet' where women are now represented. Regarding perceptions that women are weak, he says that 'women still partly accept that next to men they are weak physically. It is obvious and they accept it, but the problem is they also feel that they are less strong than men in many other aspects. There is improvement but there is a lot to be done in altering the community attitude in general and that of women in particular.'

AT is a member of a mahaber and recently spent 2,000 birr to hold the mahaber feast. He is a member of four iddirs, paying 30 birr a month in total, and TB is a member of two iddirs, paying 20 birr a month. AT is a party member, but he does not usually attend meetings, even though he is invited. So far there has not been any punishment and he does not think they take it too seriously. He also attended only five of twelve kebele meetings in the last year. He is a kebele council member and attended all three meetings last year. He is a leader of a development team and a 1-5 group. He attended some 30 meetings with these groups last year. AT pays 250 birr in land tax and worked for 30 days in the public works, in terracing and maintaining the internal roads. TB usually sends the daily labourer to do her contribution to the public works.

### **Successful businessman's household**

The household head, TA, is 38 years old and married to RE, 30. They live with their three children, all sons aged 13, 9 and 4. According to RE, they also live with a male relative aged 18, a female relative aged 15 and a nephew aged 7. These relatives are all in school. No further information is provided. TA is Gurage and has lived in Ude for about 10 years. RE is Oromo and from the local area. They are Orthodox Christian.

The household's livelihood is based on a hotel, butchers, grocery and a bar where they sell tejj and draft. They started their business in 2005 (1998EC) and it has been progressing since that time. The butchers opened in 2007. They built a house next door to the hotel two years ago and they plan to open a cafeteria next to the hotel. They turned their living room into the bar and they have built another house near to the hotel for the family. They have been given an award by BGI Ethiopia for high beer sales. Before 2007 they ran the business entirely by themselves. However, they hired two employees in 2007 and currently hire eight. RE is the cook in the restaurant and is assisted by one of her employees. She cooks beyanet, injera firfir, fried eggs, tibs, fried fish, key wot and shiro.

They bought a minibus last year. TA hires a driver and the minibus is rented to a local flower farm to provide transport for its workers in the mornings and evenings. In between the driver provides public transport in the local area. The flower farm pays 6,000 birr a month, while the income from public transport varies. RE inherited land from her parents but gave it to her siblings.

They borrowed 3,000 birr from WALKO in 2005 to start the business and then borrowed additional amounts, 2,500 birr, 3,000 birr and another 15,000 birr last year to expand their grocery. They repaid all the earlier loans and are currently working to repay the last one. Recently TA asked to borrow 100,000 birr from WALKO but they told him that he could only borrow 70,000 birr and that they also wanted a guarantee. In the past he had used the title deeds for the house and land, but they told him that this was insufficient for such a large amount. He offered to provide the ownership

documents for his minibus, but they required lots of paperwork to prove that the minibus was free of existing debt. He tried to get this paperwork from Addis, but it took too much time and effort so he gave up.

RE says that she contacts the kebele Small Industry and Petty Trade office whenever she requires advice. She also recently participated in a meeting to discuss business and petty trade activities in the kebele. They talked about the problems that business people face and possible solutions. The main problem identified was that the multi-purpose cooperatives were not providing consumables to traders. Consequently, businesses had to buy consumables such as sugar and coffee from other towns, increasing the price of their services. As a result, it was agreed that the multi-purpose cooperative would provide sugar to restaurants and local drink houses in as big a quantity as they required.

RE says that their business was burgled in 2006, when they lost property valued at about 2,000 birr, and again in 2011, when they lost property of about 3,000 birr. The police caught the burglars and she says that security in the community has now improved as a result of the night-time patrols by the militia.

They have two buildings in their compound. One has two rooms, a living room and bedroom for the family. The other has three rooms, which are used for customers. There is also a separate kitchen, storeroom and a room for employees. These buildings are made from stone at the base, with mud and wood for the walls. The compound is fenced with corrugated iron sheets. RE thinks that the house now looks old and they have already started building a new house on 1,500m<sup>2</sup> in the town. This new house will have four rooms, a separate kitchen, a 'well-constructed bathroom' and a separate latrine. They have a wooden bed, dining table and chairs, cabinet, TV and decoder, and three refrigerators. According to RE there is a problem with noise and pollution from the main road next to their house. She says that the noise disturbs the small children.

TA bought a pump and motor to extract groundwater and a filter for 7,000 birr. They pay about 300-400 birr a month for electricity. There are two latrines built with stone and cement. One is reserved for the family and the other is used by employees and customers. For the most part they use dung for cooking, although she sometimes uses kerosene or charcoal for making coffee.

The regular foods eaten in the household are injera, bread, eggs, milk, butter, porridge, shiro, meat, lentils, chickpeas and vegetables. The adults avoid meat during fasting periods. Everyone in the house eats three to four times a day. In the past they did not eat enough eggs, but now they keep 30 chickens to produce eggs for household consumption. They now eat more eggs and chicken. She also buys half a litre of milk every morning on a contract, paying 140 birr a month. The milk is mainly for the children. They employ a housemaid who does most of the domestic work. She also helps to look after the children.

All of the children are in education. The sons are in grades 3 and 6. They pay about 200 birr a year for each child, as well as spending about 1,000 birr on stationery and school uniforms. The youngest is four years old and attends kindergarten (grade 0). They paid a 20 birr registration fee and 10 birr a month for the kindergarten. RE thinks that the kindergarten should have a better fence, more toys, more space and that the toilets are not suitable for small children.

They believe that female circumcision, rape, abduction, early marriage and domestic violence have all stopped as a result of the government's intervention. RE has changed her attitude towards circumcision and now has no plans to circumcise any female children. At present they do not have any daughters. RE used an injectable contraceptive at first, but says that this caused her to gain weight and so she switched to tablets.

According to TA his wife is a party member, but he is not because he has never been asked to join. According to RE she is a member but not at all active, rather it is her husband who participates in party meetings. TA participates in public works through a 1-5 group building terracing and check

dams, working three days a week. RE sends an employee to cover her public works contribution. The household does not participate in cooperation in house building.

TA paid 2,000 birr in tax for his business and 800 birr for the minibus. He also pays 120 birr a year in land tax for the house and 210 birr for a licence for each of the businesses, which makes 840 birr for the butchers, grocery, hotel and minibus. TA also made a 200 birr voluntary contribution to the OPDO and voluntarily bought a bond in the Renaissance dam for 1,000 birr. RE says that she saves 2,000 birr a month with WALKO. They are also members of an equb and contribute 2,000 birr (according to TA) or 4,000 birr (according to RE) each week between them. Equb members can borrow 200,000 birr when it is their turn. TA plans to realise his plans to open a cafeteria when it is his turn to borrow. TA is a member of three iddir, paying 5 birr a month each, and RE is a member of five iddir. RE is a member of a mahaber and they spent about 3,000 birr holding a feast, when it is their turn. She was a member of the women's association until three years ago, but left because she did not have time to participate.

At the time of the second fieldwork in November 2013 the café was built and trees planted for outdoor service. TA had received the big equb share of 200,000 *birr* and has joined the same group for a new equb to be 400,000. The hotel business is going well and he also became a distributor of beer (St George) and soft drinks (Coca cola). Every week he sells 40 boxes of beer and around 60 boxes of all types of soft drinks and Harar beer. He buys a loaded isuzu every week. Previously he used to bring about 60 boxes in his minibus; then the company suggested he take 100 boxes which they would deliver. The first time it was for the hotel to sell but they also suggested he became a distributor for the area. Now he sells much of it; though the profit per box is only 5 *birr* the high turnover gives him a good profit – he sells 10-20 boxes a day. The good profit is making the household more wealthy.

### **Household of farmer of middle wealth**

GR, the household head, is 57 and married to his wife, MA, 45. They live with seven of their children, five sons and two daughters. The sons are aged 28, 26, 24, 18 and 10, and the daughters are aged 15 and 13. Another three daughters have already married and left home. Both parents are Oromo and Orthodox Christian.

GR says that there has not been any major change in the household's economy in recent years. Overall their income has slightly improved, although there are challenges as a result of inflation, erratic rainfall and pests, but these have not had major effects on the household. In order of importance, the household grows teff, wheat, chickpeas, maize, beans, peas and lentils. All of these are used for household consumption and any surplus is sold in the market. More teff is produced for the market than the other crops.

GR says that the soil is losing fertility. In the past they would sow crops without fertiliser and still produce good harvests, but since they started using fertiliser and the land has been intensively used, the fertility is declining. Consequently, he reports that his production is declining. He has started crop rotation, alternating between teff and chickpeas, which helps the soil to recover. He also says that the climate is changing. In particular, the weather is getting hotter and rainfall is increasingly unreliable. Pests are common on lentils and chickpeas. He usually buys pesticides from Debre Zeit market, and, when they are available, from the kebele agricultural office. However, they are rarely available at the right time in the kebele and so he usually buys them from the market, which is more expensive. An office called *irsha meremer* (literally, farm research – possibly the local agricultural research centre) provides farmers with training and improved seeds for most crops, including a variety of teff called *kuncho* that is very productive. They have also changed to plant crops in lines, and as a result they now use only 25-30kg of teff to sow one hectare, rather than 60kg as was the case in the past. The new teff has many branches and produces a lot of grain compared to the other

varieties. The improved wheat varieties are called digelo and kekeba and these are also very productive. The household also prepares compost according to the DAs' instructions.

GR is one of 18 members of the irrigation association established by the NGO Passion Connects Ethiopia. He received training for six days on irrigated agriculture. Members receive water for 40 minutes a day and use it to produce vegetables. They contribute about 500 birr each for seeds, pesticides and other expenses. He earns between 1,800 and 2,000 birr from the sale of vegetables, twice a year, depending on market prices.

They sell their crops both at their home and in the market in Debre Zeit, where they hope to get a better price. In the last year, GR sold teff for 15,000 birr, chickpeas for 5,000 birr, wheat for 1,000 birr, lentils for 1,300 and beans for 300 birr. This income represents an average harvest for the household. Although his productivity is declining due to the soil, the price is increasing, so he earns about the same amount. MA says that she saves some of the teff to sell when the prices rise during the rainy season. GR also plants some eucalyptus around his house for sale.

They borrowed money from one organisation (GR cannot remember which) on several occasions over four years, seven years previously. They were charged 15% interest. GR used the money to pay for fertiliser and other farm inputs. Since then he has been able to cover the costs himself without borrowing money. MA is currently a member of a credit and savings organisation and saves between 100 and 1,000 birr each month.

The household has four oxen, two cows, one heifer, two calves and ten chickens. The children own some of these chickens separately. At times the household has had more chickens than this, but periodically they are wiped out by disease. The numbers of other livestock have remained the same, although they are sometimes replaced. For instance, 11 months previously, GR sold an ox for 6,500 birr because it was getting old and he bought a new one for 7,500 birr. All of the household's livestock are local breeds. The household consumes all the milk produced. The wife sells eggs and butter, and she manages this money generated.

The DA provides farmers with sinar seeds, which they cultivate and use for livestock feed. The DAs have also been teaching farmers about mixing different types of livestock feed. However, GR has not yet been able to implement this advice because the feed costs a lot of money. They receive veterinary services from the government vet, but this is only in Ude and they cannot take their animals there when they are sick. GR says that no credit is available for improved livestock, but he thinks that this would be very useful.

GR cooperates in the wonfel labour exchange and house building activities. He also lends a pair of oxen to his brother and a neighbour, but does not expect anything in return. The father and sons look after the livestock, feeding them and cleaning up after them. During peak seasons they may hire agricultural labourers to help.

The house comprises a kitchen, a room for livestock, a living room and a bedroom. The house is built from stone foundations, with wood and mud for the walls. The living room and bedroom were recently maintained and so are in a better condition. The household has a wooden bed, table and chairs, TV and a cabinet. They have three mobile phones. MA was recently informed about malaria prevention by people in her iddir. She went to the health centre in Ude to get a bednet and her house was sprayed.

For the last three years, they have got drinking water from a tap in the neighbourhood. The tap is five minutes' walk away and they pay 0.30 birr for a 20 litre jerrycan. There is no queue for water. The household uses water from a borehole in the compound for other water, such as washing clothes. The household has a latrine and everyone uses it. MA uses dung for cooking and baking injera and bread. She sometimes uses kerosene or charcoal for preparing coffee. Foods commonly consumed in the household include: injera, porridge and bread. MA also sometimes prepares kollo (roasted barley), nifro (boiled wheat) and sauces including shiro, chickpeas, vegetables, meat, eggs,

lentils and milk. Everyone in the household has three meals a day, although the children also have snacks in between. The adults avoid eggs and meat during fasting seasons.

The burden of domestic work on MA has reduced in recent years because her daughters are able to help her. The women take care of domestic work, while the men do the agricultural work. Both the sons and daughters collect water and dung, while the men take grain to the mill, which is about 10 minutes away. MA spends 28-40 hours a week on domestic work.

All of the children have attended school. The eldest son dropped out after grade three, while the 24-year-old completed grade 10 and the 18 year old dropped out in grade 9. The 26-year-old completed an accounting degree and works as a government finance officer in Adulala town. He returns to the house every weekend and is considered a household resident. He earns more than 2,000 birr and he contributes some money to the household. The youngest three children are still in school between grades 4 and 8. They walk for 15-30 minutes to get to school.

The 28-year-old and 24-year-old sons are engaged in farming and are also both members of a stone production cooperative in the community. The 18-year-old works full time for the Chinese road construction company. Three daughters aged 31, 21, and 19 have already married and live in Debre Zeit or neighbouring rural kebele. They dropped out of education in grades 2-4.

GR does not allow his children to dress in 'odd' styles that are being introduced by some young people influenced by urban areas. However, he is in favour of skinny jeans because they stop the ends of the trousers from getting muddy during the rainy season.

MA circumcised her older daughters, but says that she has been unable to circumcise her younger daughters as a result of the government's ban. The traditional practitioner now refuses to circumcise girls. Nevertheless, she does not agree with the ban and, based on her own experience having had ten children without problem, does not believe that circumcision has negative health consequences. She believes that circumcision helps women to be focused and polite to their parents and husbands. Both parents say that rape, abduction and female circumcision have now been stopped as a result of the government's intervention. GR says that where forced abduction takes place, the elders will no longer mediate such cases and the offenders are pursued by the law. Although he acknowledges that domestic violence is still common in a few households, he says that offenders are punished by elders and the militia. He believes that attitudes to women have changed and that women are now recognised as being wise and powerful, rather than weak, as was the case in the past. MA was using an injectable contraceptive but stopped three years ago because she believes that she is now too old to get pregnant.

GR is an elder and was a religious leader in the church committee until he stood down earlier this year. He was vice-chairman of the kebele under the Derg, but has had no role in the kebele since then. He is a party member and is currently the head of a 1-5 group and a cell. He has not been made a model farmer yet, but he believes that he needs to change himself in order to succeed in farming to become a model farmer like others have. He was not convinced at first about the value of the 1-5 groups. However, he has come to the conclusion that they are beneficial because they have allowed enhanced cooperation, interaction and skills sharing. He attends party meetings, although he says that his wife is reluctant to do so. He believes that if someone in the community refused to be a party member, it would not be good for relations between the government and the community.

His daughter married two years ago following negotiation by elders. The total cost of the wedding was 14,000 birr. The parents also bought their daughter kitchen utensils and clothes. He received sheep and goats, as well as 1,800 birr in contributions from guests. Another daughter married previously. This earlier ceremony was much less expensive both because of inflation and because the household now has more money than previously and so organised a much bigger celebration. When the family attended another wedding ceremony recently as guests, they contributed 50 birr and areqi.

He is a member of five iddirs and he contributes 5 birr to each every month. In addition to assistance with funeral expenses, iddirs lend money to help people cover medical expenses. She is a member of three iddirs, paying 10 birr a month to each. He is a member of a mahaber and spends about 3,000 birr to hold the feast once every three years. He is an Orthodox Christian and attends church once or twice a month. He attends church more now than in the past, because he is getting old and feels that he should be closer to God at this time. He pays 100 birr a year in land tax and 60 birr for other contributions, such as for the Red Cross.

### **Household of poor farmer**

BG, the household head, is 67 years old and married to AG, 55. They live with two adult sons, aged 36 and 23, and a grandson, aged 8. They also have another adult son aged 18, who recently moved to Arssi, and two daughters who are 27 and 30 and are both married, living elsewhere in the wereda. Neither the parents nor children have ever attended school. They are both Oromo and Orthodox Christian.

The household has 0.75 hectares of land on which they grow teff, wheat and chickpeas. They produce a total of about 10 quintals. Their production is not enough for the household's consumption and so they have to borrow grain from their neighbours who produce a surplus. They repay this grain when they produce their harvest. He says that they do not sell any grain. However, she says that she occasionally sells a few kilos of teff or chickpeas in order to buy coffee.

They say that the DAs have never visited them because they are poor and the DAs do not think that they are worth helping. They think that the DAs prefer to focus their efforts on the rich farmers. BG believes that deforestation in the area has caused the rains become more irregular. Sometimes there is flooding and at other times an insufficient amount of rain for the crops. He also says that the productivity of the land is declining as a result of erosion. However, the terracing activities conducted through the watershed management scheme have helped to protect his land from erosion.

AG says that they only use a small amount of fertiliser, which is insufficient to improve the productivity of the soil. They cannot afford to buy fertiliser in cash, which is required at the kebele agricultural office. He borrowed 1,600 birr three years ago from a government source, and used the money to buy fertiliser and seeds. He repaid the loan but he does not borrow money anymore because he fears debt and the possibility that his land or house might be taken away if he cannot pay. He says that they once had a meeting with the wereda at which the wereda promised to dig boreholes to provide irrigation to all the farmers. Two years later this has not happened but he thinks it would be very helpful, enabling him to produce two crops a year and high-value crops.

The household has never owned an ox and with inflation, they now cost more than 3,000 birr, which they cannot possibly afford. BG borrows oxen from people who are too weak to plough the land themselves, and he ploughs their land also in return. He has never owned any livestock, although his son bought two calves. However, he sold these when he recently moved to Arssi.

AG has had a problem with pain in her leg, knee, shoulder and back for many years and is unable to work or engage in off-farm income generation. She does some work refining grains and earns 1kg of grain for the work that she does. She uses a traditional treatment that she prepares at home. She believes that her illness is caused by an evil spirit and so the only successful treatment would be a spiritual one. She needs support to go to a faraway monastery to receive holy water. He also feels that he is getting old and that his productivity is declining as a result.

BG works with others as part of a debo labour sharing arrangement, weeding and harvesting one another's crops in turn. Outside the growing season, he also works as a labourer, plastering houses with mud. He earned 400 birr for two houses last year.

The house has three rooms and there has been no change for a long time. They have one mobile phone which is used mainly by BG. BG recently told his wife that there had been an outbreak of malaria and that they should use a bednet. They got one from the health centre in Ude. They buy drinking water from the tap in the neighbourhood, which is sold for 0.25 birr for a 20 litre jerry can. They walk 5 minutes to the tap. In the past, they used water from an untreated borehole in the compound, and boiled it for drinking. They constructed a latrine ten years ago. The parents used it, but the children did not like it and refused. The latrine was destroyed five years ago and there has not been one since. They intend to build a new one.

They use livestock dung to cook. The main foods are teff injera and shiro. Sometimes AG cooks vegetables or lentils in a sauce. She prefers to use red teff for household consumption, which leaves some white teff to sell. They all eat three times a day, but the amount they eat at meals has reduced since some of their children left home, causing the farm production to decline.

AG is responsible for all the domestic work, and she has a grandchild who helps her. BG takes grain to the mill and he and the sons are responsible for shopping. BG is responsible for childcare (not specified, but perhaps for grandchildren). She and her maid (no other mention) are responsible for cooking. AG spends 40-48 hours a week on domestic work.

Neither of the sons has ever attended education. The grandchild also does not attend school because AG is scared to stay at home alone. The two sons who live at home are involved in stone production in an association. They earn about 1,000 birr a month each, but they spend all their money on themselves. They have no savings and they do not contribute money to the household budget. BG says that they are not wise with the money they earn and do nothing with it to change their lives. The sons also do work for other people, such as fencing. This refusal to contribute to the household has caused tension between the parents and their children.

Two years previously, a son migrated to Arssi. He has given a mobile phone to some friends in the village, so that they can be in regular contact. The son says that he has got land there to grow red peppers and that he is successful.

The parents believe that female circumcision has been stopped by the government's activities. Nevertheless, older people like BG believe that circumcision helps women to behave themselves properly. Similarly, AG believes that circumcision helps women to have a good personality and a proper manner. In the past, domestic violence was accepted as right in the community. Now as a result of the government's intervention this is not the case, although drunk men still continue to beat their wives. BG says that women go directly to report their husbands to the militia, but the militia just issue warnings every time, they never punish the men.

AG has never used contraceptives and she says that she objects to the term itself. Only God should decide matters of life. Her oldest daughter has been unable to control the number of children she has had despite using contraceptives. She currently has five children.

BG is a member of three iddirs and he contributes 65 birr a month in total. AG is also a member of an iddir, contributing 20 birr a month. Recently, the iddirs have begun lend money to members when their relatives are sick and face medical expenses. If the relative recovers, the money must be repaid, if they die, the debt is written off. BG is also a member of a mahaber and spent 2,000 birr holding the feast two weeks previously. Since the members contribute 100 birr each, the host of the feast does not need to spend a large amount. He is also an elder involved in dispute resolution. He is not a party member or a model farmer and has never had any role in the kebele. BG and his sons participated in the public works. However, his wife is exempt because she is not well. AG says that the public works sometimes affect the daily labour activities conducted by her husband. BG pays 120 birr a year in land tax.

**Household of successful woman head**

The household head is 62 years old and Oromo. She separated from her husband 10 years previously because of his alcoholism. He moved to Debre Zeit and they no longer had any regular contact. However, on occasion he would come to the house at night and disturb her. After ten years he sent messengers asking her for reconciliation. She refused and sent a message warning him that if he came to the house she could not be held responsible for any crime she committed. He has not returned. She currently lives with her six-year-old grandson.

She has had six children, three sons and three daughters. The daughters are married and aged 30-38. The sons are aged 24 to 40. The 24 year old and the 40 year old both completed university degrees. The older son is a government employee in Debre Zeit and the younger son is currently looking for a job in the town. The middle son died in the last year.

She says that the household economy has improved in recent years. Previously her children were dependent on her, but now they are all independent and some even send her money. However, recently she has faced a number of problems. Her son who had remained with her rather than continuing his education recently passed away. Six years ago she arranged his marriage and gave him 0.5 hectares of her land. He constructed his own house and he also helped her to farm her land. He had one child with his wife, but he was depressed and told his mother that he wanted to live in the town but had sacrificed his school years to his mother. He thought that it was too late for him to return to school and find a good job like his siblings. He had problems with alcohol addiction and he disturbed his wife. In the end, his wife left him, moving to Addis Ababa and leaving the child with her parents. After discussion, the parents agreed that the child could live with the respondent. The son's depression grew worse and he committed suicide by throwing himself into a borehole in September 2012 (2005EC). The people who found him said that he was trying to swim, but he drowned.

Then in December of the same year the respondent lost 4-6 quintals of teff, wheat, sorghum and chickpeas in a fire. The police were unable to find the cause of the fire. She received support from relatives, neighbours, friends and iddir members who contributed about 10 quintals of teff and wheat. Finally, a week after the fire, her farm labourer, who had worked for her for seven years, died suddenly after two days of illness. The respondent believes that he died because of his fear of the fire and his mourning for her son. However, she also wonders whether he might have survived if she had taken him to the health clinic. The last year has been the most challenging of her life.

She has 2.5 hectares of farmland and grows teff, wheat, chickpeas and sometimes barley, maize and peas. She tried to grow lentils three years ago but her soil is koticha, which is not suitable for lentils, but is particularly suited to teff production. She is known locally for producing the best quality teff. People come to her house to buy teff and farmers also come to buy seeds. Even the DAs sometimes buy her seeds to give to other farmers. She has been advised by the DAs and carefully selects the best teff for use as seeds. This year, however, she has no seed to sell. This is due to the fire, flooding which mixed red teff growing on her neighbour's land with her own white teff, and the rains last year which started and finished earlier than normal.

For the last ten years or more, she has used fertiliser and a crop rotation system. The kebele agricultural office provides improved seeds, fertiliser, weedkiller and pesticides. The DAs have also advised her about the use of these inputs. Increasing demand and prices for her products has encouraged her to increase her production. The environmental rehabilitation programme conducted by the DAs has helped to prevent erosion on her farmland. She has also constructed some terracing herself on her farmland. In recent years the price of chickpeas has fallen. In 2009-10 (2002-03EC) the price of chickpeas was 1,800-1,900 birr per quintal, but this fell to 1,380 birr last year and 900-1,000 birr this year.

She has four local breed oxen. She used to have six but two died from disease. She also has one cow. Five years previously she had four. However, she sold one to cover schooling costs and slaughtered

two for her daughters' weddings. She has sold three calves in the past five years because she does not have enough space to keep them. She also has three sheep, three goats and eight chickens. One goat, a sheep and two chickens have died from diseases. She sold four roosters in the last year for 80-100 birr. She would like to keep improved breed livestock, but she does not want to get into debt in order to buy them, even though they are easily available on credit. She also used to sell butter. However, she says that the market is now controlled by households who keep improved cows and so she has stopped selling butter. There is a vet in Ude and in emergencies the vet and the livestock DA will come to the village.

She is now able to hire two agricultural labourers. She also gets some labour support from her children and grandchildren. She used to be involved in debo during peak agricultural seasons such as harvesting, weeding and transporting the harvest to the house. However, at present she prefers to hire labourers, because she is getting old and cannot contribute her labour to others.

The old house in her compound has two rooms: a kitchen and a room for employees. She is currently building a 'modern' residential house with four rooms, made from stone and cement. She intends to use the old house for the livestock once the new one has been completed. When one of her sons got his first month's salary he bought her a wooden bed made using the best wood from the south of the country. She also has an old iron bed and an old wooden cabinet. She intends to buy a modern wooden cabinet, as well as a dining table, chairs and sofa for the new house. Four years ago her son bought her a TV and radio and another son bought her a mobile phone three years ago.

She has a borehole in her compound but this water has not been treated. Her sons sometimes buy her chemicals to treat the water, but she has no one to help her to haul up the water. Usually she buys drinking water from a neighbour with a water tap. She pays 0.25 birr per jerrycan (20 litres). She has constructed two latrines but both were destroyed, one by flooding and wind blew the roof off the other, causing it to fill with rain. She now intends to construct a new latrine using stone and cement. She was given a bednet this year by the HEWs.

She saw a neighbour using an improved stove several years ago and this motivated her to buy one. These stoves save time and energy. She uses livestock dung for cooking and for baking injera. Sometimes she uses gasoline for cooking as well. She uses electricity for the TV, radio and mobile.

The main food eaten in the house is teff injera, wheat for bread, chickpea sauce, peas, spices, milk, eggs and meat. There is no seasonal variation, although she avoids animal products during fasting season. She eats three times a day, but the children eat 4-5 times. In the past she used to produce more red teff for household consumption. However, she does not want the red and white teff to mix, and she wants to increase her production of white teff, which has a higher value in the market. Now she only produces white teff and consumes some herself. She sells most of the eggs produced, but saves some for her grandchildren, if there are any left over. She now buys more vegetables, oil seeds and spices than before because she has learned about cooking the best food from her neighbours.

She has deliberately not tried to improve the diet of her household because she believes that they have been eating a balanced diet for some time. For the most part, she eats from one big plate with her grandson. When he wants extra he eats from a small plate. When the labourer was still alive, he ate from a separate plate. In the past, her children were able to help her with the domestic work, but now she does everything herself. She spends about 35 hours a week, fetching water, wood or dung, carrying grain to the mill, cleaning, washing clothes, shopping, cooking and looking after her grandson.

She circumcised all of her children, but none of her grandchildren have been circumcised. She thinks that since government policies are intended to benefit the community, the ban on circumcision must be beneficial. She believes that female circumcision has been eradicated, while rape and abduction are now extremely rare. Domestic violence is now also much more rare. She thinks that although

some men may still think that women are weaker than men, they are no longer able to say it out loud. She thinks that the people who still hold these beliefs are the ones who oppress women and support harmful traditional practices such as female circumcision and early marriage.

She is a member of the local 1-5 group and a party member but she is not active and has not been to any party meetings. She is a member of the farmers' association where farmers meet to share information and discuss production.

She is a member of St Gabriel's and the women's iddir. She contributes 20 birr a month to each and is also the storekeeper for the women's iddir. When her son died, she slaughtered a sheep for the burial ceremony and prepared food and tella for the guests and for those who visited her during the three day funeral. She also had to prepare food and tella for the priests in the local church who pray for the dead person on the 12<sup>th</sup> day and 40<sup>th</sup> day. She prepared 40 pieces of injera and 2 jerry cans of tella. She has planned to hold a big memorial ceremony when she has enough resources. She will slaughter an ox, and prepare food and drink for all the relatives, neighbours and iddir members who supported her emotionally and financially when she was in mourning. She said that it is necessary to prepare something for the annual memorial ceremony for 7 consecutive years. She received support from her relatives, who brought teff for injera, and 2000birr and labour support from her iddir members. She pays 100 birr a year in land tax.

### **Household of poor woman head**

The household head (no age provided) lives with four of her children and a grand-daughter, aged three (the interview does not indicate who the parents are). There are three daughters and one son aged between 10 and 18. All of the children attend school in grades 5-11. The household head divorced her husband ten years ago and moved with her children to Mojo. She found work in a plastic factory there. However, she was in crisis because her husband refused to share their property with her and he was unable to help her to feed the children. Five years ago she returned to Sirba to reconcile with her husband. However, he died shortly afterwards. She is an Amhara who has lived in the community for more than 50 years. Her husband was Oromo and as a result she feels as though she belongs to the Oromo community. She has been experiencing pain in her shoulder and back, and has sought treatment in Debre Zeit hospital. She has paid 600 birr for treatment; however, the medicine they gave her has not cured her problem.

The household grows teff, chickpeas, wheat, peas and maize for household consumption on one hectare of farmland. The household head sells the surplus once the household's needs are met. In the last five years, the household has increased production of chickpeas and lentils. Last year she made a profit of 300 birr, selling her crops in the market in Debre Zeit. She used the money to buy household necessities and to pay for children's schooling. She buys fertiliser and improved seeds from the kebele agricultural office. This year she bought 70kg of improved chickpea seeds and produced 22 quintals, selling 1 quintal for 900 birr. She has also kept some of the chickpeas, waiting for the price to rise. She also grows eucalyptus trees in her compound for sale. She sold ten trees for 50 birr each and replaced these with seedlings bought for 1 birr each. It takes three years for the seedlings to reach maturity.

The household's economy has been improving in recent years. The improved seeds provided by the kebele have been particularly helpful in raising production. The farmland is sufficient to feed all of the family for the year.

The household has no oxen of its own. The head borrows oxen from her relatives, in particular her son-in-law. She has two improved breed cows (Borena breed) and two calves. She had none five years ago. The kebele agricultural office provided these animals on credit, since she would find it difficult to pay for them in cash. She says that she suffered for two years to repay her debt and does not want to borrow any more money. She buys fodder in Ude town and Debre Zeit from traders. She thinks that it is very expensive.

She used to keep sheep but five were stolen at night. She was disappointed as a result and decided to sell the remaining animals. She has six improved breed chickens, which she bought from local farmers. However, she lost ten chickens to a disease about five years ago. Poultry diseases have discouraged her from keeping more and she believes that chickens are very sensitive to disease. She has sold 12 chickens for 80-100 birr each in the last 12 months. She uses the milk from the cows and some of the eggs for household consumption, in particular for the children. However, she also sells about five eggs a week for 2-2.25 birr each, either in Ude, Debre Zeit or Mojo. Sometimes she will sell them in the local community. There is a vet in Ude that provides vaccinations and medical treatment. However, since it is 30 minutes' walk away, it can be difficult to get treatment in an emergency.

Her son-in-law helps her to plough the land and all of her children help in farming activities. The household cooperates in labour and tool sharing arrangements with other farming households in the community. Nevertheless, she observes that at present people cooperate less than they did in the past. For the most part, house building is now done by skilled builders, and people prefer to work on their own farming activities rather than working together.

The household head re-built her house three years ago, replacing her mud and wood house with a 'modern structure' with three rooms, a separate kitchen and separate rooms for the livestock. She recently bought a TV and has a bed, wooden kitchen cabinets, chairs and a radio. She says that there is increasing sound pollution from the lorries and cars passing by on the main road. However, she says that most people do not regard this as a problem. There was a recent campaign by the HEWs about bednets and spraying houses. They have one bednet for the household and use it.

She buys drinking water from a tap in the neighbourhood. The tap is three minutes' walk away and the water costs 0.30 birr for 20 litres. The water point is open from 7am to 6pm and there is not much of a queue. Five years ago, she used water from an untreated borehole. This water did not cause her any health problems. She has a latrine made from wood and soil, and everyone in the household uses it. She uses livestock dung for fuel and charcoal for boiling coffee. Everyone in the household eats three times a day and the main foods are teff injera, shiro, eggs, milk, and sauces made from lentils and chickpeas. The only variation is that the adults avoid milk and eggs during fasting seasons, although this does not affect the children.

Her daughter used to take care of almost all the domestic work burden. However, since she migrated to an Arab country, the respondent does most of the work. She spends about 5 hours a day on domestic work. Her two daughters fetch water, wash clothes and clean the compound. However, the household head does the cooking. The male members of the household do not do much of the domestic work, but they help with the agricultural work.

All of her children are in school. The children living at home go to school in Ude, which is a 30-40 minute walk from the house. Another child is attending grade 11 in Mojo. He stays with relatives in the town and returns every weekend. One of her daughters failed the exams at grade eight and has since migrated to an Arab country two years ago. She sends money to her mother.

Her older daughters were circumcised, but she did not circumcise her younger daughters because she feared punishment by the government. Nevertheless, she still believes that there are advantages to circumcision, in particular that it helps girls to control their behaviour. She says that many offenders were put in prison for rape 5-6 years ago and as a result, it is much less common now. Abduction has also greatly reduced and now the only cases are elopement or voluntary abduction. She does, however, think that domestic violence continues in the community and is still regarded by many as a normal part of relations between a husband and wife.

The household head participated in the public works, but was unable to work all the days because of her health problems. She is a party member but has not attended any meetings in the last year. She pays 60 birr a year in land tax for one hectare. She is a member of four iddir and she contributes 10

birr a month for each. She also contributed 10 birr through the iddir for the construction of the Renaissance Dam. She contributes 24 birr a year for the church.

## **Structures of inequality**

### ***Class, wealth and poverty***

#### **Overall community wealth**

Overall, the wealth of the community has increased as a result of the improved opportunities afforded by agricultural production. Farmers increasingly produce a surplus of crops and livestock products for sale in the market.

#### **Spatial poverty**

Kumbursa, one of the other villages in the kebele, is the only one that has no access to electricity. There is also no school in Kumbursa, unlike Sirba and Ude. The lack of electricity was one of the reasons why the kebele said that they had been unable to provide any safe water sources in that part of the kebele.

#### **Household wealth inequalities**

Many respondents believe that income inequality has increased in recent years. High prices for crops and livestock products have provided farmers with access to land and resources to invest in improved inputs and livestock with economic opportunities. In contrast, poor households usually lack access to sufficient land to produce a substantial surplus and lack the resources to invest in livestock. As a result, they have been largely excluded from these economic opportunities. The withdrawal of the provision of fertiliser on credit by the government has also contributed to inequality, since the wealthy can easily afford to buy fertiliser without credit, while the poor are likely to use a sub-optimal amount of fertiliser if they have to buy it in cash. The NGO Passion Connection dug a borehole to provide irrigation for 18 farmers. These farmers have been able to produce vegetables for sale, leading to inequality between those with access to irrigation and those without. Some wealthy people reported that they send their employees to carry out their voluntary public work contributions, rather than participating themselves.

#### **Inequality within households**

A main source of intra-household inequality is access to land. There has been no land redistribution in the village for 25 years and as a result very few young adults have access to land. There is therefore inequality between the middle aged and elderly who have access to land and the younger generations who have no land and relatively few economic opportunities.

#### **Problems poor people face**

The poor 16-year-old girl respondent says that last year the primary school required students to pay 100 birr, an increase from the previous fee of 50 birr. Since her parents were unable to pay the fees she was dismissed and ended up having to repeat grade four. She has, however, continued her education and is currently in grade five.

### ***Social identity, status differences and vulnerability***

#### **Ethnicity**

There are very good relations between the ethnic groups in Sirba. Inter-marriage between ethnic groups is relatively common and there is no problem with this.

The Amhara and Tigraway households are middle income or relatively wealthy, while the Kembata and Wolayta households are all poor. The wealth of the Oromo majority varies considerably.

## **Clan / lineage / family**

### *Generally*

According to respondents there are no clans or lineages in Sirba.

### *Craftworkers*

In the past blacksmiths and potters were less favoured for marriage but at present this is no problem. This is no longer the case, and social organisations such as the iddir and mahaber are open to everyone, including craftworkers.

### *Slaves*

None

## **Religions**

In Sirba village the only religion is Orthodox Christianity. There are small Protestant and Muslim minorities in the other villages in the kebele.

There was a conflict nine years ago in Ude village between Orthodox Christians and the incoming Protestants. The conflict gradually turned into a demand by the Protestants for land to build a church, rather than worshipping in a rented house. The Protestants received land from the kebele and now have a church and are more integrated than they were before. There are four families who are partly Protestant and partly Orthodox; usually young children are inclined to Protestantism but their parents don't want to convert. There is some conflict within these households. There are 2 Protestants in the cabinet and the rest are Orthodox.

## **Native/immigrant**

There are no recent migrants into the community apart from seasonal migrants who come from other parts of Oromia and Amhara during the harvest period. There are no reports of any tensions or status differences between the older migrant populations, such as the Amhara, and the rest of the community.

## **Non-conformity and status**

### *Women without husbands*

There are five female-headed households in the community. In the past there were more, but they have re-married. They are not discriminated against in the community. The main problem that they face is the shortage of male labour for ploughing. They rely on relatives and neighbours to plough their land. One woman interviewed during fieldwork was widowed ten years ago. She took credit in a group and used the money to start a business preparing and selling tella and areqi in her house. She made a good profit from the work, but it was very risky for her and her children because her customers got drunk and started fighting in the house. When this happened she had to take her children outside and the men would fight and damage her property. Often customers would ask to drink on credit or just refuse to pay her. As a result of these problems she stopped the business. Since then she has been working at a flower farm, in the packing house. She prefers this work because she is not exposed to the chemicals that they use in the farm itself. She also uses her days off to trade crops.

## **Vulnerable people**

### *Disabled people*

There is one blind man who is 18, and one deaf man who is 25. There are also two people who suffer from epilepsy, and one 3-year-old boy who is deaf, and unable to walk. Care for these people is the

sole responsibility of family and friends. The blind man has been unable to access any material in braille, while the man with epilepsy is from a poor household and his mother reportedly suffers a lot.

#### *Mentally ill people*

There is one mentally ill woman who is about 40. She has no one to care for her and so she sleeps under a tree.

#### *Old people needing support*

Care for old people is the responsibility of their families. There is one 65-year-old woman with no one to care for her. A household in the community volunteered to provide a small hut for her to stay in.

#### *Orphans*

There are four orphans, two girls and two boys, between the ages of three and eight. These children come from three households in which the parents died as a result of AIDS. The children's grandparents and uncles have taken responsibility for their care. However, they are not well cared for and have poor nutrition and clothing.

#### *PLWHAs*

One woman in the community is known to be living with HIV/AIDS and it is suspected that others are hiding their status. According to respondents there is no discrimination in the community. At present the woman is able to work and support herself, but her family supports her when required.

### ***Genderage experiences, differences and relationships***

#### **Growing up in the community – boys and girls**

##### *Birth and infancy*

###### *New-born infants*

Most babies are now born with the help of the HEWs, one of whom has been trained to provide safe delivery services. They are given vaccinations and the HEWs follow their progress. In the past mothers used to give new-borns butter for a few days before starting to breastfeed. This is now considered to be a harmful traditional practice and is less common.

##### *Children – work, play and education*

###### *Pre-school children*

There is now a kindergarten (grade 0) in the kebele for pre-school children, which was not the case in the past.

###### *Children 7-12ish*

Most children start school at 7 years old. Between 7 and 12 most children, both boys and girls are now sent to school, which was not the case in the past. Children assist their parents in the work of the household, including, fetching water, collecting dung, preparing coffee, cleaning the house and livestock yard and washing clothes. Boys also look after livestock. In the past girls were circumcised at this age, but this is less common now.

##### *Adolescence and youth*

###### *Adolescents 12-16ish*

At 14 or 15 some children start to engage in paid work

## Youth

### *Male youth trajectories*

#### Boy's work

Boys tend to work more on the farm than in domestic work. They help their fathers in all aspects of farming, including ploughing, harvesting, threshing and looking after livestock. Boys start ploughing by the time they are 13 years old and younger children look after livestock. Weeding is generally left to the children. Many boys also fetch water, take grain to the mill or buy things at the shops. It is less common for boys to do domestic work, although several respondents said that they wash clothes for the family and the poor 13-year-old sometimes cooks for his family.

#### Combining work and education

Almost all boys help their families in farming and some domestic work, in addition to their education. Some of the older youths also work for money. The school is closed for two weeks during harvest time to allow the children to help their families. Most 13 year olds do not work for money, but they do combine education with some domestic or farm work for the families. The middle-wealth 13-year-old worked during his recent school holidays for the first time, digging for the construction of a house. He earned 50 birr a day for seven days. He used the money to buy shoes and clothes for himself. He would like other opportunities if they could be combined with school, but most jobs cannot be combined with education. The poor 13-year-old sometimes helps his uncle who is a guard for the water point and he gets some money for books and pens. He thinks that if boys try to combine working for money and education, they will not have sufficient time to study properly.

Some 16 year olds work loading and unloading lorries or for the Chinese construction company. Loading lorries can be done in half days and so can be combined with education. The middle wealth 16-year-old was convinced to drop out of school and start working for the Chinese road construction company by his friend. He worked in welding and constructing fences for the new Addis Ababa-Nazret road until one month previously. He earned 37 birr a day, working from 7am to 6pm. The Chinese company requires workers to work full days and so this cannot be combined with the shift system for education. He used the money to rent 0.75 hectares, which he was about to plough using his family's oxen to grow teff. He says that he regrets dropping out of school and intends to return to school next year, working on his land when out of school. He also assists his family by fetching water and washing clothes.

The rich 16-year-old helps his father in farm work, but he is given more time off during exam periods so that he can study. The household employs an agricultural labourer who does some of the extra farm work. The poor 19-year-old dropped out of education during grade 7 to farm his father's farmland because his father got a job as a guard for the Chinese construction company. He says that he wanted to drop out of school because there was no one available to farm the land. His father helps him in many farm activities when he has time, but the son does the bulk of the work. He also fetches water, washes clothes and takes the livestock to the water point.

The rich 19-year-old works full-time as an assistant mechanic in the garage of the Chinese company. He earns 1,200 birr per month. He completed grade 10 but did not get the marks to pass to grade 11.

#### Inter-generational relations

All of the respondents report that inter-generational relations are good. Children respect and obey their parents, with the father considered the most important person in the family. There is also a hierarchy among the siblings with older siblings taking seniority over young ones. Young people are expected to respect and obey all older people, for example, running an errand for them when asked. According to the middle wealth 13-year-old, when older people see that young boys are carrying condoms with them, they criticise them and attempt to shame them.

### Living in the community

Respondents describe Sirba as a peaceful place to live and most say that there is no violence or conflict. The middle wealth 13-year-old reported that there was one conflict between two groups of boys over grazing land. There was a fight that caused some injuries to the faces and bodies of some boys from each group. Several respondents also said that the village is a beautiful place to live when the rains finish. However, during the rainy season the internal roads become muddy and it is hard to move about the community and so it would be good to pave these roads.

### Leisure activities and bad habits

There are no recreation facilities provided in the community. Most boys play football in their spare time, as well as running races at school and swinging from ropes tied to trees. Many listen to music in groups on their mobile phones or on the radio when they are at home. Some watch TV and the middle wealth 13-year-old rents DVDs from Ude village. Some boys go to Debre Zeit to watch football, either the English Premier League or Champions League. The poor 19-year-old relies on his friends to help with the cost of transport and entry to watch the games.

Many respondents pass time talking with their friends or sing with their friends. Most youths drink tella, tejj and sometimes draft when they go to bars in Debre Zeit. This includes some of the 13-year-olds. A few also drink areqi. These are not generally regarded as bad habits. No one chews chat and only one youth was reported to smoke and only in private, not in public.

### Religion

There is a wide range of levels of interest in religion among the respondents. The middle wealth 19-year-old goes to church at least twice a week and plays drums for the choir, whereas others only go to church when there are major religious holidays.

### Politics

According to the youth respondents, none is involved in any youth organisations or other political activities. There have been no attempts by the kebele administration to organise them politically. However, according to an interview with a youth leader, 90 youths from the kebele are registered to participate in some volunteer activities. For example, there was an event at wereda level to commemorate the late Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi. The youth from the kebele participated in a poetry competition and art performances. The youth leader interviewed wrote 20 pages of poems about Meles and won the poetry competition. He won 600 birr. The youth also participate in different art performances organised by NGOs such as the RASTON (in 2005/1998EC). This NGO printed the respondent's poetry in an annual magazine about harmful tradition practices against women and children.

### Sexual initiation

Some young men at 16 and 19 years old have sex with girlfriends or other young women in the village. However, there are some relationships where the couple do not have sexual relations. For example, the girlfriend of the wealthy 19-year-old respondent has asked to wait before they have sex, even though he wants to. Several respondents say that young men use condoms and often carry them around with them.

### Finding work – economic independence

For most young people, there is little possibility of establishing an agricultural livelihood due to the shortage of land. Some young men might be given access to a small plot of land by their parents and some children of wealthy families may be able to find the money to rent land and plough using their families' oxen. For the most part, however, they need to find economic opportunities outside agriculture. At present the Chinese construction company provides some employment for young men. However, this work is only temporary while the new road is under construction. Other than

this the only economic opportunities include: quarrying for stone in cooperatives; trading crops and agricultural inputs; and migrating to cities to look for work.

A young man said the government brought youth into groups and required them to save up to 1000 *birr* to get access to credit. But for unemployed youth including himself saving this amount is impossible. He added: 'I only know one group that raised 1000 *birr* because one of them had this amount; they were able to get 34,000 *birr*. Previously there was no requirement for initial saving; groups had to organise, get a license and then accessed a loan. Now I am working at RATSON community media and youth centre. I have been working as a volunteer for the last 5 years and now they promised to pay me 400 *birr* starting next month. RATSON also has a girls' club, youth recreation, day-care and Kindergarten but are not doing anything for youth livelihoods apart from like skill training which alone is not enough for livelihood success. The government should give training on saving to these young unemployed people and there should be awareness training on HIV as they are at risk; and there should be intensive training on the importance of work as no-one can grow without hard work.'

#### Future plans and dreams

Most of the young people interviewed did not want to be farmers. Rather they would like to continue their education, complete college and pursue careers as doctors, nurses, teachers, mechanic, traders, DAs and drivers. The respondents who want to become doctors, nurses and teachers would like to return to the village to work in their own community, helping the local people. The middle-wealth 16-year-old respondent has a role model who is a successful farmer in the village. He owns a car and a shop in Denkaka, the urban part of the kebele.

#### Migration

Migration is not common among young boys. To continue in education in grade 11 and 12 and beyond it is necessary to leave the community, since the school in Ude only teaches up to grade 10. Some over-18s migrate to nearby towns such as Debre Zeit, Mojo and Nazret looking for work, and in particular, a few have recently gone to Nazret to work for the Chinese road construction company building the new Addis Ababa-Nazret road. One young man from Kumbursa migrated to South Africa.

#### Getting married

Most respondents reported that the minimum age for marriage for boys is 18. However, marriage is not common at this age, usually boys marry in their mid to late twenties. The poor 13-year-old even said that he did not want to get married until he is 35. One respondent believed that the age of marriage is increasing because young people are staying in school and because of the government ban on underage marriage. However, other respondents said that the kebele does not intervene if they get married under 18, and there is no serious punishment if young people marry a bit earlier than this.

Several of the young men said that it is easier to find a wife if you are rich, and that it is very hard for the poor and the landless. In particular, it is very hard to convince a girl's parents to agree to marriage if the boy is landless. For the most part, the respondents said that they expect to be able to decide who they marry with relatively little input from their parents, though the parents are more likely to have a say when the children need their parents' help to get married and establish a household. The middle wealth 16-year-old expects his parents to decide whom to marry, as they have already guided his older brothers who are already married.

The middle wealth 13-year-old expects to marry his current girlfriend, who is in grade 5, and the rich 19-year-old has agreed to marry his current girlfriend. Several respondents noted a danger of getting married too early is that the new couple would not be able to support their household and they might suffer as a result.

### Establishing an independent household

The main challenge to establishing an independent household is finding employment and becoming economically independent. Given the shortage of land and employment opportunities, this is a major problem for many young men.

### Having children

Most of the respondents said that they would like to have two children. The rich 16-year-old would like three and the middle wealth 16-year-old and the poor 19-year-old want four.

### *Female youth*

#### Circumcision

Girls are educated about the negative consequences of circumcision by schools, HEWs, Oromia TV and radio, and Ethiopian TV and radio. Nevertheless, many older men and women disagree with the ban on circumcision. They believe that circumcision helps to control girls and make them polite and decent. They do not believe that there are health problems related to circumcision. Most of the respondents agreed with the government's ban. However, the middle wealth 19-year-old respondent agrees that circumcision has no negative health consequences because her mother and sisters have had children without problems. She also says that circumcised women are more respected in the community. The middle wealth 16-year-old was circumcised when she was three, but her sisters who are 10 and seven have not been circumcised as a result of the government's ban

The poor 16-year-old was circumcised when she was eight years old. She remembers when it happened. She was going to school and her father took her hands and brought her back home. She saw a woman sitting in the house who was staring at her. The respondent thought that the woman was a relative of her parents and had come to visit them, but she did not understand why her father wanted her to go back home. The woman then asked her father where the blade was. The respondent felt strange and feared that they were planning to do something bad to her. She tried to escape but she could not because her father was too strong. When she started to shout, another woman came and covered her eyes. A man who she had not seen before came and held her body and strongly fixed her legs. Her mother ran away so as not to see her suffering. Her younger brothers were crying because they were confused about the situation. After the circumcision, she slept for three days and suffered for more than one week from the pain, especially when she urinated. She was aware that this had happened to her friends and thought that she had no way to escape. If she had not been circumcised, the community would not respect her and would think that she was not mentally normal.

The poor 19-year-old does not know whether or not she was circumcised because she has never asked her mother. The rich 19-year-old was not circumcised, although she is not sure why. She supports the ban and says that she has heard that some people have been imprisoned for two or three months for continuing to practise circumcision.

#### Girls' work

Girls start doing some domestic work from at least the age of 10. Common activities include: cooking, baking injera, preparing coffee, making dung cakes, cleaning, washing clothes, fetching water and looking after younger siblings. Some girls help their mothers to prepare and sell local drinks. One of the respondents said that the smoke from the wood or dung used to bake injera hurts her eyes and chest. Most girls are also involved in some farm work activities such as weeding and collecting the crops, and cleaning the livestock yard.

#### Combining work and education

All girls combine some domestic work with education. Some of the older youths also engage in paid work alongside education, either part-time or during school holidays. However, there are few part-

time positions available so for the most part, girls must choose either work or education. According to some respondents, as a result of their heavy domestic work burden, it is harder for children of poor households to combine education and paid work. The main employment opportunities for girls are temporary positions in flower farms during summer holidays, or permanent jobs if they are not in education, the Chinese road construction company and factories around Mojo and Debre Zeit.

The middle wealth 19-year-old works during the summer holidays at a vegetable farm called Jitu near Debre Zeit. Last year she was paid 350 birr per month. She does weeding, picking vegetables and digging to prepare the soil for new plants. Another local woman working at the farm told her about the job and helped her to apply. She used the money to buy school materials, clothes and shoes. She also bought her mother a mobile phone as a gift and gave the rest of the money to her. Although she worked during the holidays, she missed some of the classes early in September, including when they distributed the textbooks. As a result she did not receive the books for nine subjects and she was not prepared for the new school year. She believes that this has negatively affected her results. In addition to this, the job also affected her health. She has started to feel pains in her chest because of the hard work. She worked for 8 hours a day and six days a week. She said that she has also had a kidney problem since she worked and her legs started shaking and her fingers became swollen because she had to stand for so many hours digging holes. She said that evening classes would be helpful to allow her to combine work and education. Alternatively, if school was only in the mornings, they could work in the afternoons. She plans to focus more on her education and to do some work part-time.

The poor 19-year-old said that her performance at school is not good because she is unable to study hard due to an eye infection and due to the workload she has at home. She tries to complete all of her homework during class, but also has to study in the evenings and at the weekends. Her parents are farmers who have 0.5 hectares. Her mother sells tella and areqi as an additional source of income and she helps her mother to prepare the drinks. During her summer vacation she works in the Bokito flower farm near Kaliti. The flower farm provides transport to and from her house. She is paid 700 birr per month and works for 2-3 months. She goes back to school at the end of September. She uses the money to buy clothes, shoes, stationery and gives the remaining money to her mother. She was informed about the job by the other women in her community who work at the flower farm. She enjoys the work because she loves flowers. She likes to prepare the flower seeds and take care of them until they are ready for the market. She has a problem with her eye when she works in the flower farm and she thinks that this is because of the chemicals sprayed on the flowers. She dropped out of school when she was in grade eight due to her eye problems and she was taken by her mother to the eye clinic in Debre Zeit. She still has this problem and she can't focus on her books due to the pain. It relapses when she reads a lot or when she watches TV for a long time.

#### Women's issues

Several girls report that they miss several days of school whenever they have their period. The school does keep some sanitary towels but the supply is irregular and they are only intended to be for emergencies, rather than a regular supply for the students. Although there are no other facilities provided, female teachers provide education once a month to raise the awareness of the girls about menstruation and related issues of reproductive health. The middle wealth 16-year-old re-uses a rag rather than buying sanitary towels.

The poor 16-year-old had her first period when she was about 14 years old. As she did not have any information about menstruation, she was scared and thought that she was sick. She was afraid to tell her mother about the situation and just kept quiet. She told her friend who already had her period before, and she told her to buy a sanitary pad. The respondent asked her mother for 15 birr, telling her that her teachers told all the students to bring 15 birr. Her mother trusted her and gave her 15 birr. She went to the local shop with her friend and bought the pad. After some months, she started to notice the symptoms and get ready before it spoiled her clothes. When she does not have

enough money to buy a pad, she uses as many pants as possible in order to prevent it from spoiling her clothes. She has never discussed menstruation with any of her family members including her mother because she feels shy. She misses two to three days of classes every month when she has her period. She thinks that this has affected her performance.

The mothers of the rich 16-year-old and poor 19-year-old respondents buy them sanitary towels every month. The rich 19-year-old was given a sanitary pad once two years ago when she realised that she was menstruating while she was in class. She was scared that it might spoil her uniform so she quickly went to the office of a teacher who was in charge of sanitary pad provision. She gave her a pack of 10 so that she could continue her class. She added that other girls also do the same. The problem, however, is that many girls request the pads claiming that they have their period suddenly even if it is not true. This is because either they do not want to ask their parents for money to buy them or they want to use the money that they receive from their parents for other purposes.

#### Inter-generational relations

Although many respondents report that relations within their own households are peaceful and good, they acknowledge that there are some minor problems in other households and the community in general. Parents have the power to make all decisions in the household, which some children do not like, especially young men who want their own independence and consequently are frequently in conflict with their fathers. Some young people in the community are in conflict with their parents, for example they drop out of school and look for work, rather than continuing in education as their parents want. Young people want to have their own income without depending on their parents.

The rich 13-year-old reports that in other households the fathers beat their wives and the parents beat their children, frequently because the father gets drunk on tejj or areqi. One of the respondents said that in her households the children are free to discuss important issues openly with their parents. However, another respondent said that many parents are too busy to listen to their children and consequently girls are not free to talk to their parents about personal things, such as menstruation.

#### Living in the community

Most of the girls reported that the community is a good place to live, that it is calm and peaceful, that people help each other and for the most part they are tolerant of each other's behaviour. There were no reports of any conflicts. Other respondents mentioned that they like the climate in the community, the easy access to transport and proximity to the towns, and that the community is striving hard to improve and to imitate the life in the towns.

The main negative thing mentioned was the shortage of job opportunities available locally. The middle wealth 13-year-old reported that boys harass female students on their way to and from school when the girls refuse their requests to have sexual affairs with them. Last year, a boy who was not going to school harassed her, asking her to be his girlfriend. He terrified her and slapped her. She told her mother who reported it to the police. The boy was arrested and held for three months. She added that sexual assault is common both by boys who are not going to school and by adult construction workers and daily labourers.

The middle wealth 16-year-old said that she has never been sexually harassed, but she is frequently assaulted by boys around her school. She has not told any family about this. She only talks about it with her school friends. She says that she is concerned about forced abduction in general.

The poor 16-year-old reported that boys sometimes harass her on the street on her way to and from school. These boys do not go to school. They insult girls, but do not harass her physically. They just say bad words and try to frighten girls. One of the boys asked her to be his girlfriend and marry him. Although he promised her that he will take care of her and will respect her will, she could not trust

him because he is not educated. She refused his proposal. In similar situations, many young girls who refuse the requests of these kinds of boys are raped or get unwanted pregnancies. Some others are beaten when they refuse. The respondent reported the case to her mother who told the teachers in the school. The teachers met the boys and dismissed them. They were given a warning not to create any problems for female students.

The rich 16-year-old also said that she had had some problems of sexual abuse by boys around her school when she refused to have an affair with them. One boy slapped her when she refused to be his girlfriend. She reported it to her parents and he sent messengers to apologise about his bad behaviour.

There were no reports of bad habits among the girls, but one respondent said that some boys are addicted to alcohol.

#### Sexual initiation

Many young women have boyfriends. The middle-wealth 16-year-old has had a boyfriend for the last three years. She has not told her parents about this. The rich 13-year-old said that there are girls who are not going to school but have boyfriends and get unexpected pregnancies. She knows two girls who got pregnant before they were married. Both now do not go to school and stay at home doing domestic work. Girls at this age are likely to start sex early mainly because of peer pressure. Although there is access to contraceptives in the health post, the girls do not want to use them because they feel too embarrassed to ask for contraceptives before marriage and they fear that the health extension workers may tell their family.

The poor 16-year-old said that she had a female classmate who had a boyfriend and got unexpectedly pregnant. She is now living with her parents and dropped out of school. Her parents are not happy to see her unwanted pregnancy when they expected her to complete her education. They isolate her and her friends do not respect her as they used to do.

The poor 19-year-old believes that pre-marital pregnancies are very common in the community because girls and boys start sexual relations at 14 or 15. Besides, girls do not want to use contraceptives from the health post because they are embarrassed or fear the health workers may tell their families. She suggests that more reproductive health education should be given to all the adolescent girls in the community because of the pre-marital pregnancies, unsafe sexual relationships and the use of contraceptives. The girls have little awareness about these issues and they get scared when they find out that they are pregnant. There is an HIV/AIDS problem because the use of contraceptives is low. Only married women use contraceptives to control the number of their children. Young girls have abortions in Debre Zeit or Addis Ababa if they have enough money.

#### Leisure activities and bad habits

The respondents mentioned watching TV, listening to music and watching movies on mobile phones. One girl particularly enjoys drawing while at school. Several girls mentioned that they enjoy different sports both at school and outside. Respondents mentioned exercising in their own compound, running, stretching, circus (perhaps gymnastics), handball and even fighting. The middle wealth 19-year-old is a member of the schoolgirls' football team. Her team won a cup in a local school competition last year. According to some of the boys, girls sometimes play football with them. However, one of the girls said that she only watches the boys playing football but does not get involved because she believes that this is only for the boys. There are no recreational facilities provided for young girls.

#### Religion

All of the respondents are Orthodox Christian. However, they vary in the frequency with which they attend church. Some only go rarely, on major holy days, while other attend church every week. Those who are more serious about religion may spend the night before major religious celebrations

in the church and observe all of the fasting days throughout the year. One respondent said that most of the youth who visit the church and attend religious events are young women. Indeed, young girls use going to church as a means of recreation because they spend all of their time at home and they are not free to go out. Young men are allowed to go to drinking houses, tea houses, jettony houses, to play football and walk in the streets. Instead, the girls meet their friends, including their boyfriends, at the church. Their parents allow them to visit the church as much as they want. During annual religious celebrations, they spend the night in the church.

#### Politics

None of the girls are involved in any youth organisations or other political activities. There has been no attempt by the kebele to involve them. The middle wealth 19-year-old says that she is very interested in politics, and studies hard for her civics class and gets information about politics from books and TV and radio. It is very rare that women under 18 are invited to participate in any kebele meetings. Several girls said that they get information about politics from the TV and radio, and that they overhear people talking about politics.

#### Finding work – economic independence

According to one respondent, it is not really possible for girls to be economically independent in the community since they will always require the support of their parents or husband. For those staying in the community, the main job opportunities are working in the flower farms nearby, the factories in Mojo and Debre Zeit or the Chinese construction company, which pays 1,000 birr per month, the best salary available. Alternatively young women migrate to Addis Ababa or Debre Zeit to work as housemaids or waitresses, or as domestic workers in Arab countries.

#### Future plans and dreams

Respondents said that they would like to continue in education and become secretaries, HEWs, teachers and office workers. For the most part, they want to marry educated and wealthy men living in the town. The poor 16-year-old enjoys exercise and wants to be an athlete. Her role model is Tirunesh Dibaba because she always wins and has an attractive running style. She is concerned that she may be forced to drop out of school because her parents want her to get married and have children.

#### Migration

To continue in education after grade 10, girls must move to Debre Zeit or another town. Some girls also migrate to Debre Zeit, Mojo, Nazret and Addis Ababa to look for work in factories, as housemaids or cooperatives in cobble-stone projects. It is increasingly common for girls to migrate to Arab states after they are 18. A friend of one 19-year-old moved to Dubai to work as a housemaid and is now supporting her family in Sirba. The sister of the rich 13-year-old also moved to an Arab country in the last few years once she had completed grade 10. According to the rich 13-year-old respondent, in other towns the government and NGOs provide different income generating trainings such as beauty salons, construction skills, food preparation and the kebele writes support letters that the girls are economically in need of those opportunities.

#### Getting married

According to respondents, girls that perform poorly in their education tend to get married earlier, especially if they are from poor families. According to one respondent the youngest age at which girls get married is 14, but this is quite rare. Others admit that girls that perform poorly in education and drop out often get married before they are 18, while others claim that the youngest age of marriage is now 18, in line with the law. Most girls want to continue in education until at least grade 10 rather than getting married at a young age. However, they are very disappointed if they fail the national exam having rejected good marriage proposals. Girls who are 25 or more are said to be too old to get married, but even those in their early twenties may fear that they are too old. Few girls

want to marry farmers, most would like to marry educated men in the cities. On the whole, girls usually move to their new husband's community when they marry. According to a few respondents most couples now have HIV/AIDS tests before getting married. This is based on their own choice, rather a requirement by the government.

#### Establishing an independent household

It is very difficult for young women to establish an independent household in the community, since there are few job opportunities. The most common means of forming a new household is through marriage, but young men face a shortage of land and employment and consequently marriage is delayed. If young women are successful in their education, they may be able to find good employment opportunities in towns which enable them to set up an independent household.

#### Having children

Several respondents said that they would like to have two children, with certain girls specifying that they would like to have two or five years spacing between their children. One girl said that she would like to have no more than three children.

### Gender inequities

#### *Violence against women*

In addition to the specific issues discussed below, several youth respondents mentioned that it is common for young girls to be harassed by boys and men on their way to school. These attacks are frequently verbal, but sometimes include slapping and hitting, and the girls fear the possibility of rape and abduction.

#### Female circumcision

Female circumcision was common in the area 10 years ago. According to the wereda administration it is now quite rare as a result of the government's intervention. In the past girls were circumcised at about 4-8 years old. According to the youth and household respondents, most girls from the age of 16 upwards have been circumcised, while their younger siblings have not. Young girls and boys are now against circumcision as a result of the education they have received in school. Some of the female respondents now accept that circumcision may bring some negative health consequences. The successful female household head believes that the government acts in the best interests of the community and so expects the ban to bring health benefits. Many do, however, still believe that circumcision helps young women to control their behaviour. The poor female household head says that she did not circumcise her younger daughters, but only because she was concerned about the punishment. The wife of the middle wealth farmer stated that the circumcision practitioner refused to circumcise her daughters because of the threat of punishment by the government. She does not believe that circumcision has any negative consequences and she has no idea why the government wanted it to stop. She herself had no health problems or complications when she was pregnant and gave birth to ten healthy children, even though she was circumcised during her childhood. She believes that female circumcision helps females to be focused and polite to their parents, as well as their husbands. Uncircumcised females are not welcomed by many older people who believe in the tradition. Some government officials acknowledge that there are still some cases of circumcision that occur in secret.

#### Rape

In the past the rape and abduction of women was relatively common when they went to fetch water or went to school. Most respondents now deny that rape commonly occurs in the community. They cite the government actions and the severe punishments for offenders as reasons for the decline in its occurrence. The poor 16-year-old had heard of a rape case in 2011 (2004EC) when a girl who was returning home alone after school was raped by an unknown man. The man was not caught by

police because she was unable to recognise him. Afterwards she dropped out of school because she felt guilty. Fear of rape and abduction was mentioned by several of the young female respondents as one of their main concerns.

#### Domestic male violence

According to the women's leader, many women believe that it is normal for husbands to beat their wives, or to see or hear wives being beaten by their husbands. In her opinion the causes include: the consumption of alcohol by men, a shortage of money to give wives for consumables, men's need to dominate all decisions in the house and their attempts to confine their wives at home. Furthermore, some women get jealous when they see their husbands spending a lot of time with women who sell local drinks. Indeed, some men have extra-marital affairs, which create serious conflicts in the households.

According to the poor female household head, domestic violence is still common in the community and is still widely regarded as a normal part of the relationship between a husband and wife. The successful female household head says that domestic violence was very common ten years previously and was considered an acceptable cultural behaviour. There were many women who were disabled and blinded due to the violence inflicted by their husbands. Others left home to live in faraway places. For the last five years, however, women have begun to accuse their husbands at the wereda court and they demand a divorce if there is any case of domestic violence. Men have started to learn about the legal implications of their behaviour and their actions against their wives. As a result, domestic violence has reduced.

#### *Marriage*

##### Underage marriage

Underage marriage was common in the past. Most girls in the wereda used to get married at 15-17 years old, but many respondents believe that its occurrence has reduced considerably in recent years as a result of the government's activities. Underage marriage still occurs since many people still believe that 16-year-olds are old enough to get married. Indeed, the successful female household head questioned the concept of underage marriage, saying that underage marriage is not possible since girls only get married when they are considered old enough to do so. In many cases this might be at 16 or 17. Many girls are delaying marriage because they and their parents want to them to continue in education.

##### Abduction

According to the wereda respondent, abduction has been a very common practice, which was considered normal rather than illegal in the community until a few decades ago. The poor 16-year-old respondent said that she observed a case of abduction in 2011 (2004EC) when she saw three adult men forced a female to go with them. The girl was about 17 years old and she was going shopping. When she shouted for help, the girls around also shouted and called people to help. Unfortunately, no one came and the men took her away. She heard that the men started to negotiate with the girls' family about the wedding arrangements.

##### Choice of marriage partner

Culturally, it is men who ask women to marry and this continues to be the case. However, there are a few rare cases of marriage proposals by women who have been to the cities. The youth respondents varied in the extent to which they expect their parents to be involved in their choice of marriage partner. Several expected and even welcomed their parents to have some role. Others expected to make the decision themselves and did not want any involvement from their parents. Overall, most respondents said that there are changes in decision making with women and young girls now able to exert great influence over the choice of their marriage partner rather than marrying a man who is selected by their parents.

### Polygyny

Polygyny is not practised in the community.

### Widow inheritance

This is not practised in the community.

### Marriage to dead wife's sister

This is not practised in the community.

### Divorce

According to the wereda respondent, there has been an increasing rate of divorce, especially among young couples. According to the wife of the middle wealth farmer, most divorces take place at the social court or wereda court, so women's rights are respected. All respondents believe that the property of the household including land is divided equally. One male respondent noted that the jointly issued land certificates enhanced women's rights to land.

### Widowhood

All of the respondents agree that widows have full rights over property and the right to re-marry whoever they choose. The poor farmer's wife acknowledged that in the past, the relatives of the deceased man would interrupt the family to make decisions. They discriminated against a woman if she got re-married to another man and they might not interact with her. However, at this time, the widow has the right to make decisions about what is best for her and the relatives of her husband have no say.

### *Women's economic status*

#### Access to land

All respondents claimed that women now have equal rights to land. Several respondents pointed out the importance of the land certificates, which were jointly issued in the names of husbands and wives in the last five years. However, the wife of the successful businessman admitted that women cannot easily get land. There has been no land redistribution in the kebele for long time and it is hard for many women to afford the cost of land rental. However, rich women can rent and farm by hiring farm labourers.

#### Livelihood opportunities

The idea of exploiting all economic opportunities to earn more money is increasingly widely accepted in the community. Partly as a result, many women are now engaged in wage labour and small-scale crop trading. For young women, summer vacation work to earn money is also now common in flower farms and people are hired either half day or in full-time work. The flower farms tend to employ more women than men, while the Chinese road construction project hires more men than women. Some women also find work in local factories in Debre Zeit, Mojo or Nazret, as housemaids in Addis Ababa and increasing numbers of young women migrate to Arab countries to work as housemaids. Some women have been able to earn money in trading or by setting up shops and small bars. These are mostly found in Denkaka town, the urban part of the kebele.

Women participate in household farming activities and, according to some respondents, jointly control the produce and any revenue generated. The wife of the poor farmer produces teff, chickpeas, beans and maize on some of the household's land. All of this is produced for household consumption. She does not describe why or how this production is separate from the rest of the household's farming. Similarly, the wife of the successful farmer produces teff, chickpeas, beans, peas, lentils and wheat. Some of the produce is sold to wholesalers in Debre Zeit and Sirba. She does not, however, describe how or why this production is separate from the rest of the household's

farming. She also sells butter and eggs produced each week in Debre Zeit. She is able to produce 5-10 cups of butter per week and 30-40 eggs per day from 60 hybrid chickens.

#### *Women's inheritance from parents*

According to the respondent in the wereda administration, 20 years ago, it was difficult for women to inherit any property, especially land from their parents. There was perception that 'a girl is someone's property', which meant that she will be taken by a man when she gets married and so should not be given any of the family's property to take with her. As a man remains with his parents and relatives after marriage, the family property was passed through the male line. However, the respondent believes that now the legal rights of women are better able to give equal rights to men and women. Nevertheless, there are disputes between siblings regarding inheritance and, in many cases, parents still favour their sons who often still live with them or nearby, rather than their daughters who usually move away for marriage and have a different source of livelihood with their husbands so are not likely to put in efforts to get parents land by being in severe conflict with brothers.

#### *Women's political status*

##### *Voice in the community*

In the past it was taboo for married women to participate in public meetings, according to the successful female household head. At present there is a greater involvement in general, but many respondents still acknowledge that women are less involved than men.

##### *Voice in the kebele*

There are many female members, nearly half of the council according to some respondents, and there are also some female members of the kebele cabinet. At present though there are no female kebele leaders. In principle, women have equal rights to participate. However, though women's participation in politics has improved, with greater involvement in kebele meetings, they are still not as active as men.

#### *Perceptions of females*

Respondents were mixed regarding their opinion on perceptions of women. Some believed that attitudes had changed and women were no longer regarded as weak. However, many others said that this view still persists among many in the community. According to one male respondent, women themselves still partly accept that compared to men they are weak physically. In his opinion, it is obvious and they accept it, but the problem is they also feel they are less strong than men in many other non-physical aspects. According to the middle farmer's wife, some men still believe that women are weak because they do not participate as much in politics and community affairs.

The successful female household head admits that some adult men may still believe that women are weak, although they can no longer say it out loud. The respondent thinks that many men are now aware that women are not weak and some feel that maybe women are naturally stronger than men. She thinks that men who believe that women are weak are likely to oppress women and to support the harmful traditional practices against women such as early marriage and female circumcision. This is because they fear that if women were set free, they would dominate men and the power would shift.

### **Upward and downward mobility**

#### *Males*

One respondent said that involvement in the stone quarrying cooperative had enabled some young men to change their lives, using the money earned to buy livestock and rent farmland to earn a livelihood.

The wealth of the poor household has been declining in recent years. The man says that he is getting old and consequently his productivity is reducing. His wife has also had a problem with her leg for many years and consequently is unable to engage in additional income generating activities such as selling tella. Their farm production is inadequate for the whole year and they have to borrow grain from neighbours prior to their own harvest.

The income of the successful businessman has greatly increased. He started his butchers and hotel in 2005 and things have progressed since then. He has bought a car and the house next door where he intends to open a cafeteria. He has also turned his living room into a bar.

The economic situation of the successful farmer has also improved. He has gained access to irrigation to produce vegetables, he now rents in four hectares in addition to the two hectares of his own land and he has increased his livestock holdings. He started poultry farming four years ago. He had money problems previously, but now his financial situation is good. He has three children attending education in Debre Zeit.

### *Females*

The poor female household head says that her household's wealth has improved in recent years as a result of increased farm production. Improved seeds provided by the kebele have been particularly important in raising productivity. Her daughter's husband helps to plough the land and all of the family are involved in the farm work. The land is sufficient to provide for the family. She divorced her husband 10 years ago and moved with her children to Mojo. She worked in a plastic factory, but struggled to feed the children because her husband could not help her and was unwilling to share the household's property with her. She eventually reconciled with her former husband and returned to Sirba in 2005, but the husband died shortly afterwards.

The successful female household head says that her household's economic status has also improved in recent years. She has improved both the quantity and quality of her farm production. She is now able to afford to hire two farm labourers and is constructing a 'modern' house. Five years ago her children were still dependent on her, but now they are all self-reliant and even send money and provide labour to help her. She helped two of them to graduate with university degrees. She separated from her husband ten years ago because of his alcoholism. He moved to Debre Zeit and for the most part had little contact with her. However, from time to time, he would come to the house and disturb her. After ten years he sent messengers to her asking to reconcile, but she refused and told him that she would take legal action against him and could not be held responsible for any crime committed if he came close to her again. He left without asking for a divorce.

### **Age inequities**

#### *Youth and adults – male and female*

A major source of inequality between the youth and adults is access to land. There has been no land redistribution in the community in the last 25 years. As a result, most young people have no access to land of their own and, given that many adults do not have large holdings themselves, they are unwilling to share land with their children. Young people increasingly therefore have to seek livelihood opportunities outside agriculture.

#### *Adults and elderly - male and female*

None mentioned.

### **Government/NGO interventions to promote social equity**

#### **Assistance to poor people**

Students are required to pay a 150 birr registration fee at the school. The kebele will write a letter for poor students who are unable to pay, allowing them to register without payment.

## **Interventions to help vulnerable people**

### *Orphans and vulnerable children*

RATSON supplied 7 severely malnourished children with nutrition support.

### *Disabled people*

None mentioned.

### *Vulnerable women*

According to the wereda women's leader, the Oromia Microfinance Office provides some income generation support to women who live with HIV/AIDS. The respondent believes that such programmes are helpful for women and that these should be expanded to reach other vulnerable women.

## **Promoting equity for women**

### *Violence against women interventions*

#### *Female circumcision interventions*

The women and children's affairs office of the wereda, the HEWs, RATSON, the Kalehiwot church and all the government offices have been working against female circumcision continuously for about ten years. Trainings and community awareness raising programmes have been undertaken to eliminate female circumcision. Most of the practitioners have been given training and have now committed to stop the practice. Warnings and other legal measures have been taken against the practitioners and most are now unwilling to continue in defiance of the law.

The HEW said that at present there is no female circumcision at all. She says that it was abandoned as a result of the government's activities ten years ago. A female circumcision practitioner in the community was detained in 2010 (2003EC) for three months. She was taught about the dangers of the practice and changed her mind. After she was released, she stopped circumcision and started to teach the community about the negative effects of the practice. The health experts and other government officials believe that there is no female circumcision at this time.

The government provides education in schools, the health post and health centres, home-to-home through the 1-5 teams and in public meetings to stop female circumcision. As a result of the government's activities all young girls are now aware that the practice is illegal and will report their parents if they attempt to pursue it. The schoolgirls' clubs and the virgins' clubs have been actively gathering information and reporting female circumcision cases. These virgins' clubs are organised by girls with the support of the NGO RATSON in 2009 in Ude secondary school when it was advocating about the prevention of HIV to prevent early marriage and promote the value of virginity and to encourage one another to abstain from sex before marriage until higher education is completed. People suspect there are women who still practice female circumcision despite the punishments by the kebele office but that these are very rare.

#### *Rape interventions*

Most respondents report that the government's activities in raising awareness about rape and the punishments for offenders have resulted in a reduction in its incidence. However, a rape case was recently reported to the women and children's affairs office. Since it was reported about two months after the attack allegedly took place, resolving the case was very complicated. The man who was accused denied committing the offence and the girl was the only witness. Her parents strongly demanded his prosecution, but the court lacked evidence to make a decision. Lack of evidence and delays in reporting the cases are the main challenges in resolving rape and abduction cases according to wereda officials.

According to the women's leader interviewed during fieldwork, the incidence of rape has reduced over time, but at present there is a case roughly once a year. Like underage marriage and abduction, cases of rape are often not reported to the women's affairs office or to the police. When cases are reported, they are usually incomplete and it is not possible to press charges. During the last year, 2011 (2004EC), she claimed that there had been only one report of abduction and no report of rape. According to the poor female household head, 5 or 6 years ago several offenders were put in prison, and, as a result, the incidence of rape has greatly reduced.

#### Domestic male violence interventions

Not many cases of domestic violence are reported to the wereda women's affairs office or to the court. Although it is common for men to beat their wives and to physically harass their marriage partners, it is mostly resolved in traditional ways through the local elders. However, there were at least two cases of physical harassment of wives by their husbands in the previous month. The women's affairs office at kebele level takes responsibility to examine such cases and resolve them before they go to court.

According to the poor female household head, the wereda court looks at the cases of domestic violence only after they have been seen by the local elders and the 1-5 security teams. The successful household head agrees that most cases taken to the wereda are now resolved at community level by the 1-5 teams. When cases are reported to the kebele, the first step is often to send the militia to warn the man about the punishments for domestic violence. According to some respondents, however, men are repeatedly warned without punishment.

Since many people regard domestic violence to be closely related to alcohol consumption, the militia does not allow men to stay in local bars past 10pm. As a result people say that men go home before they are too drunk and are less likely to attack their wives.

#### *Marriage interventions*

##### Underage marriage interventions

The government has worked to prevent the occurrence of underage marriage. The government's interventions include raising the awareness of the community about the consequences of underage marriage by establishing the girls' club, virgin's clubs and HIV/AIDS clubs in schools. A common challenge for the authorities, however, is the lack of birth certificates to prove the age of young women. The police, the office of women and children's affairs and the local security bodies have been working together to control the occurrence of underage marriage. In addition, the health and education offices of the wereda have been integrating their efforts against underage marriage.

##### Abduction interventions

According to the wereda respondent, despite the fact that the information about the harmfulness of abduction has been provided for more than ten years by government and NGOs, the practice continued to be part of the community's daily life until 5 years ago. The integrated efforts of the government and NGO sectors have brought about visible changes and the practice has reduced greatly. Nevertheless, the risk of abduction for girls who have to travel a long distance to and from school remains. In the past, young girls were abducted when they were alone, fetching water, wood, going to marketplaces and to school. In recent years, schools have been opened much closer to residential areas than in the past. Also, water boreholes, wells and water pumps are all over the villages and so the risk of abduction has greatly reduced.

According to the wereda official, the problem is that young couples are likely to deliberately arrange abduction when they believe that their parents will not support their marriage. When parents refuse to allow their children to marry, the young couples conduct a voluntarily abduction (or elopement) so that they can continue with their married life. Forced abduction is illegal and, if reported to the court, the offender might be imprisoned for 15-20 years. There was a recent case of abduction

reported by the parents of a girl who was abducted on her way back from school. The parents said that their daughter was also underage so she should not be allowed to marry at this early age. The girl, however, said that she wanted to get married and that she is not underage. The debate was between the daughter and her parents concerning her real age. Although the parents provided a school certificate as evidence of their daughter's age, she claimed that her age was deliberately reduced when she was registered at school so that the school would accept her and not refuse her for being overage for grade one.

As a result of government intervention, one respondent says that nowadays elders refuse to negotiate the marriage in cases of forced abduction, instead referring the case so that the offenders can be pursued under the law. According to the women's leader in the kebele, there has been only one case of abduction reported in the last two years, in 2011. The case was reported by the friends of a girl who was abducted by a man. However, the girl was convinced by her parents and her partner to arrange the marriage. There were no formal reports that came to her office about this case.

#### Choice of marriage partner interventions

The wereda respondent said that both parties to a marriage have the right to choose their partner.

#### Polygyny interventions

Polygyny is not practised in the community.

#### Widow inheritance interventions

This is not practised in the community.

#### Marriage to dead wife's sister interventions

This is not practised in the community.

#### Divorce interventions

The kebele women's leader works to help women in times of divorce or marriage conflicts by providing the necessary information on how to deal with the cases. She said that her aim is to resolve any marriage related conflicts and put maximum effort into saving the families. However, when it becomes impossible to reconcile the partners and divorce becomes the only option, she tries to ensure that the women get an equal share of the family property and the cases ends safely. When divorce cases are sent to the wereda court, she follows up until the end of the case to ensure the woman's rights are respected.

The wereda respondent reports that, although divorce is not encouraged wherever possible, the court takes final decisions on all cases reported to it. The courts try to delay divorce cases deliberately and advise disputants to consider their cases calmly to decrease the probability of divorce. Consequently, the court sends the case to be seen again by elders. Divorce is accepted as a solution only if the local elders report that there is a fundamental problem, which prevents the couple from living together and they believe that the couple's continued marriage would bring further bad consequences for the couple and their family. However, divorce can also be granted when one member of the couple demands it. During the past two months, there were 20 marriage disputes and one ended in divorce, while the others were reconciled. The respondent suggested that the court should provide quick resolutions to divorce cases because most of the time the property of the family is hidden or placed in the name of another non-family member so that they will not be considered when the marriage comes to an end. Most of the time, women are victims of such practices by their husbands and relatives of their husbands.

#### Widowhood interventions

The wereda respondent argued that the law protects widows' rights to property and to marry whom

they choose.

### *Interventions to improve women's economic status*

#### Land interventions

Land certificates were jointly issued in the names of husbands and wives. They also contain the photographs and signatures of both husband and wife to ensure that neither of them can take separate decisions regarding the land. No other interventions were mentioned.

#### Livelihood interventions

The wereda tries to bring youths together in cooperatives and help them to set up businesses. On the watershed management area they are planning to establish bee-keeping and vegetable production for youths and women in cooperation. Several female respondents very briefly mentioned some income generation activities for women and opportunities for women to access credit to set up businesses. According to the wereda women and children's affairs officer, these include poultry production, livestock fattening and petty trading.

Four years previously, an NGO called Engaginal Foundation provided credit to a group of 30 women in Sirba and Ude through the Oromia Credit and Savings Institution. The fund was 30,000 birr which was intended to be used as a revolving fund. These 30 women were trained about leading small businesses and petty trade. Each member had membership in this credit and savings institution and saved 10 birr per month. Currently, most of the members of the group have small businesses, such as selling local drinks and running small shops. Group work was not effective so most of them focused on private businesses.

According to the wereda women's leader, the Oromia Microfinance Office provides some income generation support to women who live with HIV/AIDS. The respondent believes that such programmes are helpful for women and that these should be expanded to reach other vulnerable women. She suggested that the Wereda Women and Children's Affairs office should have financial as well as material resources to reach all the women who are in need of help in the wereda.

RATSON an NGO organised about 30 women in Ude village and they are being trained on poultry. The NGO plans to provide them with seed money to begin the work. The training is provided every Sunday and has happened for 6 Sundays.

#### Women's inheritance from parents interventions

According to government respondents, women now have equal legal rights to inheritance as men. They did not specify any particular interventions to ensure that this happens in practice.

### *Interventions to improve women's political status*

#### In the community

None mentioned.

#### In the kebele

According to the wereda women's leader affirmative action is practised whenever there is a vacancy advertised. Affirmative action is also practised in schools to promote female students. All vacancies are supposed to note that they encourage female applicants. Furthermore, if the top candidate for a vacancy is a man and the second is a woman, the position would be given to the woman. In schools, the national policy regarding minimum scores in the national examinations is different for women and men.

## Youth policies and programmes

### *Youth livelihoods- male and female*

According to the kebele administration, the government is trying to bring young people together to work in cooperatives focusing on stone production, grain trade and poultry, bull-fattening and bee-keeping. The cooperatives in stone production are now working actively, the others have not started yet. The registration for the bee-keeping is complete and the training is going to be organised soon. The wereda co-operative office is trying to realise this. They are also planning to give them credit for bull fattening and poultry. Members of the cooperatives formed for poultry production are educated at college and some of them have completed 10<sup>th</sup> grade. The objective of this cooperative was to create jobs for educated people who have no position in the kebele civil service. For other educated people, job opportunities are available in the civil service in Debre Zeit. For educated girls there are no opportunities and many of those who cannot join preparatory school leave for Arab states. There is a plan to organise youths in cooperatives to work in beekeeping and vegetable production on the watershed management area.

There has been training for the eight youth cooperatives depending on the type of work they planned. For the stone production cooperative, credit was given and they bought a crusher for 180,000 birr. The group repaid the loan, but the machine is now broken and it has been taken to Addis Ababa for maintenance. The rest of the groups have not had access to credit or other inputs.

The youth club leader thought it would be good if the youth could get some skill training, for instance in hairdressing, food preparation, business, woodwork and metalwork so that they could create job opportunities for themselves and other community members. This way they would not spend their time in drinking houses and gambling. In addition, it would be helpful to provide the current youth centre with well-trained leaders, teaching materials and other incentives so that it could attract many young men and women to spend their time there.

Youth co-operatives have been working in the Sirba quarry for a long time and there are 3 big ones with 40, 44 and 60 members. They are paid and given space in the area to quarry; they pay tax, vat and a contribution to the co-operative which is 30 per cent. In general they give away 50% and share the rest among themselves. A big truck of stone can be sold for 700 *birr*. The stone quarry was there in imperial times but it was expanded after Dragados, a foreign company that has been working on the main asphalt road, vastly exploited the area with machines. The kebele chair said 200 people belong to stone co-operatives at Sirba. These co-ops need help mainly with the provision of machines and a formal market structure to avoid brokers who get more than those who do the work. Sometimes they rent crushers for 400 *birr* an hour and excavators for 3000 *birr*. Even with these high costs they are profitable but the brokers take much of the benefit. Those who are members used to be spenders and drunkards but now they are becoming wise to build their own family and house, rent and plough. There used to be a quarry like Sirba's at Ude but when the Chinese company took the area for road construction the government banned its use. Now the Chinese have left but the area is not in use. When it functioned many young men benefited from it being able to buy oxen and take land by contract so that now they are successful.

The Kebele chair said that since April through the co-operation of the wereda and AGP fund 14 men were brought into an association and established 2 grinding mills. A young man said the Chinese road company employed youth and the investment in Debre Zeit, Mojo and Dukem are helping a lot to employ youth who failed in school because they have no land now and families have more than 5 young sons and daughters unemployed so it would have been hard to create peace in the family. Farmers' Union employed 3 young women. Private enterprises usually employ children or other relatives. Getu (a local man) and Tilahun hotels hired young men and women brought from the Wolayita and Gurage.

There are many young men who graduated from public and private universities but the problem to get government jobs is that you have to be an EPRDF party member. Officials hire their own relatives or those most active in the party. One anthropology graduate from Haramaya University could only get a job as a policeman.

In November 2013 the Kebele leader said there is an AGP fund that is going to be used to bring 30 youth in association. The budget is to be used for seedlings and bull fattening. A list of young men was selected and their names transferred to the wereda. The criteria were being educated and unemployed and not involved in quarry co-operatives or employed by the Chinese company.

#### *Community and political participation*

90 youths are registered to participate in volunteer activities in the kebele. For example, there was an event at wereda level to commemorate the late Ethiopian Prime Minister and a competition held. The youth from the kebele participated in the poetry competition and art performances.

#### *Youth and HIV/AIDS*

Education is provided by HEWs and teachers about HIV/AIDS and most of the youth respondents knew that HIV was transmitted through unprotected sex and sharing needles. Most young couples now also have HIV tests prior to getting married, although this is not a government requirement.

## **Fields of action /domains of power**

### ***Livelihoods domain***

#### **Local macro-economy**

The local economy is based primarily on agriculture and, in particular, rain-fed crop production. Teff production for the market is a particularly important source of income. Livestock rearing and livestock products have become increasingly important sources of income, as has the cultivation and sale of eucalyptus trees. Incomes from crop production have increased as a result of high output prices, as well as increased productivity as a result of improved seed varieties, fertiliser, pesticide and farming techniques such as planting in lines.

Improved breeds of livestock are increasingly common as a result of the efforts of the kebele agricultural office and the Melkasa, Asella and Debre Zeit agricultural research centres. This has resulted in an increase in the production of milk for sale in the community. A few people also engage in cattle fattening for sale in local markets. However, the shortage of feed for livestock limits this activity. Many people produce eucalyptus trees for sale. The trees are grown around their homes or farmland and are sold for 100-150 birr each.

Within the kebele there are several investments, including a brick factory, flower farm and two hotels. There is also a petrol station under construction and some Arab investors have leased land for poultry production, but have not yet started production. These investments have provided some people in the community with employment, with the flower farm employing only women. Around 300 people from the kebele are employed in the brick factory and flower farm, but only three in the hotels. The Chinese road construction company has also provided employment for some local young men.

#### **Smallholder agriculture**

##### *Land for smallholder farming*

The largest landholding is 10 *kert* (2.5 hectares) and the smallest is 2 *kert* (0.5 hectares). Most of the community members have 5-6 *kert* of land.

### Access to land

Since there has been no land redistribution in the community for the past 25 years, most young people lack access to their own farmland. In certain cases, parents may be in a position to give some of their children a small amount of land, perhaps 0.25-0.5 hectares. Some children of wealthy households may also have the money to rent in extra land, using their parents' oxen to plough the land. For the most part, however, young people have no access to land.

Only 6% of the households in Sirba are landless. These people still pay land tax for the land on which their house is built, albeit less than those who also have farmland. However, there are many young people who remain dependent on their families because of the shortage of land and other employment opportunities to enable them to set up an independent household. According to one kebele estimate, there are 117 youths who remain dependent on their parents having dropped out of school, completed grade 10 or college. It is not common for women to plough though there was a woman with no husband or adult male family who used to plough her land 6-7 years ago; now her sons are old enough to do it.

Passion Connects Ethiopia started irrigated farming four years ago. They came and consulted the community, and selected 40 farmers to whom it promised to provide water to irrigate 15 hectares. The NGO drilled a borehole and installed a drip irrigation system linked to a water container in the middle of the farm. The problem was that only three people had land around the tank, and by exchanging rain-fed and irrigated farmland, only 18 people were able to get land. The rest of the 40 people targeted by the NGO were unable to get access. The water provided is only sufficient for three hectares shared among 18 people. The area is less than 1% of the total land area of the kebele. The irrigated land is governed by the association of irrigation users, which collects contributions for seeds, fertiliser and other costs, and manages the water for the 18 members. Everyone cultivates their own plot.

There has been no expansion and development of the irrigation scheme since its establishment. Other community members would like to gain access to irrigated land, and they say to the association members 'you have got this chance but we don't'. The members tell them to ask the NGO. The government tried to provide water wells for irrigation 4 years ago, and again 2 years ago, but the wells they dug are sealed. They have promised that they will begin functioning soon.

### Land re-distribution

There are about 35 ex-soldiers in all the three villages in the kebele and in Sirba there are 9. The kebele searched for unoccupied land for them and also distributed the land of deceased people without relatives to inherit it. These ex-soldiers are respected and some of them serve as conflict mediators with elders. A few are involved in the militia and one is the militia head and iddir leader.

### Land registration

Several respondents mentioned that land registration had been undertaken in the past five years. In particular they noted that the joint registration of land to husbands and wives had enhanced women's land rights.

### Share-cropping, renting and contracting/buying land

Those that do not have household labour to farm and cannot afford to hire labourers, rent or sharecrop out their land. Farmers that wish to expand their production and also some young landless men rent in land.

The successful farmer interviewed for the research has two hectares of land and also rents in an extra four hectares for 4,000 birr per hectare. He also says that the rental price is increasing. The father of the poor 16-year-old respondent rents out the household's land because he has no oxen to plough the land. He earns 2,000 birr for 2 kert (0.5 ha).

Some young men have been able to accumulate enough money to rent in farmland, usually ploughing using their parents' oxen. For example one 16-year-old respondent who dropped out of school to work for the Chinese road construction company earned enough money to rent 0.75 hectares of land. According to the leading farmer, some urban residents also rent land in Sirba.

### *Agricultural labour*

Many relatively rich households also hire agricultural labourers either for a whole season or just during busy periods. The wage rates for men were 10 birr per day and for women 6 birr per day ten years ago. Today, the rates are 50 birr per day for men and 40 birr per day for women. These farm labourers are members of poor households in the community or from neighbouring villages. Seasonal and permanent labourers are provided with food and shelter as well as payment in cash, grain or allocating part of the landholders land for the labourer to cultivate for himself.

Harvesting of chickpeas during the fieldwork in November 2013 was carried out by day labour; if the household does not have young boys they hire labourers to thresh. The contract depends on the size of the heap; if it is big they have to pay up to 3000 birr and it takes 2 men about 2 months.

The poor farmer did daily labour for 50 birr a day while his wife completed gabi at home. The poor 16-year-old girl does paid farm labour every rainy season. She works in a group with other youths, locally known as Qebo, a group of 5-10 young men and women. They do weeding in the form of a contract. When one weeding contract is completed, the group receives 70 birr. One contract agreement may take 1-2 days.

Agricultural activities are commonly divided by gender and age. Men and adolescent boys are responsible for ploughing the land. Weeding is generally undertaken by children and women. Children look after livestock, except when they are at school. Most of the other activities are shared between men and women of different ages. The poor 16-year-old male respondent does his weeding in groups, taking turns on each other's land.

Customary work exchanges such as debo, crop sharing, ox sharing and reciprocal labour exchange still exist. However, hiring daily labourers has become dominant in recent years and these customary work exchanges are declining. Close neighbours may exchange oxen and have reciprocal work agreements. The successful female farmer uses debo with her neighbours during busy agricultural periods, such as harvest, weeding and transporting the crop to her home. However, she admits that the practice is declining as people focus more on their individual work.

### *Interlinkages*

Many people lend farm implements without reciprocal arrangements and some people may lend oxen to those who have none without anything in return. However, normally the use of oxen requires labour in return. For example, the poor male farmer borrowed oxen from his neighbour to plough his land and in turn ploughed the land of the owner of the oxen.

The poor female household head borrows oxen from her relatives because she does not have any. She also cooperates with other neighbouring households to do farm work and share farm tools because she does not have any.

### *Crops grown*

#### *Crop mix*

The moderate climate in Sirba is suitable for growing teff, wheat, maize, chickpeas, lentils and peas. Improved seed varieties are available for each of these crops. The type of crops grown also depends on the soil. There are three types of soils in Sirba, *koticha* (black), which is suitable for growing wheat and teff; *gumbure* (red), which is suitable for chickpeas and peas; and *ashewama* (Sandy). Teff is the most important crop in the community and is used for consumption and for sale. Wheat is the second most important, also for consumption and sale.

There are expectations of good harvests in late 2013 due to good weather, with 33 quintals of teff per hectare like last year as the weather conditions were the same, and 48 quintals of chickpeas per ha expected. The rich farmer said he expects up to 32 quintals per hectare for various types of wheat. The one that produces the most is Kekeba and Digelo; if the soil is good and there is hard work it can produce up to 80 quintals. The lowest is Kubsa and Faben types and they produce only 60 quintals per ha. The high yielder makes bread that is not nice and it can't be used for injera but it is given to factories. That is why all varieties are planted. Those who are interested to experiment benefit more from the ARC; The rich farmer is a frontline user. They give him seeds and earlier they gave him heifers and chickens. Last year there was too much chickpea planted because people shifted to this crop as there was too much rain, and chickpea prices fell; so they can't plant it again this year so there is more teff. Also there was moderate rain so they were not forced to shift to chickpeas. The middle wealth farmer said that if the farming is done carefully he expects to get 60-70 quintals of wheat per hectare. Last year many farmers planted chickpeas and due to crop rotation this year teff covered most of the land in the kebele. Also chickpea prices were low last year so there is more teff.

There are people who sell eucalyptus seedlings for 1-2 *birr* each mainly in Debre Zeit market.

#### Changes in crop mix

No new crops have been introduced to the community recently.

Red teff is not grown as much as it was in the past because most farmers are now focusing on production of the higher value white teff. In 2003, the magna (first level) teff was important as a subsistence crop, but now this type of *teff* is mainly produced as a cash crop and the sergegna or second level teff is used for subsistence.

In 2003 beans were among the most important cash crops, but these are being replaced by chickpeas and lentils, which have higher market prices currently. Beans are also said to be more susceptible to pests. Chickpeas are now the second most important cash crop and are planted on about 10% of farmland. The successful woman farmer did not grow lentils as she lost her whole crop 4 years ago. She thinks her farmland may not be suitable for lentils.

Some farmers employ a crop rotating system, alternating between teff and chickpeas. The chickpeas are nitrogen fixing and help to improve the fertility of the soil. The few farmers with access to irrigated land grow vegetables such as carrots, cabbages and onions. Some people also grow small amounts of spices, coffee and chat. Many households are increasingly planting eucalyptus trees in their compounds and around their farmland. These trees are sold and attract a high price.

#### Inputs

Most farmers are now using improved seeds for teff, wheat and chickpeas. The main sources of seed are the farmers' cooperatives and unions, the Debre Zeit Agriculture Research Centre and some farmers in the kebele as well as in Debre Zeit. ARC gives good improved seeds and provides technical support for each newly experimented crop. They give training once or twice a year. Farmers are usually selected based on their performance and acceptance of new things and information and being able to do as they are told. The DAs formally connect them to the farmers. Mostly benefitting are those flexible hardworking farmers. The rest are resistant to change though they may adopt following the hardworking ones.

Some farmers allocated 2-3 kert of their farmland to produce improved seeds only. Improved seeds are bought from the kebele agricultural office on credit or from other sources in cash. There has been increasing demand for improved seeds in the community so the supply has also increased compared to ten years ago. The problem with improved seeds is that they are often not supplied in time by the kebele agricultural office because of bureaucracy. In addition, many people cannot

afford the price required in Debre Zeit market or from the farmers in the kebele because they demand payment in cash.

The kebele chair said that about 35,000 *birr* was given to improved seed producers by the kebele. ARC provides improved teff, wheat and fodder seeds to farmers – usually about 20kg and the same amount is returned. Those preferred are experienced hard workers with roadside land accessible for follow-up. Through time improved seeds reach other farmers through sharing. Initially the ARC contacted the kebele but then the kebele linked them directly to the improved seed producers and it is no longer involved. The middle wealth farmer complained there was no supply of improved teff more than 50 kgs as he wished to have more. The land was ploughed by tractor (2 kerts 800 *birr*) and oxen. Chickpea seeds were provided by the wereda agriculture office and through the Farmers' Union and Debre Zeit research centre. The middle wealth farmer's wife bought improved chickpea seeds from private traders (who she thinks are not trustable) in Debre Zeit paying 160 *birr* for 30 kilos; there was no supply at the kebele agriculture office. The kebele started to supply the seed after she had bought it. She said it would have been better to get it from the kebele as the quality is more assured and it is given in the form of credit. A farmers suggested that the amount of improved seeds one can get is not enough; it doesn't satisfy every farmers' need for it.

There are groups of model farmers who prepare seeds of all types of crops and sell to the local farmers. The successful farmer's wife said her household took improved seed from the co-operative with credit; the seed did not look as good as last year's and many farmers suspected it was not of the best quality. Some farmers said the Service Cooperative at Udie bought the seed from farmers who produced the seed by irrigation in other villages (she thinks irrigated crops can't be used to produce seeds). Though the local farmers told the Development Agents it did not seem to be the best seed the Development Agents said they would have to wait to see until January.

Use of fertiliser has become essential since the soil has adapted to fertiliser use and is unproductive without it, though it is not needed for chickpeas. The main sources of fertiliser are also the kebele agricultural office and the Debre Zeit agricultural research institution. The number of fertiliser users has increased compared to five years ago because the community has now understood the need to use fertiliser for better productivity of their land. The problem, however, is that fertiliser must now be bought in cash, which can be a problem for some people who are unable to afford it. Five years ago it was supplied by the kebele agricultural office on credit. The middle wealth farmer bought fertiliser at the Service Cooperative for 3 has at a cost of 6000 *birr*. Fertiliser price decreased from 2100 *birr* to 1900 *birr* maybe because farmers have been complaining about high prices at each and every meeting where wereda officials are found.

Farmers use pesticides either from the kebele agriculture office or from the market. When the supply from the agriculture office is delayed, farmers go to Debre Zeit and buy the pesticides. There has been no credit system for pesticides. There were pests on chickpeas and lentils in late 2013 but this was solved quickly with pesticides from wereda agriculture office and Debre Zeit traders.

The kebele DAs closely follow up to identify the farmers' needs for seeds and other inputs and then they work to provide a sufficient supply. At the time of fieldwork, the kebele agricultural office, in collaboration with other organisations such as JICA (Japanese International Co-operation Agency), were training model farmers to prepare improved seeds so that they could sell them to the local community. The leading farmer interviewed during fieldwork is an agent for improved seeds. He is given improved seeds and is expected to return the same amount after his harvest. The successful female household head claims that she is widely believed to have the best teff seeds. Farmers come to her each year to buy her seeds. She carefully selects the best seeds from her harvest.

#### Story of most important cash crop

Teff is most important crop and chickpeas or wheat are second. 70-80% of the land with koticha

(black soil) in the community is allocated to production of white teff. Many farmers use improved seed varieties from the kebele agricultural office, the Debre Zeit research centre and local farmers. Farmers also used chemical fertilisers and pesticides from the kebele agricultural office and the market. The DAs have recently focused on teaching the farmers to plant teff in lines rather than broadcasting the seed. This method reduces the seed required to sow the land and raises productivity.

Ploughing for teff begins in April/May and numbers of ploughings depend on the type of land and previous year's crop on the land. If teff was planted last year it need up to 5; if wheat or barley 3 and if chickpeas only once. Black soil needs a lot of ploughing, red and donkey colour soil not much.

There is a new teff variety *Boaset* planted by 10 farmers; the seed was brought by Debre Zeit ARC. This teff is not good-looking like *Koncho* but it dries fast and they still don't know the productivity.

Teff is sold in the markets in Ude, Denkaka and Debre Zeit. Increasingly there are traders in the community who buy the grain from farmers and sell it in Debre Zeit as wholesalers. According to the head of the health office in Ada'a wereda, the wereda produces one-third of the national teff production.

#### Story of second main cash crop

Chickpeas are increasingly planted in the community and are now considered the second most important cash crop. They have been increasing because of high market prices and at present chickpeas are planted on approximately 10% of the farmland. They have now overtaken beans, which were previously the second cash crop. Farmers use improved seed varieties, sourced from the kebele agricultural office and Debre Zeit research centre, as well as fertiliser and pesticides. Farmers have been taught by the DAs to plant seeds in lines and most now do so. Farmers sell chickpeas to whole sellers in local markets in Ude and Kumbursa and in Debre Zeit. Most of the harvest is sold in Debre Zeit as it provides the highest prices. Chickpeas are planted on land where teff was harvested last year; the number of ploughings depends on the water that the farm holds; if it is dry one ploughing will do otherwise it needs up to 3 times. This year planting in line started for chickpeas but most farmers spread it out. They use pesticides for storing bough from traders in Debre Zeit.

#### Story of third main cash crop

Lentils are the third most important cash crop but they are not produced by some farmers who have small plots of land because these farmers prefer to set aside most of their land to produce teff and chickpeas. Farmers use both improved seeds and fertiliser provided by the kebele agricultural office. The lentils are sold in local markets and in Debre Zeit.

#### *Irrigation*

Irrigation was first established four years ago by Passion Connects Ethiopia, an NGO. They came to consult the community and selected 40 farmers to share 15 hectares of irrigated land. Six people were selected for training in Debre Zeit. The training lasted 6 days and covered irrigation and vegetable growing techniques. Those who took the training were expected to train the remaining 34 people. The NGO drilled a borehole and installed an electric pump and a drip irrigation system linked to a large water container in the middle of the farm. This container also provides water for cattle. Vegetable seeds were given for the first round of production. The problem was that the water from the pump was only sufficient to cover three hectares. Consequently, only three people had land around the tank and by exchanging rain-fed land for irrigable land only 18 people were given access. The rest of the 40 people targeted by the NGO were unable to gain access. The irrigated area is less than 1% of the total land area of the kebele.

The pump and irrigation system was provided by the NGO on credit and the farmers are still repaying the cost to the NGO. The irrigated land is governed by an association of irrigation users, which collects contributions for seeds, fertiliser and other costs, and manages the water for the 18

members. The contribution is 100-150 birr a year, depending on the amount of income obtained. Everyone cultivates individual plots, but the association helps in searching for markets by contacting traders from towns. Both the middle wealth and successful farmers interviewed for the research are members of the irrigation association.

There is a specific time allotted to each member to access water once a day for 40 minutes. However, some members may be late to open their own drip because they are absent or otherwise unable to do so. They then want to use the water during others' turn. On these occasions some conflict arises. The offenders are warned in a meeting, but there has been no fine as yet and the problem is not particularly common.

The farmers produce onions, cabbages and tomatoes, but some types of cabbages that were found to be susceptible to pests were dropped. The farmers produce two crops a year. There has been no expansion and development of the irrigation scheme since its establishment. The association covers costs if any maintenance is needed. If the costs are beyond the association's capacity, the problem is reported to Passion Connects. For example, the NGO came to maintain the pump two months ago.

DAs supported the irrigation association, teaching them how to make compost, when to plant seeds and which crops would be marketable in different seasons. The NGO also assigned one professional to visit the farm frequently and give advice. The farmers buy seeds for different vegetables from Debre Zeit. Each farmer contributes about 500 birr for seeds, pesticides and other costs. Farmers earn about 1800-2000 birr from the sale of vegetables, depending on market price and the type of vegetables produced.

Other community members would like to have the same chance as those with irrigation. They say 'you have got this chance but we don't'. The members of the association tell them to ask the NGO. The wereda administration has promised to develop groundwater to provide irrigation on a larger scale and has plans to do so. The wereda has plans to considerably expand the irrigated land in Ude using deep boreholes and electric pumps. To date eleven such holes have been dug, and the plan is to attach meters to monitor and charge each farmer for their usage of water and electricity. This irrigation is part of the kebele five-year plan, but it is not yet operational.

Some individuals have also dug wells around their compounds to irrigate small garden plots for vegetable production. In addition, the uncle of the 13-year-old poor male respondent dug a borehole and uses an electric pump to pump water to sell to local farmers. The man currently lives in Beirut and employs his brother to manage the pump.

#### *Other farming technologies*

A few people rent tractors to plough their land. Although the number is increasing, there are still only a few farmers that do this because the rental cost is very high. It costs 700 birr to plough one kert (0.25ha). The successful farmer's wife said her household rented a tractor for 1200 birr from an individual in Debre Zeit. This time many of the richer farmers rented tractors to prepare at least some of the land. The household used BBM for wheat which cost 700 birr.

Farmers increasingly sow seeds in lines to increase productivity, as instructed by the DAs. Many farmers use a crop rotating system, alternating between teff and chickpeas to improve productivity of the soil. The DAs have introduced the broad bed maker (BBM) plough. However, the plough costs 300 birr, which discourages many farmers. One farmer said the BBM is given by the agriculture office and if we use it planting in line is easier. But many farmers feel it is too heavy and created their own similar model of BBM made of wood. This tool to bring what BBM is doing is now used by many farmers and planting in line was done by many this year. Wheat requires fertiliser once but after it has grown a bit sometimes urea is added. A knowledgeable woman respondent said that most farmers used oxen but some rich farmers used tractors at least at the beginning of the soil preparation stage. Farmers could apply to the kebele or inform the DA if they wanted to use a tractor; it was facilitated through kebele officials and farmers paid the hire. Some farmers could get

BBM with the technical advice of the DAs. Most farmers did sowing in lines on a few hectares just for trial. Wheat requires more fertile land than other crops and the ploughing should be at least 4 times. Wheat requires fertiliser once but after it has grown a bit sometimes urea is added. The kebele chair said that plastic water bottles were pierced and filled with teff and tied at the stick at the back of oxen to plant teff in line but for wheat they had to do it by hand. More than half the community accepted BBM and planting in line this year which is a great success and those who didn't accept it this year are thinking of using it next year when they see that the plants are growing better than the spread out ones.

Half of the community planted teff in line for the first time though a few tried it last year and it was good; it began 4 years ago for maize. Beans and peas are planted together and harvesting done separately. Farmers mix red and white teff. There is crop rotation by planting chickpeas, beans, *ater* and guaya alternately with teff. The poor farmer said 'last year I planted chickpeas and lentils so the fertility is back'. He paid 500 *birr* for fertiliser which he saved through the year by doing roofs for people and threshing. The kebele chair said that now using the BBM and planting in line are being enforced by the kebele and people are adopting them better than before.

Fertiliser, pesticides and improved seeds have been relatively widely adopted in the community. The development agents identify the farmers' needs for agricultural inputs and then work to ensure that there is an adequate supply available. They are available from the kebele agricultural office, the Debre Zeit agricultural research centre and local markets. Improved seeds for chickpeas and lentils were introduced three years ago. All farmers who grow chickpeas use pesticides.

Improved seeds are still available on credit from the kebele agricultural office. However, fertiliser is no longer available on credit. The assumption was that farmers are now wealthy enough to be able to pay for fertiliser in cash up front. Nevertheless, some poor farmers find it difficult to find the required money. At present the price of fertiliser is 1,000 *birr* for 150kg. Some use less than optimal amounts of fertiliser as a result. Fertiliser is used commonly on koticha soil, but less frequently on gumbere soil. Many farmers think that the soil has adapted to fertiliser use and is now dependent on fertiliser for productivity.

Some people prepare compost, using animal dung, but this is used primarily on vegetable plots around the house, rather than farmland since it is prepared near the house and is difficult to transport. Preparation of compost requires a lot of work and so not everyone does it.

Machines to harvest wheat are available for rent when there is a good amount of product in a given year. The poor female household head sharecrops out her land; last year the man who shares rented a tractor and it was ploughed well so this year the soil was clear and did not need much effort so he used oxen. There are people who rent and use combine harvester. DAs advised all farmers including her to protect against flooding by making terraces and ploughing steep land horizontally rather than vertically. Although DAs have been advising farmers to sow their seeds in line most ignored it as it consumes much energy and time. 4 households in her neighbourhood tried it on a small plot of land.

### *Livestock*

#### Livestock mix

According to kebele reports, there are about 4,000 cattle in the community, 200 sheep, about 100 goats and 1,000 chickens, but no bee-keeping. The researcher also observed a large number of camels grazing in the community. According to different respondents, these belonged either to investors involved in camel rearing or the Kereyu ethnic group, who bring the animals to graze once the harvest has been collected.

#### Cattle and products

There are about 4000 cattle in the kebele, most traditional breeds. Some keep cross-breeds mainly

of the Borena type. Hybrid cattle are not welcome as they are not resistant to disease and have trouble adapting to the environment. There are improved breeds for those that can afford them. High-bred cow for milk cost up to 20,000. There is some fattening but only for sale for social events. Some bull fattening but mostly old oxen are fattened when they are not strong enough to plough.

There are fewer cattle than 10 years ago because farmers now focus on quality of animals, rather than quantity. Furthermore, the shortage of grazing land and the high cost of fodder mean that many households keep fewer cattle than they would like. Most farmers keep oxen for farm work and some farmers also fatten them for sale. The rising price for livestock feed has discouraged some farmers from engaging in fattening. The improved breeds of cattle are called Boren, Holistesian and Jersey. The kebele agriculture office supplies these types of cattle on credit and gets its supply from investors such as Genesis Farms, Lemma farms and ELFORA. Cattle are sold at Ude, Mojo and Debre Zeit markets.

More people keep cows for milk and butter production than was the case in the past. The local breeds of cows are said to be good for butter production, while the improved breeds are good for milk production. About 500 households sell milk through an association of farmers to the Ada'a milk factory.

Last year there was a disease that caused intestinal problems for cattle and chickens, but the vet provided medicine and the outbreak was controlled. The rich farmer's wife's cows delivered safely but one was coughing so she called the vet who gave it 4 injections; she paid 50 birr for the vet's service charge and 200 birr for medicine.

#### Shoats and products

There are fewer sheep and goats than 10 years ago because farmers now focus on quality of animals, rather than quantity. A few people keep improved breeds, but for the most part, sheep and goats are local breeds. The kebele agricultural office and Passion Connects provide sheep and cattle on credit.

There are intestinal diseases for sheep and goats, but these are always controlled by the vet before they kill many animals. Sheep and goats are sold at the markets in Ude, Debre Zeit and Mojo.

#### Chickens and eggs

Poultry farming is common, breed chickens are bred for cash and consumption. Most households keep a few chickens to produce eggs. Women are usually involved in raising chickens for egg production. In many cases, women control the money raised by sales of eggs and chickens. There are both local and improved breeds of chickens. The improved breeds are known as white and black Egyptian breeds. The kebele agriculture office supplies these breeds on credit and gets its supply from investors such as Genesis Farms, Lemma farms and ELFORA. They are also available from Debre Zeit agricultural research centre.

A few households have special coups for the chickens and produce on a larger scale. For example the successful farmer has 100 hybrid chickens for egg production. The household earns 1,100 birr a week from the eggs produced and spends 660 birr on feed for the chickens. Eggs are sold in Ude or Debre Zeit markets for 2-2.25 birr each, and many households also use them for their own consumption.

A poultry disease occurs almost every rainy season or shortly after the rains stop. The disease occurs 3-4 times a year and discourages some people from keeping poultry because it kills all their animals at once. The improved breed chickens are reported to be especially vulnerable to these diseases. Medicines and treatments are available at the veterinary clinic.

Many chickens died due to disease in the rainy season in 2013. The poor woman farmer lost 8 chickens from disease at the same time although she bought medicine in Debre Zeit. The successful woman farmer lost 15 chickens in a week though she had given medicine; this medicine saved their lives in April and May but couldn't keep them safe during the rainy season. The rich farmer's wife

has applied to the kebele agriculture office for 100 breed chickens.

#### *Bees and honey*

At present there are no beehives in the community. Respondents said that there were some beehives 25-30 years ago but the bees left when the forest was cut down. There were some attempts to re-introduce beekeeping by the DAs, but the area is not suitable.

### **Government smallholder farming interventions**

#### *Local agricultural research institutes*

The Debre Zeit and Melkassa agricultural research centres provide improved seeds, fertiliser, improved breeds of livestock and livestock feed. The Debre Zeit ARC has a direct link with the kebele administration and they have periodic visits to the kebele. They usually come frequently in the rainy season and rarely in the dry season. They bring improved seeds in truck for experimentation by farmers with roadside farms who are willing to try. These are preferred to make frequent follow-up easier. The centre also collects farmers and trains them in the community and some farmers are taken to see experiments in the centre's compound in DZ.

#### *Agricultural extension*

At this time, most of the farmers use improved seeds and fertiliser. The kebele agriculture office is the main source of improved seeds and fertiliser. The kebele agriculture office is engaged in different watershed activities with the community. There are public works done on terracing, construction of different structures to store water, protect grassland, afforestation and soil conservation activities by placing stones along the sides of fields exposed to erosion and tying the stones together by gabion.

The agricultural extension program introduces different farming inputs to help the community increase productivity. It provides improved seeds of teff, chickpeas, wheat, hybrid livestock and seeds of livestock fodder. It also promotes the protection of natural spaces and introduces farming technologies, such as BBM and farming equipment. BBM was introduced to the kebele for the first time in 2004 (1997EC). The improved stove was introduced during the last ten years and many of the households use them. Eight years ago, the improved stove was subsidised, so beneficiaries only had to pay 40 birr, which was 50% of the cost. Now, beneficiaries must pay the full cost and buy it from the agricultural office.

Education is also provided to the farmers about the best farming practices, seasonality, the optimal amount of fertiliser to use and the use of pesticides to prevent crop diseases. Training was given to members of two associations with 150 members in 2009 (2002EC) about preparation of improved seeds. These associations prepare different types of seeds on their farmland and sell it to local farmers. Two years ago, the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) trained 30 model farmers from the kebele about seed quality and preparation of improved seedlings for one year. These farmers were selected as innovative farmers who could adopt new technology. Another NGO called OSRA, which was working in the kebele until three years previously, also provided education to the community about hybrid livestock, preparation of livestock feed and trained one farmer in castration. This organisation also supplied seeds for livestock feed such as elephant grass for free.

The agricultural extension packages are spread to the community through the 1-5 groups, development teams and iddir. The DAs conduct house-to-house visits to provide information on the packages. The 1-5 team members also meet once a week and discuss the extension packages. The agricultural office calls a meeting with the development teams every two months.

The livestock DA and the wereda vet provide vaccinations and other medicines for livestock diseases.

### *The Farmers' Training Centre*

There is an FTC in another kebele in the wereda called Godino. This was selected to demonstrate production of garden vegetables. This FTC is supposed to be used as a model and demonstration site for all components of nutrition, which can be expanded to other kebele.

### *Mobilisation of local farmers*

#### Model farmers

In the kebele about 203 model farmers were selected from 835 households in 2010. There are about 62 model farmers from Sirba village. The DAs are assisting them to be more productive. These model farmers are leaders or members of the development teams and they are used to mobilise the community. They invite other farmers from the community to visit their houses, livestock and farmland. They also organise experience-sharing visits among themselves and with farmers from other villages. Those farmers in Ude who have been using bio-gas technology have been visited by farmers from neighbouring villages.

Model farmers are engaged in bull fattening, dairy farming, growing vegetables under irrigation and they are hard workers who plough a lot of land by renting in land in addition to their own. There are two champion farmers in Sirba village and two in Ude, but none in Kumbursa. The role of the champions is to be agents for improved seeds and to work with DAs.

The model farmers are selected based on their performance in implementing not only the agricultural packages but also the health extension packages. They display their houses, compounds, kitchen, livestock and farmland to other farmers who want to learn from their experiences in health and agriculture.

#### Development Teams

There are about 31 development teams, each with 28-30 members. These are organised according to neighbourhood and gender, with women organised in separate teams. The teams involving men, as well as female household heads, focus on agricultural activities. The female development teams work on health extension activities. Development teams meet twice a month, and the agricultural office calls a meeting with the development teams once every two months. Several respondents mentioned that the development and 1-5 teams were useful for sharing experiences with other farmers.

#### 1-5s

1-5 groups meet once a week, for example one respondent's 1-5 meets for an hour and a half every Sunday. The 1-5 groups are used to spread the agricultural extension packages, to disseminate information about improved agricultural practices and to discuss new technologies and techniques. The 1-5 groups are also used to mobilise labour for public works campaigns. The 1-5 groups were also referred to by one respondent as an agricultural extension army.

According to kebele officials, although the 1-5 groups have improved the extension programmes in the kebele, they are still not working as intended because people prefer to work on their own or to use existing systems of cooperation in their neighbourhoods.

### *Recent crop interventions*

DAs have recently encouraged farmers to sow seeds in lines, rather than broadcasting the seed as before. This reduces the amount of seed required to sow a field and also increases the harvest. In the past farmers would sow 100kg of seed per hectare, but now they only use 28kg. The DAs have also been teaching farmers about crop rotation, alternating between chickpeas and teff to improve soil fertility. DAs have been working with women to show them how to handle weeds and weedkiller.

The DA said that about 75% of farmers apply the agriculture extension packages: (1) applying new farming technologies; (2) comprehensive agricultural activities; (3) application of farm inputs. Those who have properly applied the packages have accumulated wealth: bought houses in Debre Zeit and cars, rent additional land for more production, use tractors etc. Many count their cash in thousands rather than hundreds.

#### *Recent livestock interventions*

In the past livestock were kept in a fenced enclosure outside the household's compound. More recently the DAs have encouraged farmers to build a separate house for livestock inside the compound in order to keep them safe. The DAs have been working with women, teaching them about chickens and livestock management.

The vet helps us to have livestock treated on time and mostly they have the drugs with them. The vet service is found in Ude village and it is always equipped with medicine. The DA said the vet clinic in Ude serve 5 kebeles; it faces some shortage of materials, lacks electricity and has insufficient lab equipment.

#### *Credit for farming*

The wereda used to give credit for fertiliser three years ago, but it has discontinued since then. Improved seeds are still available on credit. The organisations providing credit are: Walda Liki fi Kuseno Oromia (WALKO or Oromia Credit and Saving Association) and GUDINA. WALKO provides credit for all farm activities such as the purchase of fertiliser, land rent and seeds. GUDINA is organised by the wereda at village level and provides credit in the rainy season and collects in the dry season. This is also used for farm inputs. WALKO uses money from the Oromia Development Bank and the GUDINA fund comes from villagers' savings in the association.

WALKO credit is distributed in one of two ways. First, the wereda organises small groups of associations and provides them with training and refers them to WALKO for credit. Second, individuals approach WALKO and get credit without wereda involvement. The repayment is required annually for individual farmers, and WALKO officers go to the rural kebele to collect the debts.

For a group to access credit, ten people should join together and the amount of credit ranges from 2,000-10,000 birr. The largest loans are given to groups that remain members for a long time and are reliable in their repayments. Anyone interested in getting credit can access these loans by being in a group. Usually the loans are used for farm inputs, for oxen, fertiliser and land rent. The village savings group is organised mainly for fertiliser purchase. WALKO's credit enables farmers who previously had to rent out their land to get farm inputs and to plough their own land.

There are some complaints from WALKO about indebtedness. Those people organised in groups are particularly reluctant to repay their debts. Individuals usually have some wealth, whereas those in groups are unemployed youths who are poor and are formed into an association. WALKO provides credit to groups based on their business plans.

#### *Producer co-operatives*

There is a farmers' association where farmers meet to discuss their products and share information about market prices. There is a 5 birr contribution for membership. There is also an irrigation association, which coordinates the activities of the 18 farmers with land covered by the Passion Connects irrigation system. However, there is no formal cooperative. One non-farmer said: "We see on TV that many co-operatives are established everywhere both in farming and non-farming small enterprises and are growing well. Why is it not happening here? I feel like there is a gap in this".

The government is asking everybody to have a license and the kebele is demanding this aggressively. Previously people had a chance to try some business to see if it could work or not but now for every small business you are trying they ask you to have a license. In May 2013 they had a campaign and moved to warn everyone to get registered as soon as possible or close what they are doing. Even

those who opened a shop in a small window and women selling areke and tella are requested to be registered.

### *Government Service Co-operatives*

According to two respondents there is a multi-purpose cooperative where some consumables are available at low prices in Ude. According to the kebele respondent, there is no service cooperative. Udie Service Co-operative has 1141 members: it distributes fertiliser, improved crops of all types, chemicals, consumption goods, construction materials, spraying materials, fodder, BBM etc. Members get priority. Teff seeds from Debre Zeit ARC and fertiliser were distributed from the wereda agriculture office through the Service Co-operative who got fertiliser from Yerer Union. There was frequent mobilisation by the wereda for everyone to buy fertiliser as last year some remained idle and spoiled in the kebele. The DA said the kebele assessed farmers' need through Development Teams and 1-5s and ordered through the wereda agriculture office which reports to the Zone and Region. The Regional bureau communicates with the Unions which import the fertiliser. Bio-fertiliser was also distributed to farmers growing chickpeas, beans, lentils and peas. Since 2008 fertiliser has been distributed through cash as farmers are aware of its priority and can afford the cost. This year (2013) there was no expiry date stamped on the fertiliser only the date of production (2009) and farmers feared to buy it and asked why no expiry date. The experts said there are times when fertiliser is upgraded before it is expired and only production dates are stamped; they said there would be no risk as the unions imported the fertilisers ensuring they were not expired. Wheat seed was provided from the ARC through the farmers' union and fertiliser through the kebele and the union also sells it for cash.

Each village has an association of model farmers who provide improved seeds of all types of grain suitable for the local farmland. Sirba association has 104 members and 4 women. The associations buy improved seeds mainly from Debre Zeit ARC prepare the seeds on their farmland and sell to local farmers in their village. This year the ARC distributed best quality seeds to individual traders rather than farmers' associations creating a shortage of seeds; most farmers bought from the traders though they would have got it on credit from the association. Also most farmers suspected the improved seeds sold by the Service Cooperative thinking that it buys crops from any farmer that sells with no quality assurance process. There are individuals who claim their not improved seeds are improved. So some farmers bought from traders with cash and others from the co-operative with credit.

Udie service co-operative has been very active in distributing fertiliser, improved seed and other inputs. Starting in May 2013 fertiliser was distributed in cash to those who wanted to buy from the co-operative. Most prefer to buy fertiliser and improved seed from the co-op because it works closely with the kebele agriculture office that gives confidence on the quality of the inputs. Farmers have some doubt about inputs from private sellers. There were no delays regarding fertilisers but some delay with improved seeds and farmers got worried. Some bought seeds in Debre Zeit, some used what they had saved at home and some borrowed from neighbours and relatives who has extra.

### **Investors**

The regional investment bureau, working with its wereda office, decides which land should be leased to investors. There were previously 101 Investments managed by the wereda administration, but now most of them have moved into the town administration when four kebele were transferred to the town. The wereda is left with 10 investments: three working in bull fattening, one soil research consultant working for those engaged in horticulture, a dairy farm, an irrigated farm, fruit production, textile industry, a brick factory and a hotel. Between these 10 investments about 50 hectares has been given out. Many of the investors are from other areas, in particular Addis Ababa and the Netherlands. There is one farmer from Denkaka kebele who has an investment for irrigated agriculture using groundwater. This farmer already has sufficient land and did not ask for more from

the wereda. He was asked to get a licence because he is planning irrigated agriculture in a relatively large area and intends to hire employees.

According to the wereda respondent, the benefit of these investments is the creation of employment, especially for women. The investors are providing water for the communities, as well as farm tools for watershed management public works. The investments have also helped a lot with the wereda revenue. Before these investments, revenue was only 9 million birr, but now it is about 40 million. The wereda collects revenue from land lease fees, taxes from investors and land tax from farmers. The money is submitted to the zone, and the zone allocates the annual budget for each wereda. Since most of the investments moved into the town administration, the wereda will not have this much revenue next year and so a government budget subsidy may be required from the zone or region.

There are also about 13 groups involved in mineral extraction. These are separately managed by the Water, Mineral and Energy bureau, rather than the investment office. These investors are mainly extracting minerals for cement production. According to the wereda investment office, these operations have created environmental problems and soil erosion, which have affected four kebele.

The government decided not to give land next to the Nazret-Addis Ababa road until implementation of the road and railway construction plan has begun. However, now the work has begun this land may be leased. There is a plan at the wereda for expanding investment, but the problem is the displacement of farmers. However, there is a huge demand for land. One investor has asked for 100 hectares but at the moment there wereda does not have land to cover this size of request.

The investments in Ude kebele are: a brick factory, a cupboard factory, a flower farm, two hotels called Arose and Gedera, and a petrol station under construction. There is also an investor called Reta in Sirba who has a nursery site for vegetables, fruits and flower seedlings. Some Arab investors have leased land for poultry production, but they have not yet begun operations. The Chinese road construction company also took land for four years for their camps, but they will leave after the road has been completed.

The government promised that the investors would provide employment for local people with good salaries, but the flower farm is only paying 12 birr per day and, as a result, the local people are disappointed. There is some dissatisfaction among some segments of the community about incoming investment, because they feel that their land is being taken away and they cannot resist this process. The kebele administration is not sure exactly how much land has been leased. The land taken for investment was all previously ploughed by individual farmers. Compensation was paid to these farmers and, at the time, this was good money. About 300 people are employed from all three villages in the kebele in either the flower farm or the brick factory. The hotels only employ three people, however.

The benefits are job opportunities for community members and some have provided water for livestock and people. The cupboard factory provides free electricity for 20 households in Kumbursa. The problem is their land taking with little compensation. Those who have left their land are not happy with the compensation given which is low. People feel there is a shortage of farmland and they are not interested in more investments that may also take land with very small compensation.

There was not much pollution from the investments in the community. However industries working around Mojo are now dumping waste near the Arosa hotel in the community. The kebele administration called a meeting last week and community members were told to catch the trucks dumping usually on Wednesdays.

The airforce at Debre Zeit took a very large space from the kebele that was owned by individual farmers as the military wanted space for jets to take off and land. However, the compensation was satisfactory. One of the farmers who lost big land was given a very good amount of money and was

able to build a house in Debre Zeit and buy a minibus. Another also bought a minibus and a third opened a grinding mill at Kumbursa. The rest were able to buy farmland elsewhere in the kebele.

The kebele chair said that farmers owning the land taken for investments like the flower farms, Chinese road company etc had not been adequately compensated. Compensation varied from 7000 *birr* per hectare to 280,000. A poor woman heading her household heard that Arosa hotel has been sold to Sheikh Al Amudi which has created hope in the community that there will be job opportunities: janitor, guard, waitress, bed-making, gardeners etc. The hotel had been owned by a man called Roba not from Sirba. Recently Sheikh Al Amudi visited Arosa hotel which he bought this year and told the wereda he wants about 200 hectares for investment although it is not known what it is. The kebele was ordered to assess and send a report of available land in the kebele which was sent in November 2013.

In Ude and Sirba the government leased land for 8 people: 3 flower farms; 1 gas station; 1 hotel; 1 cupboard factory; 1 weedkiller chemical factory. One investor started poultry farming in October 2013, a 19 year old said: 'He has been living in an Arab country; the farm has 10,000 breed chickens which he bought from Debre Zeit ARC. He used the land owned by his grandparents to start the business. He has hired 2 women and 2 men and his relatives are also helping. He uses tanker water from the borehole he dug. He has helped 5 other households in his neighbourhood to get clean water from the borehole and sells it at 0.25 cents per jerrycan. He currently lives in Addis Ababa and frequently comes to manage the poultry farm. He has not yet started to sell eggs as the chickens are not mature enough. The investor inaugurated the farm 2 months ago when kebele officials, community leaders, elders, invited guests and religious people participated in the ceremony.

### **Diversification**

About 30-50 women are estimated to have shops and bars in the kebele. These include the leading businesswoman interviewed for the research who has a shop which sells food, consumables and charcoal, as well as preparing and selling local drinks such as tella, tejj and areqi.

Young women, especially from poor or middle income families, work in flower farms or factories in nearby towns during summer holidays. Many young men work for the Chinese road construction company, quarrying stone in cooperatives or in local factories to help support their families.

### **Trade**

#### *Trading in the community*

Trading activity in the community is dominated by women. Most traders operate on quite a small scale, buying from local farmers on the road on market days or visiting farmers in their homes and selling the grain to larger traders in local towns. Many traders undertake seasonal trading activities as an additional source of income. However, there are a few traders who operate throughout the year, buying from local farmers and selling to large whole sellers from local towns and Addis Ababa.

There has not been any problem of storage of teff as it has no pest during storage so farmers usually wait for good prices. Teff is sold in the village, at the market and to the Farmers Union, though some take it to Debre Zeit. There are isuzu trucks that come through phone calls and farmers pay according to the distance; for Denkaka market donkeys are usually used.

Some farmers sell a bit of their wheat to cover expenses but most wait for a good price. Wheat has pests in storage so usually pesticide is added. Grain is stored within quintals; using gotera basket grain stores was abandoned 20 years ago. Produce is sold mainly in the community to traders and sometimes taken to Debre Zeit hoping for a better price; but it is discouraging to pay for transport and labourers for loading and unloading.

Some wholesalers/merchants who sell in other places have already come from the nearby towns to negotiate the estimated price of grain in the upcoming harvest in 2014. There are 3 individual traders in the village with big grain stores.

A woman trader has been selling tef, chickpeas, lentils, beans, wheat, maize, red-tef and peas from her farmland as well as by buying from local farmers. For the imminent harvest she has planned to prepare a separate place for storing the grain and she will separate the best quality tef, chickpeas, beans and wheat to store well apart from the other grains she will use for consumption. She believes she will have more customers from Debre Zeit and Addis Ababa; they have already started to call her asking about the price of grains – which she can't tell until the harvest is complete. Prices are normally decided by the consensus of local traders based on quality, amount of production and demand. She wants to store as much as possible to sell in April when prices start to rise. But she also wants to keep her customers satisfied so they come again.

#### *Trading of most important cash crop*

Teff is the most important crop produced in the kebele. The surplus is sold in local markets in Ude, Denkaka and Debre Zeit. There are increasing numbers of traders within the community who buy crops from individual farmers and sell them in Debre Zeit to whole sellers.

#### *Trading of second cash crop*

Chickpeas are sold in local markets to whole sellers in Ude and Kumbursa and Debre Zeit. Most of the harvest is sold in Debrezeit as prices are higher there than in the local markets. Some women also sell chickpeas on the roadside to people passing in cars.

#### *Crop traders' activities*

##### *Big trader*

There are no big traders in the community.

##### *Middle trader*

The female middle trader is a married woman with three children. She does no other paid work. She plans to continue her education, which she stopped at grade 8, if the evening program starts. She has heard that there will be adult education for women at 2-4pm and at 4-6pm for men. She buys teff from local farmers and sells it to other large traders. Although she has some common customers who supply her with the first-level teff, she mainly collects the teff from farmers who pass by on the road on market days. She stands at the roadside waiting for the farmers who are passing and asks them to sell their product to her. She has been engaged in this business for one year. Before that, she was selling areqi, but it was not profitable as many women started the same business in her neighbourhood. She intends to continue her business and plans to build a grain store to enable her to buy and sell grain on a larger scale.

When she buys the crop from different farmers, she decides the price according to the type and quality of the crop. There are three types of teff, which have different prices. The best is magna teff, then melestegna and finally sergegna teff. There is also red teff, but this has no demand in the market and is only used for subsistence. She sells the crops to her customers in Sirba, Ude and Debre Zeit. She negotiates with the farmers to maximise her profit. Last December, she bought one kilo of teff for 11birr and sold it for 11.50 birr. In December the price of crops reduces because it is harvest season. She has not been able to buy and sell more than 300kg because many farmers prefer to sell their crop at the market themselves.

The second most important crop she trades is chickpeas. In November she buys chickpeas and keeps them at home until April or May when the price increases. Last season, she bought one kilogram of chickpeas for 5.50 birr and she will sell them in May for 9 birr per kg. In the rainy season, the price might increase to 13 birr per kg.

The problems she faces are the lack of supply of crops, since farmers want to sell directly at the market and there are some rich whole sellers who buy crops at the best price from the farmers. She also has a transport problem. She is required to pay 6-7 birr one way for a minibus to Debre Zeit and

the price increases when she has to load grain to sell in Debre Zeit. If she buys one kg of teff from farmers in Sirba for 11 birr, she sells it for 20-21 birr in Debre Zeit. She plans to upgrade her business by getting credit of 2,000-3,000 birr. She plans to open a shop where she can buy and sell crops.

The leading female trader can also be classified as a middle trader. She also keeps a shop in which she sells consumables and household items such as cups, jugs, bowls, cleaning materials and cosmetics. She also sells local drinks. Her main business, however, is trading farm products, in particular teff, wheat, gesho (a leaf used to ferment tella), lentils, chickpeas, beans and maize. She has been involved in this business for the last 15 years. She started the business when she was living in Debre Zeit before she got married to her current husband. Her initial capital was only 100 birr. At that time she went to live with her grandmother in Sirba where she met her husband. He helped her to open a small shop, which was the first shop in Sirba. At present, there are five shops in the village. Her customers are both from the village and outside. There are retailers and whole sellers who come from Debre Zeit and Mojo to buy her products. There are a very few customers who buy teff and wheat direct from her store when they pass by on the road. These customers live in Addis Ababa or in Nazret. She keeps all her products in a store in her compound, which can hold 20-30 quintals of grain at once.

Last year, there was a shortage of rain so production declined. This resulted in an increase in the price of the crops that she buys from the farmers. However, when she tried to sell the crops at higher prices, she had few buyers compared to previous years. Three years ago she also had the problem of a lack of transportation. As a result she was not able to deliver on time to her customers in the local towns, and the cost of transportation was increasing which affected her profit. To resolve this problem, she and her husband bought a lorry in 2010 (2003EC) to transport her goods. She has hired a driver because she has no driving licence. There has been also a problem of inflation for the last five years. Inflation has resulted in a lack of supply from the local farmers and an increase in the price of the crops. She tries to buy a greater variety of crops and keeps them all at her store.

She employs seven people in her business. They help her in farming, buying and selling products, storing crops, transporting and accessing customers. She also tried to keep an improved breed cow to produce milk. However, she stopped keeping cows because of the increasing labour costs. She also tried fattening animals two years ago, but decided that it could not be profitable as a result of the high cost of livestock feed and increasing cost of labour. Previously she had paid 300 birr per month for one labourer, but this increased to 800 birr per month per labourer. The five labourers she has at this time are 2 young women and 3 young men. One of the men is responsible for looking after the household's animals (4 cows, 6 oxen, 2 sheep and 8 chickens). One man is a driver who transports the crops. He also buys food and other necessary household items from the towns for household consumption as well as for sale in the shop. Two women assist her in the domestic work and childcare. One man is responsible for storing the crops and carrying loads in the household.

She borrowed 2,000 birr five years ago from Busa Gonofa Credit and Saving Institution. However, she says that this was not helpful because it was too little to enable her to make a great profit. She would like to have a large amount of credit, at least 300,000 birr, to be able to expand her business and make a great profit. In the future, she aspires to open a big supermarket in Debre Zeit where she would sell homemade food (baltena), processed food and packed flour. She believes that this would be a good business because there is increasing demand from the community in the towns.

She has bought a house in Debre Zeit which she rents out for 2,000 birr per month. She also has bought a plot of land in Debre Zeit where she plans to construct a modern house. With her husband, she owns 2.5 hectares of farmland. She produces magna white teff, the most desired type of teff, wheat, chickpeas, beans, peas and lentils. Eight years ago, her household rented an additional 5-6 hectares of farmland for 200 birr. At the moment, they pay 3,000 birr for the same amount of land. Although most of the people who rent farmland are from the local villages, there are also people from local towns who rent land for production of cash crops.

She said that she doesn't know how much tax her household pays for the business because it is her husband who deals with the tax and licence fees. In the village, she is a very famous trader and has dominated the business in the village as she has done it for longer than any other person. She cooperates with other traders in the community to exchange information about the market. She also shares her experiences about business affairs with other local traders. She believes that her business environment could be improved if she could get a bigger place in the village where she could expand her business. She would also like to get a larger amount of credit to help her expand her business.

#### Small trader

The leading male trader operates on a small scale. He buys and sells grain throughout the year. He buys teff, wheat and lentils from farmers, usually on market days. They bring their products to his house where the store is located. He sells these products to big traders who come from Debre Zeit and Mojo, and occasionally from Addis Ababa. He stores the crops for a short time until they are sold. Since he has limited capital, he is not able to store them for long. He does not employ anyone, but his family helps him. His customers bring vehicles to transport the grain. He does not use transport, he just receives the grain at his store from the farmers who carry it or load it on donkeys.

His house is located on the main road, which is convenient for transport access. He has no problems related to internal roads. He does not want to take credit. He used to be a rich trader when he was in the Sebebeta area on the way to Jimma. He bought a big truck with a friend. Half of the money for the truck was covered by a bank loan that led to his bankruptcy. As a result he ended up in Sirba with this grain trade and limited capital. He wants to work with what he has, and stay away from credit. He pays 4,780 birr tax annually for the trade.

The problem he has faced is a lack of capital and the limited interest of farmers to sell their products to him rather than big traders in Denkaka, Debre Zeit and Mojo. Big farmers want to transport their products themselves to Debre Zeit or other nearby towns, while others want to sell them on the market to big traders who come from other towns such as Addis Ababa, because they feel that they would get a better price there. He faces stiff competition. Even if farmers come to him with a large amount of grain, he cannot afford to buy it because he has limited capital. He does not communicate with other traders and has no relationship with service cooperatives.

As he is now getting old and his sons have all left home, he does not think that he should expand his trade. He nevertheless hopes to progress gradually, by increasing his capital and attracting more local farmers to sell their products to him. He has no suggestions for improving the trading environment.

The small female trader sells teff, as well as chickpeas, lentils and wheat. She is divorced. She has 2 kert of farmland and she produces teff and chickpeas mainly for subsistence. Her son ploughs the land and she helps in weeding and collecting the crop. She completed grade 8 and she sends her children to school. Her main problem is transportation, supply of crops and a lack of a good market nearby.

She collects the crop direct from farmers at their houses or by standing along the roadside on market days. Alongside her farming and crop trading, she also sells tella on Wednesdays and Fridays when there is a better flow of customers. She sells one cup (saffi) of tella for 2.50 birr. Although the price has increased to 3 birr in other neighbouring tella houses, she sells it at a lower price to attract more customers. She prepares 20 litres of tella with ten kilos of flour and gets 50birr profit.

She uses a safi or tassa (a local can) to measure the amount of grain. She has been trading for 15 years and she thinks that it was more profitable in the past than now, because of market competition and the lack of adequate crop supply. She buys 1tassa of teff for 9 birr and sells it for 11 birr in the local market. Five years ago, the price of one tassa from the farmers was 5 birr, but the price of teff has been increasing. She sells her crops to rich traders in Debre Zeit. Sometimes,

however, local customers come to her house to buy her crops. She collects 50-100kilogram in one day from different farmers, and she buys it according to its quality and type.

She borrowed 3,000birr from Busa Gonofa credit and saving institution in Mojo, which also has an office in Debre Zeit. She borrowed this money after she was grouped with ten other small traders. She doesn't pay any market tax as she is not registered as a taxpayer.

Another respondent is a widowed mother of three children. Her husband died ten years ago. She sends all her children to school, although she married at 15 years old and never went to school. She is currently working at a flower farm and she is paid 20 birr/day. The flower farm is located in Kumbursa sub-kebele and it provides transport. She works from 7am to 5pm. She decides which day of the week she wants off. She chooses either Tuesday or Saturday when she can buy and sell crops as an additional source of income. She likes the flower farm work because she is assigned in the packing house where there is less danger from the chemicals than the workers in the greenhouse. Five years ago, she borrowed 700 birr from Busa Gonofa credit institution in Debre Zeit. She was grouped with about 70 women to receive credit and start some kind of business. She paid her debt of 800 birr within one year. Her first business was selling tella and areqi. She made a good profit from selling these local drinks. However, it was very risky for her and her children because her customers would get drunk and fight inside her house. She had to take her children out of the house until the drunken men left. Furthermore, some of her customers tried to drink on credit and never paid her.

#### Self-trader

The male self-trader is the leading farmer interviewed for the fieldwork. He has two hectares of his own farmland and he also rents in four hectares. He pays 4,000 birr rent for a hectare of land. He is also a member of the irrigation association and has about 500 m<sup>2</sup> of irrigated land. He produces crops like teff, lentils, wheat, beans and also vegetables like onions, carrots and cabbages. He takes most of his agricultural output to Debre Zeit to sell directly, although he sells the rest to traders from Debre Zeit who come to his home. He has a store in his compound. He keeps his crop for a while, but not for long. Since the vegetables are perishable he cannot store them.

The female self-trader produces teff on one kert (0.25 hectares) of her farmland. She has been involved in this business for 19 years. Although the price of teff has increased over the years, her business is not as profitable as it used to be in the past. This is because the number of people engaged in this business has increased, leading to competition. She mainly sells teff in December, but she keeps some at home to sell in April, May and June when the price rises.

The main problem she mentioned was a lack of transport when she has to carry the crop to the market place in Ude and Debre Zeit. She has to pay 7-8birr to load her crop to Debre Zeit compared to 3-4 birr some five years ago. The other problem is the high cost of fertiliser as this has to be paid in cash. Five years ago, fertiliser was available on credit. The price of 150kg of fertiliser from the kebele agricultural office is 1,000birr, which is a bit difficult to afford. It would be helpful if it could be provided on credit. Those farmers who always use sufficient fertiliser for their farmland produce the best quality and a greater quantity, enabling them to sell more. Although she also uses fertiliser, she thinks that it is not sufficient.

She also sells chickpeas and sometime maize on the roadside. She sells one cup of raw chickpeas for 3-4 birr in September. She sells one kg of dried chickpeas for 9 birr and one kg of teff at 15birr. The price of these crops is likely to increase in the summer season. She had better sales five years ago because there were only a few people who were engaged in trading. At this time, however, she is not getting much profit because there is high market competition. The other problem is that she has a small plot of land, which does not produce enough for subsistence as well as sale.

The market price is fixed by formal traders who pay tax and use the market place. The small or middle traders have no say in setting the price. They can only sell their products if they think that

they will get some profit. Most of the farmers prefer to sell their products at the market rather than along the roadside. Only those who are not informed or those who want to sell quickly, such as her, sell their crop on the roadside. She does not pay market tax because she does not sell her product at the market. She sells her product in Sirba and Debre Zeit to whole sellers. She said it would be very helpful for traders like her if fertiliser could be provided on credit and at a fair price. It would also be better for her if the buyers could come to her house to buy her crops, instead of her having to go to them to sell.

#### *Livestock trade*

There were no respondents whose main economic activity was livestock trading. Some people do keep livestock for fattening and sale, in addition to the crop farming activities. However, the rising price of livestock feed is discouraging some farmers from engaging in fattening. People tend to sell cattle, sheep and goats close to annual feasts when the market prices are at their peak. They sell cattle in the local market in Ude, in Mojo or in Debre Zeit. Most of the cattle are sold in the local market, but a few may end up in the Addis Ababa-Akaki market. Shoats are sold in Ude, Debre Zeit and Mojo. A very few households raise poultry for sale, but most farmers keep poultry to produce eggs for sale. When chickens stop laying eggs, they are used for household food or they are sold in Ude. There are no women engaged in livestock trading except the sale of chickens on a small scale.

#### *Livestock product trade*

Five years ago, there were very few people who sold milk and butter. At present, the number of people who keep improved cows for milk production has increased. It is now common to see people selling butter and milk. Local breeds of cows are said to be good for butter production while the improved breeds produce more milk. Milk produced from the improved cows is sold on a contract basis to a milk processing company based in Debre Zeit which collects the milk from farmers every day.

The DA said that the Ada'a milk suppliers' association has 500 members who supply 1 litre of milk for 8.5 *birr*. The vehicle comes to the roadside collecting every day and selling to the factory. The rich farmer said that 2 of his high-breeds gave birth and now being milked: 22 litres of which 18 are given to the Sebata Milk Industry which started 4 years ago. He stopped using Ada Milk company because it began asking that the milk be taken to the roadside at Denkaka which is far. Two more cows are about to give birth. Sebata Milk have a quota maximum 18 litres so 4 are being spoiled at home since they can't consume it all. When the other 2 are added there will be a problem of demand because transportation is a problem to take the milk at the right time; it takes milk both morning and night. A farmer said that both men and women in the household manage the income from milk though most of the work is done by women.

Local breeds produce relatively little milk and this is used for household consumption or for making butter. One cup of butter is sold for 20 *birr* and one jug of ayeb (cheese) is sold for 25 *birr*. According to the successful female farmer, the market for butter is now controlled by households who keep improved breed cows and as a result she has decided to stop selling butter altogether.

Many households sell eggs. Almost all households keep 2-10 local chickens and 1-5 improved breed chickens. A very few households keep chickens on a larger scale for egg production. They have separate chicken coups, specific feeding times and labourers to take care of them. They sell to traders in Debre Zeit. Within the household, women tend to be engaged in production and sale of chickens and eggs. The price of an egg from a local breed chicken is 2 *birr* and the price of an egg produced from an improved breed chicken is 2.25 *birr*.

Hides are sold only when an animal is slaughtered for an important feast. They do not provide a regular business.

## **SMEs**

### *SMEs in the community*

There are a growing number of successful small businesses in the kebele, especially in Ude village. This expansion appears to be partly explained by the availability of electricity and the increased incomes of the agricultural economy in the area. Small businesses include those directly related to agricultural processing, such as grain mills and a dairy processing factory, as well as services such as small grocery stores, barbers with electric razors, a tyre repairer and metal welding. Some women have prepared and sold local drinks in the community for many years. However, the number of these businesses has considerably expanded in recent years, resulting in competition for these small businesswomen.

### *Skilled production*

In Sirba, there are about three carpenters, two construction workers who build houses and two women known as 'Gombisa Were Tolchu' who make plates for baking injera. In Ude village there are woodworkers producing furniture and horse carts.

The researcher also encountered two young men engaged in welding in a rented house on the roadside in Sirba. Kebele officials were trying to stop these men, who just started work. The men had recently come from Wenji and had tried to organise themselves in a cooperative. However, since they were considered non-residents, they were not allowed to do this. The kebele demanded that they get a licence before starting work. However, they argued that they would like to see if the business was viable in this place for few months before getting a licence. The kebele decided that they would have to get a licence as soon as possible or their business would be closed down. In the end the men purchased a licence and set up their business in a rented property in the town. Early signs are that their business is doing well.

### *Livestock and products SMEs*

The local government intends to form youth cooperatives to engage in poultry production. Members of those cooperatives are educated at college and some of them have completed 10<sup>th</sup> grade. The objective of this cooperative is to create jobs for educated people without any position in the kebele civil service. There is also a milk processing enterprise in Debre Zeit called Adea Milk Processing plc, which buys milk from the local farmers.

### *Local drinks and food*

There are about 20 women selling local drinks such as tella, areqi and tejj in Sirba. The business is done on a small-scale. With the exception of a few businesses in Ude, they are all unregistered, unlicensed and do not pay tax, although the kebele is now demanding that all purchase a licence or they will be shut down. Tella is produced locally while areqi and tejj are bought from producers in Debre Zeit. Many of these local drink houses also sell beer and soft drinks, and prepare food such as beyaynet, firfir and shiro. In Ude there are draft houses, butcheries and restaurants. Since there is quite a lot of competition among the drinks sellers, several respondents said that the business is not particularly profitable.

One respondent buys areqi from Debre Zeit. She buys Negele's Areqi which is highly regarded and in demand. She sells to local people and those who pass along the road. Most of her customers believe that local areqi, in particular Negele's, has a medical use, preventing infections and intestinal parasites. It is also believed to warm the body and to give energy. She has been engaged in the business for about 15 years. She could buy one jerry can (20 litres) of areqi from Debre Zeit for 300birr three years ago. Now the price for Negele's Areqi has reached 600birr. She sells one jerry

can within a week and makes 100 birr profit from selling one jerry can. Her sales are better in the rainy season when she may sell a jerry can every three days.

The price for a cup of areqi is fixed in discussion with the other areqi sellers in the village. All of her customers are men, but there are also women who buy areqi to drink at home because it is not culturally acceptable for women to sit in areqi houses and drink with men. She has two daughters who help her in selling areqi and doing domestic work. The problems she has include the high cost of transport which affects her profit. To compensate, she also sells beer and soft drinks. She saves 100 birr a week in an equb.

The leading businesswoman sells tella, areke, beer and soft drinks. She started the business eight years previously. She is widowed and uses some of the crops produced by the household to make tella. The main problem she has is a shortage of clean water. Four years ago, there was a solar powered water point and she was paying only three birr per month. It is no longer functioning, however, and so she buys one jerry can (20 litres) for 0.25 birr from the tap water constructed by an NGO called Passion Connects. There is a long queue every day. When she buys water from private sellers, she has to pay 0.30 birr for the same amount. The other problem is that there is an increasing cost of the inputs to make the local drinks. She does not want to increase the price of the drinks when the price of inputs increases because she fears that she might lose customers. So, she limits the profits she takes. She buys areqi and tejj from Debre Zeit. She buys one jerry can of locally produced areqi for 300 birr and sells it for 400 birr. She buys inputs such as maize, wheat, gesho (leaves for fermenting) and biqil (grain sprouts) from local farmers to prepare tella.

Almost all customers are men living in the community and those who pass by the road. There are also customers that come from other villages on market days. There are a very few women who buy areqi to use at home. There are more customers in the rainy season because they want to warm themselves up with the drink. Her older daughter helps her in all the domestic work as well as the customer service. She has no employed person involved in the business.

She is a member of the Busa Gonofa microfinance institution in Debre Zeit. Recently, she borrowed 4,000 birr to expand her business. She was not asked for a licence and has no licence fee. Her profit has decreased as many other similar businesses have opened in her neighbourhood. During the last two years, five new tejj houses and 10 drink houses have been opened. She shares some information about the price to buy inputs and to sale the outputs with local businesswomen.

One of the small female grain traders also sells tella on Wednesdays and Fridays on the roadside when there is a good flow of customers. She sells one cup (saffi) of tella for 2.50 birr. The price of tella has increased to 3 birr in other tella houses, but she sells it at a lower price to attract more customers. She prepares 20 litres of tella with ten kg of flour and gets 50 birr profit.

Another woman currently involved in grain trading also used to sell tella and areqi. She made a good profit from selling the drinks. However, it was very risky for her and her children because her customers got drunk and fought each other inside her house. They destroyed her belongings and she had to take her children outside until the drunken men left. Many of her customers also asked to drink on credit or just refused to pay her so she decided to quit the business.

#### *Productive co-operatives*

None mentioned

#### *Natural resource sale*

Quarrying for stone has been practised in the area to some degree since the Imperial era. However, it was expanded considerably by Dragados, a foreign company that was working on the construction of the main road. At present, the government is trying to bring young unemployed people together in cooperatives. The cooperatives in stone production are now working actively, and the government has provided these cooperatives with training. The stone quarrying cooperatives were provided with

credit and they bought a crusher for 180,000 birr. The group repaid the loan, but the machine is now broken and has been taken to Addis Ababa for maintenance.

When originally organised in 2004, there were 83 young men in the cooperative. However, since then some people left the cooperative. Some have started irrigated farming or have rented in farmland, others decided to work for the Chinese road construction company, which they hoped would provide a better income and training. Another four members died at different times. Currently there are only 30 people left in the cooperative. There is no employee hired by the coop.

The cooperative earns 60 birr per cubic metre of stone. They sell the stone where they produce it. Buyers come from Debre Zeit and Dukem. During the dry season it is hard to extract the stone and the strong sun makes the workers tired. They mentioned that they have expanded the work from what it was in the beginning.

According to the respondent, it is advantageous for members to be in this cooperative because there are many who were able to change their life, for example by renting land to plough. Some were able to buy oxen, to build a house and others also bought chickens, cows, sheep and goats. Even though the number of members has reduced, the income is the same for each member, because the income depends on the work done by an individual. Members pay 85 birr per truck of stone to the cooperative and those that did the work keep the rest. For a big truck (N-Tre – an Italian truck), members earn about 500 birr, which might be produced in two days by two people.

The informant mentioned that he has personally benefited from this business, earning about 1,200 birr a month. He has been able to educate three of his children and support his family. He has also bought about 20 chickens with the income.

Many households in the community grow eucalyptus trees around their houses or farmland. These trees can be sold for 50-150 birr, depending on their size. They are purchased by individual traders from Debre Zeit, Mojo and Addis Ababa who bring trucks to transport the wood.

#### *Petty production*

There are about two women from Sirba who are engaged in the production of the cover of injera baking plates (mitad). These women make this item out of mud and teff straw. They sell their products at the market and at their home. These women are poor, but their work is skilled and not all poor women are able to make these products.

#### *Service enterprises*

There are no shoe shiners in the kebele, but there is one cobbler. There are three barbers in Sirba and three in Ude. They use electric razors and charge 5 birr per person. They started three years ago. There is one man who repairs watches and radios. There are two mobile charging service providers but no mobile maintenance. People go to Debre Zeit to buy apparatus, accessories and maintenance for their mobile phones. There are individuals who collect scrap plastic and metal, but these people come from Debre Zeit. There is one tyre repairer (gomista) in Ude. He previously lived in Debre Zeit, where he learned his trade and opened his shop in Ude when he returned in 2010. He hires one assistant and his wife also owns a beauty salon in the town.

#### *Food processing services*

There are six mills in the kebele and two in Sirba. One of the iddir had a large amount of capital and decided that the money should be used to open a mill and function for the community, rather than keeping the money in the bank. The mill charges 2 birr less per quintal than the private mills.

There are skilled butchers who are paid to slaughter animals whenever needed.

#### *Hospitality services*

There is one hotel in Sirba, the Arose Hotel. This hotel was opened about eight years ago. There are

two small cafeterias in Sirba near the China construction company's camp and about 17 small bars for tella and areqi sale. In Ude, there are two restaurants and several teahouses and cafeterias.

The small bars do not have any employees, but use their children to assist them in the business. All the small bars provide an additional income alongside farming. Four of the seven small restaurants are opened near to the Chinese camp set up for the road construction (Addis –Nazret road), and these people do not have any farmland.

The successful businessman and his wife, who were interviewed for this research, have a hotel, butchers and a bar in Ude. He is Gurage and his wife is Oromo. BGI Ethiopia gave him an award and a certificate for high beer sales. They plan to open a cafeteria next to the hotel. They started the business in 2004 and had no employees until 2006. They now employ eight people in the restaurant.

#### *Health services*

There are two private clinics run by individuals in Ude, but no further information is provided.

#### *Shops*

There are about eight shops in Sirba and more than 20 in Ude. These shops sell sugar, coffee, salt, oil, biscuits, soap and hair oil among other things.

The mother of the middle wealth 13-year-old respondent supports the family by buying pottery in Mojo and selling it in Ude market. The father has been sick for a long time and had to stop his previous work as a guard.

#### *Leisure services*

Five years ago, there was only one man who owned a TV and he charged 0.50 birr to young men who wanted to watch TV. Now that most households own a TV the man's business is over. There are about five jitoni (karambula – pool houses) in Ude. There was one table football game in Ude, but it is no longer working.

#### *Transport*

There are two individuals who own buses that are used to transport people to different places outside the kebele. The successful businessman owns a minibus, which he rents to a nearby flower farm called ZK. He hires a driver for the minibus and it is used to transport workers from the village to the farm. He earns a monthly income of about 6,000 birr from the minibus. After it takes the workers to the farm early in the morning, the car works the full day as a normal bus until it has to collect the workers to bring them back. The money earned from daytime transporting varies.

There are three horse carts used to transport people from Sirba to Ude, Kumbursa and Denkaka. When people are sick they also take them to Debre Zeit. There are no bajaj or motorbikes in the village. There is one old truck owned by a community member that transports stone, sand, soil and eucalyptus trees within the village, from the village to other places, and sand from Mojo town to the village. There is one person who rents a bicycle to people who want to learn how to ride, but it is not rented for transport.

### **Government support for non-farm activities**

There is credit available to establish non-farm activities like butchers, rural bars, grain trading and livestock trading. The criteria for approving credit are, first, to be a resident of the kebele and, second, to have some fixed asset. If the person is married, the partner also has to sign. The kebele provides a letter as proof of residence and ownership of a fixed asset like land, eucalyptus trees, a house or livestock. The government does not give land with the credit and training is provided before the money is given out. There is no tax exemption if the people are involved in any non-farm income generating activity.

Some small businesses do not have a business licence. For example, only two out of the seven small restaurants have a licence, and the 17 areqi and tella bars and the barbers do not have licences. During the second period of fieldwork, the kebele had demanded that all areqi buys purchase a licence.

The successful businessman, who owns a hotel and bar took a loan of 3,000 birr from WALKO when he and his wife began their business in 1998. They took another loan of 15,000 birr last year, and wanted to take another loan of 100,000 birr. However, WALKO told him that they could only lend him 70,000 birr and that they required a guarantee. His land and property certificate, which he had used for the smaller loans, was considered insufficient for this larger loan. He tried to submit documents proving that he owns a car, but they wanted lots of paperwork to prove that the car is free of debt. When he tried to get this from Addis Ababa it took up a lot of time and energy, and he eventually gave up.

As previously mentioned, the government has supported the establishment of a stone quarrying cooperative, providing 180,000 birr in credit to buy a stone crushing machine. At present, there are 30 members of this cooperative, and several formers members have earned money to engage in farming or other activities.

### **Non-farm employment**

There are a number of employment opportunities nearby with the Chinese road construction company, flower farms and factories. The Chinese road construction project mostly hires young men. Several respondents reported that this is the best-paid work, but the salaries depend on the job. Several respondents are employed as daily labourers unloading materials such as cement from lorries for 25 birr a day, another respondent is employed as a guard, another involved in metal work and one is an assistant mechanic, which is the best paid work at 1,200 birr a month.

Several respondents reported that there is work available for young men and women in local factories in Mojo and Debre Zeit, as well as the brick factory in Ude. There are, however, no further details in the interviews. Many young women are employed in local flower farms. These positions can be long-term or just during school holidays. Some people work on the farm itself, others work in the packing factory. Respondents mentioned salaries ranging from 350 to 700 birr a month. Although the holiday work is compatible with continuing in education, some of these jobs overrun and students miss the first few weeks of the new school year. Several respondents complained about the negative health effects of the chemicals used in the flower farms, reporting problems with their eyes and breathing.

Some people who continue in their education have opportunities to work in the civil service. There are about ten government employees in the kebele including three DAs, two HEWs, four teachers and the kebele manager. The child of one respondent is a finance officer in Adulala town near Debre Zeit. He earns 2,000 birr a month. There are two people employed by the community as guards for the school and another as a guard for the water point. The water point guard reportedly earns 1,000 birr a month, paid by community contributions.

Relatively wealthy households, such as those with at least a pair of oxen, often hire a farm servant on an annual basis. The payment could be grain or money, or the allocation of part of the employer's land to the labourer, allowing him to produce for himself. Some wealthy households also hire housemaids, if they do not have daughters to take care of the housework. Many households also hire daily farm labourers during peak agricultural seasons. For the most part, these labourers come from outside the community.

Nobody has been permanently employed by traders, but there is some work available for young men loading grain on lorries, in house construction (50 birr a day), building fences, or carrying grass and straw.

## Migration

### *Out-migration for work and remittances*

Urban and, for women, international migration is increasingly common in the community. Young people have seen the success of some returned or visiting migrants and realise that migration could change their lives. As a result, many people, especially the youth, consider migrating to get a job and to buy a house in the kebele. The best houses Ude town are owned by migrants.

#### Agricultural

The son of the poor farmer went to Arssi two years ago. He was working as a farm labourer, but he has now told his father that he has been given farmland to produce red peppers. He has given a mobile phone to his friends in the neighbourhood and he contacts his family twice a week. He tells them that he is successful there. When he last called he said he is doing well, that it is raining and that the teff still needs some rain. He is not married. Such migration is not common.

Young women increasingly migrate to work in flower farms around Debre Zeit, if they are too far to commute on a daily basis. The flower farms are expanding and creating jobs, frequently for women. Most women stay in Debre Zeit unless the farms are close, in which case they can come home after work. Married women or who are family heads work in flower and vegetable farms as permanent employees while students work mainly in flower farms on temporary contracts during the summer vacation. There were 7 young girls who started working at the Chinese Road construction company in the last 6 months.

A 19 year old young woman said males commute to local villages such as Biyo, Udie and Denkaka for agricultural work.

#### Urban

About 35 people from the kebele have continued their education and have been able to get jobs in towns. Some people are working in the Addis Ababa electric power office, some work in Mojo, Debre Zeit and Dukem as DAs, some are working as traffic officers and police in Asela and Fitcha town. Some are working as HEWs around Kaliti in Addis Ababa, there is one nurse working in Debre Zeit and a lawyer in Addis Ababa.

Young men and women from the community are also hired in local factories in Debre Zeit, Mojo, Debre Zeit and Nazret, and Addis Ababa, such as the Hujai Shoe Factory and plastic factories in Dukem. They follow earlier migrants who succeeded in factory work. Those who were working in the Chinese road camp leave for other companies as machine operators, carpenters and builders because the Chinese don't pay well. Some of the migrants are able to continue their education in evening classes while working. A young man said mostly young men migrate to Debre Zeit to work in factories like East Africa where soap, biscuits etc are produced. Here if you don't have land or succeed in education migration is the only option.

Many youths who leave the community for education continue to live in other places and seek work after they have completed their education or dropped out. Some women migrate to Debre Zeit and Addis Ababa to work as housemaids, waitresses or in cobblestone road projects.

Some women migrate to AA and continue to help parents in the village; example of one who brought grinding mill machines for her parents.

19 year old: women go to DZ, AA and Mojo to work as housemaids, waitresses and in factories.

Some women migrated to Debre Zeit and Addis Ababa to work on cobblestone projects.

#### Skilled

Out migrants have improved their lives and some are trying to take others as assistants to learn skills like carpentry and how to operate machines.

### International

Many female migrants have moved to Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, Dubai, Qatar and Lebanon. One respondent estimated that up to 30 girls have gone to different Arab states, while the kebele head of women's affairs said that 120 had gone from the kebele and 32 from Sirba itself in the last 2 years.

There are no statistics about how many have gone to each country. These migrants find work as housemaids and send remittances to their families. They send money for siblings' schooling and for household furniture and construction of houses. On the whole they migrate legally through the Ethiopian migration office. International migration is increasing because young women can easily get jobs in Arab countries and because the legal migration process is much easier now than it was 5 years ago.

There are some female returnee migrants from Arab states, and they have created some businesses for their family here. For example, they buy horses for their husbands, they build tin-roofed houses, they open shops and try to improve their families' lives. Some have been able to start farming their family's land, which had been rented out when they were in debt. These people bring business ideas and also they advise other young women to migrate at least for a year or two to bring change to their family. These returnees wear miniskirts and trousers, they carry bags on their shoulders, they wear glasses, they have mobile phones and cameras. Their houses are also different, they have TVs, buffets and sofas. One young man from Kumbursa village went to South Africa. However, no further details were provided.

The daughter of one respondent migrated to Beirut last year, and she has sent 15,700 birr on one occasion and about 5,000 birr another time. The first 15,700 birr is for the family, and the second one is for her, to be put in the bank.

People in the community have heard that these women might be badly treated. They fear that they might be burned with boiling water or die on the journey. Recently, a young woman died. Her death was reported to her family by friends who had also migrated and her body was sent to Ude. The cause of death is not known and her parents did not have any idea how to claim her rights. When this happened, other people with daughters living abroad also got scared. There was a rumour that some of the girls went to Arab states through illegal means, which complicated the claim of her rights.

One female returnee migrant was interviewed. She went to Dubai in 2008 (2001EC) and returned in 2011 (2004EC). She was working as a housemaid and came back because her contract expired and she had to renew her visa. She is now processing her visa to go to Bahrain because she has heard that there are better salaries there than in Dubai. Her friends originally convinced her to go abroad. One of her friends gave her information about the process and the life in Dubai. She went alone, but she had a friend who was already there. She travelled by plane and migrated legally. She paid 10,000 birr to process her application and her older brother supported her. An agent in Dubai met her and gave her and many other Ethiopians a room to stay until her employer came to collect her. Her employer showed her what to do and how to do the work. She knew five girls who went to Arab countries before she went there. At first, there was a language problem, but she learned Arabic in three months. Since she could also understand some English, she did not face great problems. She was paid 500 Dubai dollars per month, but she thinks this is too little to go back to Dubai. Her main responsibilities were to clean the house, wash clothes and do the ironing. She enjoyed her work because her employer treated her well. She was sending money to her parents every 4-5 months through Western Union. She called on her own mobile phone and sometimes her employer's phone. She has deposited some money at the bank in Addis Ababa.

She thinks that there are a lot of women who are harassed by their employers, some get sick and others just disappear. It is a matter of chance. However, it is also a good opportunity for many young

girls who have no job here to get a job and earn a good amount of money. It is better to migrate and work than to stay here doing nothing. She has two sisters and two brothers. Her father died when she was young. Her mother is a farmer and her older brother is a government officer in Ude. Her siblings are students who expect her to support them. She was born and grew up in Ude and stayed in education up to grade 8. Now, she is married to a farmer who has his own farmland and house in Denkaka, which is about 2km away from the centre of the kebele. Her husband has completed grade ten and wants to be a farmer.

The uncle of the poor 13-year-old male is living in Beirut. He has dug a water well and sells water to farmers for irrigation. There is no information on what the uncle is doing in Beirut or when he migrated.

The rich farmer said: 'Those migrating to Arab countries used to be guided by delala brokers and earlier migrants with information about the place. There had not been any problem experienced by women from Sirba but he heard on TV that many face problems. The girls migrate with financial help from families by selling oxen, borrowing or using savings. Most send remittances though a few are not successful. A family member went to Kuwait; she calls every 2 weeks. She is living well working as a maid with a good employer. She opened an account and sends to it and to her family. She was living in Beirut for 2 years but came back because she didn't like it. She has been away for 2 years and 10 months and has capital to do some business here if she chooses.

Another farmer said: 'Those who left for Arab countries usually did it through brokers. Radio and TV are now saying this is risky and banned. Recently in September 2013 a girl left in a legal way completing the process through legal agents in Addis Ababa. What is banned is the illegal way; the legal one is still open. A successful businessman said: 'About 40 women from Denkaka went to Arab states including 4 of his household's hotel workers. One went to Beirut and the rest followed. Brokers from Addis Ababa gave info and facilitated them. The community knows that migration is banned and no-one has tried since. Those who left have been successful. For example one who left from his household built a house for her parents and bought oxen. His sister has saved 50,000 *birr* in 1.5 years which can help her do some business. She might open a shop or beauty salon when she comes soon. Those who have tasted Arab life may find it hard to settle again into rural life.

Daughter of poor FHH returned from Saudi Arabia two months ago; the grandchild has missed her mother for the last 2 years and now she has an enjoyable time. Her daughter returned as she had completed her contract and planned to return but she is worried that the Ethiopian Foreign Minister has temporarily closed all the ways to Saudi Arabia. If this is going to take a long time she is thinking of opening a new modern beauty salon for females in Sirba.

The successful farmer's wife said her older daughter who lives in an Arab state has sent the equipment used by a modern beauty salon and another daughter has almost finished a training for beauty salons. Her household owns a place along the roadside which will be used by her daughter. This will be first modern female beauty salon in Sirba.

A 19 year-old said her younger sister who was in Grade 9 dropped out of school and left for an Arab state 4 months ago; she refused to go to school as she thought there would be no job for her once she had finished education; she preferred to work and earn money to help her family and improve her life. Her older brother who is not going to school helped her with 7000 *birr* from his earnings from the stone co-operative. She sent 6000 *birr* during the Meskel feast. She has been phoning and said she has faced no problem. But she has told her sister that the other house servants in her workplace have no good behaviour and no good interaction with her for reasons she doesn't understand.

Most migrants send remittances and when they come back bring good quality household items, clothes, shoes, mobile phones, school bags, bed sheets, blankets etc. They look happy and civilised.

They have learned to work hard, been active all the time, cooking and better home management skills. They are also familiar with electronic items. There are a few girls who faced health problems.

They save their money in the Oromia Bank or Commercial Bank of Ethiopia in Debre Zeit through their family members who receive the money and deposit it. One girl who lives in Dubai is constructing a modern house with metal doors and glass windows which might be the best house in Sirba and may have cost over 100,000 *birr*. She sent this amount of money in one year abroad. The successes of these girls have attracted most other girls to plan for migration rather than looking for other sources of livelihood. During the last 6 months until November 2013 5 girls from Sirba left for different Arab countries; all students from Grade 7-10. Most come back after 2 years to renew their visas; only 1 girl has opened a shop in the village.

Overall international migration is helping the community to have improved lifestyles and supported family economies as well as the schooling of children in the families. The impact on economic life are more positive than negative.

The community is well informed about recent banning of moving to Arab countries from the media and wereda officials who came to inform of the new policy.

Though most of the international migrants are young women 3 young men from Ude went to Qatar 2 years ago. They help their families who are now living well; they built houses for them and they bought additional farmland. One is planning to engage in investment. Their families paid about 18,000 *birr* for each to migrate. There are brokers in Addis Ababa and Debre Zeit; since the banning no-one has tried to go. About 60 people have left from Denkaka town; some were banned in the middle of their processing to leave. The banning is said to be for 7 months and people are feeling this is a long time as they are eager to leave. A man got the DV and went to America with his wife; he sends money to his parents and they bought a grinding machine in Gudeti.

#### *In-migration for work*

In recent years, increasing numbers of farmers in the kebele have been able to hire daily farm labourers, especially during peak agricultural seasons. Many of these daily labourers come from other rural areas in Oromia and Amhara.

Harvesting is done by hiring migrant daily labourers from Wollo, Selale, Gojjam, Gonder, and Holeta. They are paid on contract basis – last year it was 220 *birr* per ¼ hectare but this year it is 350. There are also in-migrants from South Ethiopia and Arsi who come to work with the Chinese and in the cupboard factory. A rich farmer estimated more than 700 people come for harvesting; one farmer may employ 8 people at a time. A poor farmer said: ‘these people are called ‘combiner’ as they are fast to clear the harvest in a short time. We can’t afford to hire them’.

#### **Savings, credit and debt**

The main organisations providing credit are: WALKO (Walda Liki fi Kuseno Oromia or Oromia Credit and Saving Association), which gives credit for all farm activities like the purchase of fertiliser, land rent and seeds; GUDINA, a community organisation formed by the wereda at village level that gives credit in the rainy season and collects in the dry season; and the iddir and equb. WALKO gives the largest loans (members who save 20% can get credit of 80%), followed by GUDINA and the iddir provide the smallest amounts. Bussa Gonofa, Gasha MFI and Oxsassa MFIs are found in Debre Zeit and the local community can join and get services.

A successful businessman said mostly in Ude people used to put their money in the bank but now they engage in trade or build a house and rent it out or buy a car or they invest. Equb is important even for those selling areke and tella. A woman crop trader said as most MFIs and banks are found far in towns people prefer to save in equb. Informal borrowing from relatives, neighbours and friends is more reliable and easily accessible than formal credit.

One ranking of savings options put livestock in first place followed by crop storage for longer term savings; followed by equb; the WALKO MFI; then GUDINA local community savings group for farmers. Another farmer ranked them as follows: WALKO, Gudina, Iddir for fertiliser, seeds and some problems. Another put iddir in first place as the interest was only 10% and it is possible to take it once a year without restriction on use. In second place GUDINA that is 15% interest but can lend up to 15,000 birr, but is for members only and in third place WALKO lending 10,000 birr t 10% interest, but requiring a kebele letter that he is not in debt and capable and well-behaved to repay and the initial loan being only 1000. A farmer said he prioritised the bank in Debre Zeit followed by livestock, the GUDINA savings group and equb; while a poor farmer put the bank in first place and livestock second, and another poor farmer put Walko in first place followed by iddir.

The kebele chair said Gudina don't give credit at the right time – when the farmers need it; WALKO requires groups and has periodic lending not at the time it is badly needed and also has high interest rate; private lenders need too much begging; and banks need collateral. A male non-farmer said that WALKO does not provide sums large enough for some activities like trading. A successful businessman said WALKO was used most for credit but it recently stopped providing loans as they faced conflict with a group because some members failed to repay and the others became indebted. A woman crop trader said traders and shopkeepers lend crops and items to their customers if they trust them. A knowledgeable woman informant said most save in the form of equb form 100-700 birr a week in associations with 15-40 members. The second most important is *kusano*. One person collects money from individuals and registers it formally signing for each amount of money received. S/he puts it in a bank account getting 2% of the money as payment. There is a formal agreement form which is stamped by the kebele office. There are officials including a chair, secretary and cashier. Most people withdraw their money only for New Year and Easter feasts. Through this this respondent has bought a TV, metal bed, 5 benches and cooking dishes. She saves any amount of money (0-100 birr) each week. 4 rich people lend money with interest. Local shopkeepers lend with no interest.

Traders give loans only when harvesting and threshing is in progress, farmers will take crops to him; there is no interest involved and these are short term loan. Neighbours lend up to 3000 birr depending on trust without interest. There are no moneylenders since the MFI and local credit and savings group emerged.

#### *Community-organised savings and credit*

GUDINA is a credit and savings association formed by farmers in the kebele with wereda support. It started lending six years ago and the loans are provided to members in June every year. The money is primarily used for the purchase of agricultural inputs. The wereda Cooperatives Office has formed 15 village savings associations in four kebele in the wereda. The associations have a large amount of capital, up to 250,000-500,000 birr. They are now asking the wereda to help them with auditing and other training on financial management. Members have to pay interest on the loans, but the interest rate is considered to be fair, and the interest is used to build the association's savings. Some associations make agreements with their members and charge a high interest rate to increase the association's savings.

The iddir are another source of credit. They can provide up to 1,000 birr to members only. Every iddir member contributes 100 birr per year, whether you take credit or not. Many respondents are also members of equb, making contributions of about 50 birr per week. There is no information about the loans.

Equb are another source of savings. A successful businessman received his share of 200,000 equb and joined the same group for a new one of 400,000. To complete the new equb it will take about 2 years. There are 100 members from Debre Zeit and around; from Ude there are only 2 members who own minibus and shop.

### *Government, donor and NGO credit and savings*

The government linked MFI is WALKO, which is working actively in the kebele. The finance for WALKO is provided by the government, through the Oromia Development Bank. WALKO does not have any problems with capital, but it has a shortage of manpower, especially a lawyer to work on repayments. This year the savings were much higher than the credit lent by the organisation. To develop the capacity of human resources at WALKO, trainings on financial administration and customer care are given to the kebele level WALKO officers. WALKO officers encourage individuals, iddir, associations and the municipality to save.

The credit is distributed in two ways: either to small associations organised by the government or to individuals who approach WALKO independently. The wereda organises people into associations of at least ten people. They provide them with training and then refer them to WALKO for credit. The associations are required to save in WALKO. The credit provided to associations is based on their business plans. Usually loans are provided for 2,000-10,000 birr. The largest loans are reserved for long-term members who reliably repay their loans. There is no fixed limit on credit, but they are unable to consider very large plans, such as greater than 100,000 birr. Associations must have savings equivalent to 20% of the loan, but individual borrowers are not required to do so.

The associations must start repayment after three months. The interest for associations is calculated annually, which causes dissatisfaction among the association members. The individual farmers repay their loans annually, and WALKO officers go to rural kebele to collect the debts. The association-based credit is governed by the wereda policy for associations, but the farmer's credit from WALKO is governed by WALKO itself. The wereda acts as a guarantor to the associations taking credit from WALKO, and if they are unable to pay their debts, the wereda administration office pays it.

For a farmer to be able to access a loan from WALKO, a letter is needed from the kebele stating that s/he is free of debt and legal proceedings, has some property and is active in farming, enabling repayment of the debt. If one spouse wants to take out a loan, the other must also sign. Usually the loans are used for farm inputs, oxen, fertiliser and land rent. Credit also enables farmers who previously rented out their land to get credit for farm inputs to plough their own land. The Government used to provide fertiliser on credit, but this scheme was discontinued three years ago. The wereda still provides improved seeds for farmers and they are expected to return the same amount of seed they have been given.

In the rest of the wereda there are MFIs, called Busa Gonofa, GASHA and EGEZA and NGO credit providers, including the Passion Connects Ethiopia credit scheme and the Engage Now Foundation's Credit and Saving Service. However, none of these actors are working in Ude kebele.

### *Banks*

There are no farmers who have taken credit from the bank yet. One respondent doubted whether farmers could borrow money from a bank because they do not have collateral.

### *Debt in the community*

According to government respondents there is no serious problem of indebtedness in the community. For the most part, people repay their loans on time. WALKO's total unpaid debt is about 80,000 birr, which is small amount compared to the amount of money that it has lent. However, there have been some complaints from WALKO about indebtedness among the associations. Whereas individual borrowers usually have some wealth, associations comprise unemployed youths who are poor. For the most part, however, the group collateral system is effective in avoiding indebtedness. There are, however, about 500,000 birr in unpaid loans from the Public Mobilisation and Organisation office, which was providing credit six years ago.

### *Insurance*

There is no insurance for crops or livestock, and no plans to introduce insurance schemes.

### **Harmful Traditional Practices affecting livelihoods**

Five or six years ago, there were some harmful traditional practices like cutting the tongue of sick livestock and burning the skin of live livestock. At this time none of the farmers practise these habits.

### **Theft**

There are occasional thefts of crops from farmland when it has been harvested and theft of livestock. There are also sometimes thefts of mobile phones, wallets and bags in Ude town, especially on market days. Security patrols by militia and 1-5 teams has reduced the occurrence of theft of crops and animals.

### ***Human re/pro/duction domain***

#### **Houses and household assets**

Wealthier households are increasingly adopting so-called 'modern' styles of housing and decoration. Older dwellings are made from mud and wood, and some have stone foundations and floors. More recent constructions by wealthy households are made from stone and cement. Many houses have tin roofs. The older styles of houses were L-shaped with pitched roofs. However, this design wastes the corrugated iron because it has to be cut to fit the roof. Although older generations prefer these houses, younger generations prefer simple, rectangular houses which do not waste the corrugated iron. This style is increasingly accepted by most community members.

Many households have several buildings in their compounds. New buildings are added when they are required and when money is available. Each building has two to four rooms. Most houses have separate livestock rooms and kitchens, as well as bedrooms. The wealthier households also have living rooms and separate rooms for their employees.

Common household assets include: wooden kitchen cabinets, beds and chairs. Many people increasingly aspire to 'modern' furnishings, such as wooden beds, modern kitchen cabinets, sofas, dining tables and chairs. Several households have TVs, satellite TV decoders and radios and some also have a refrigerator. Some wealthy households are building new houses in the town which have bathrooms and kitchens.

#### **Domestic technologies**

Some households, and several restaurants and bars, now have refrigerators. Many households have improved stoves, which they bought from the kebele agricultural office. Some people claim that these save time and energy.

#### **Fuel and light**

The main cooking fuel is animal dung. At this time, some people have started to use only electric stoves for cooking and a few others use gasoline. Charcoal is used for boiling coffee. Improved stoves were introduced five years ago and are commonly used by most households. The successful female household head uses bio-gas for cooking and boiling tea. Her household was the first model house to demonstrate bio-gas technology. She has been using this technology for more than 20 years. Electricity is used for lighting and electrical appliances.

#### **Drinking water**

In the wereda there are 111,000 people and the wereda has provided 121 public water points. Of these 48 are taps and the rest are water wells with pumps. There is a plan to add 11 tapped water points in the current working year. There was one outbreak of Acute Watery Diarrhoea four years

ago in one kebele, but there was no death because the health bureau responded quickly. The Ada'a wereda water office does minor maintenance and, if there are problems beyond their capacity, the zone and the region are also involved. There is a community committee that charges households every time they collect water and the income is used on maintenance. The Oromia regional bureau helps to maintain most water points because the money collected by the committee from water users is very small.

When pumps are broken it is expensive. It can cost more than 100,000 birr to repair and some of the items are not available in the market. There are four tapped water points and two pump water points that are not functional because of a lack of maintenance. There are five plumbers in the wereda office. There is no budget to hire more, even though the office has great demand.

The office spends a lot of money on underground water studies, but even when there are promising results, their implementation is delayed for up to 10 years. Several old water points are now drying up. The studies conducted before the water points were dug said that the points would be serviceable for only 15 years or so, but they have already been in use for longer than this and they now have less capacity. The wereda office has no car even though it is expected to reach 23 rural kebele and three rural towns. They have to travel on four motorbikes for 30 staff members. To transport materials they have to borrow cars from the Agriculture, Health and other wereda offices. These transport problems cause delays in maintenance, and the provision and expansion of the service.

Within the kebele, most households have access to safe water, except those in Kumbursa village where they rely on water wells, and half of Ude, where they also use uncertified wells. There are five electric-powered water points and about seven hand pump water points. There were two solar-powered water points previously but now these are out of order. The three tapped water points in Sirba were built by wealthy people living in Kuwait and other Arab countries. They sell the water to local people. There is another water point provided by Passion Connect Ethiopia, which is used both for irrigation and drinking. Another water point was constructed by the Chinese road company for the camp, but this also provides water to the community for free. Since it is free, many people queue for the water and so some people prefer to pay for the private water sources.

It is difficult to provide water points in Kumbursa village because there is no electric power. Five individuals made a cyclical pump (MENEBELA) for themselves for the water well that they dug. There are no plans for water expansion. The maintenance of the NGO water point is paid for by the sale of the water, which is managed by a committee. The wereda used to work on the maintenance of the solar and hand pump points before the tap option was made available, first by Passion Connect five years ago, then the Chinese and then the private water sources three years ago. The solar water points are no longer used by the community. However, access to water varies by neighbourhood and the facilities available nearby. While most respondents said that they had to wait only a short time for water, one respondent said that there was always a long queue at her local water point. Most water points charge 0.25-0.30 birr for 20 litres (one jerry can) of water. The water points are open from 7am to 6pm.

Several people have untreated boreholes in their compounds which they use for other household water requirements. One respondent said that she sometimes uses chemicals to treat this water for drinking. Some households use refrigerators to treat water for drinking—they freeze the water because this is believed to kill bacteria in the water. They then drink the water once it has melted.

There has been a water problem since May in Sirba due to the problem with electricity. There have been frequent disconnections every day for 1-2 weeks of the month which cause lack of water supply. During the fieldwork in November the female headed household was providing clean water from her well to neighbours affected by electricity cuts though she said it was not treated and she herself uses water her daughter brings from the Chinese company where she works.

## **Sanitation**

All households have built latrines according to the HEWs instructions. Most people say that they use them, although a few say that their children do not like to do so. One respondent has a hole where she burns solid waste and another to dispose of liquid waste.

## **Domestic work**

The vast majority of the burden of domestic work and childcare remains the responsibility of women, despite some awareness that men should also play some role. Some wealthy families have one or more maids to help with domestic work, and one respondent brought her niece to live with her and help her with the domestic work. Women and young girls are responsible for cooking, cleaning and childcare. Some boys also fetch water and help out with cleaning and, exceptionally, cooking. Several men take grain to the mill. Female respondents commonly reported spending 30-56 hours a week on domestic work.

## **Food and nutrition**

In the wereda, there is a community health programme run by the HEWs to provide nutritional advice to mothers and women's groups. This programme includes information on how to prepare a balanced diet at home and is run every three months. The community knows this day as 'Community health day'. There is also provision of Vitamin A and deworming medicine (Albendazol) for children. During the three-month assessment, there is a nutritional assessment called MUAC. If there are cases of malnutrition, peanuts are supplied for treatment. There is also a stabilisation centre in Odunu kebele (12 km east of Debre Zeit) where malnourished children can get treatment. However, there have been no reports of malnutrition requiring the stabilisation centre. The health centres in all the kebele provide treatment when cases are not severe.

The nutritional programme is conducted through the female 1-5 teams. The wereda respondent argued that crop diversification is required to enable people to get a balanced diet from their own production. The agricultural and health extension packages should be integrated in order to achieve this goal.

In most households all members eat three times a day. The most common foods are teff injera, shiro, chickpeas and eggs. Many households also eat wheat bread and some respondents mentioned porridge, kollo and nifro (boiled wheat). A few households now buy spaghetti, rice and macaroni, which was not the case in the past. Since production of vegetables and fruit are increasing, some households now consume more of these foods, and a few buy these from the market. Some households occasionally eat meat.

Many households consume at least some of the butter, milk and eggs they produce, especially reserving them for children. Some households even buy more milk for their children. Others reported consuming less in the household to leave more for sale. Many respondents avoid eating dairy products during fasting times, but children are exempt from this requirement.

## **Health extension**

### *The Health Post*

Only five out of 23 health posts in the wereda have electricity. Some seven years previously, the health post in the kebele was constructed by community participation. However, it was destroyed last year in April 2012 in a fire after the refrigerator's oxygen tank exploded. It destroyed four rooms and burnt all the documents of the health post. It was on a Sunday when no one was there. It has been estimated that 100,000 birr would be required to re-construct it. In April 2013, the iddir in the kebele had already collected 60,000 birr from their

members and the community had promised to contribute labour. The wereda has also promised to provide financial and technical support. Re-construction of the health post was underway during the second round of fieldwork in October 2013. An NGO helped and the kebele is working on rebuilding it; the community contributed 76,700 *birr* and the remainder will be covered by the govt.

### *Health extension*

#### Health Extension Workers

There are three HEWs assigned to Ude kebele, all working from the one health post in Ude, although they divide their responsibilities between the different villages. During the initial period of fieldwork, one was away for a training and during the second period, another was on maternity leave and had been temporarily replaced.

The HEWs teach about personal hygiene, AIDS, the importance of giving birth in health centres and receiving ante-natal care, family planning, the importance of breastfeeding up to six months and what food items to give children after six months. They teach through the development teams and they go door to door to every household. Each of the three HEWs is assigned to one village in the kebele. Ten years ago only one HEW was assigned to the whole kebele, but in the past five years one HEW has been assigned to each village and they have begun to teach the community closely, which was not the case before. In the past vaccinations were only given in Debre Zeit, except when there were more widespread campaigns, for example for polio eradication. Now vaccinations are given at the health post in Ude. In addition, bed nets are distributed at the health post every year, with up to four for each household.

There are sixteen packages in the health extension programme. The most popular of these are: vaccinations, children and mothers' health, sanitation and hygiene, water quality and safety measures, solid and liquid waste disposal, food hygiene, latrine construction, family planning, health house conditions and personal hygiene. This is because they have been introduced intensively during the last three years and because their impact on the health of the people can be directly observed.

The IEC (Information, Education and Communication) and BCC (Behavioural Change and Communication) packages are also widely introduced to the community. However, a lot is left to be done regarding the BCC as many youths have not yet changed their practices towards HIV/AIDS. Despite awareness of the disease and their desire to prevent the disease, the HEWs believe that the number of HIV infections is increasing. The packages of nutrition, TB and Leprosy prevention are not as popular as the other packages because they are not considered big problems in the community.

The community's awareness towards the packages has been improved and the majority of the community participates in the packages actively. The following table shows the planned activities of the health post in 2012/13 and the achievements.

**Table 6: Implementation of the Health Extension Programme**

	Planned Activities (2012/13)	Quantity	Achieved (so far)
1	Home visits to supervise package implementation and ensure all households use bed nets	2,384	100%
2	Latrine Construction	60	66%
3	Solid Waste Disposal	60	66%
4	Liquid waste disposal	60	50%
5	Family Planning Services	992 (women)	100%
6	Health Education	2,100 (people)	100%

One health extension worker said some people are not easily convinced to implement different health packages. For instance, latrine construction takes a long time and it is necessary to continually

visit people to convince them to build one. Packages such as vaccination and children's health are simple because the mothers want to improve their babies' health. They are also easy for the HEWs to provide. Most of the time, mothers bring their children to the health post for check-ups and regular vaccinations. There are shortages of some medicines such as quinine (for malaria) and a lack of transportation to help delivering mothers.

The HEW interviewed believes that she and her two colleagues, who were out of the kebele for personal reasons, have good relationships with the local community. She said that she sometimes assists the women to complete their domestic work so that they can concentrate on the information she wants to provide. Several respondents, however, reported that the HEWs are not presently working effectively. They say that they received training and visits from HEWs in the past, but there has been no activity in the last 12 months. According to the wereda health respondent, some of the HEWs are not happy with their profession and do not work as much as they are supposed to. There is high staff turnover because they want to live in towns rather than their rural postings. The HEWs' salary is too low to encourage them stay in the work. In addition, HEWs cannot be fully trained in all the preventive health packages within only 12 months and they are not given field training before they complete their education.

The HEWs were changed in April 2013. One took maternity leave for 32 months and the other left for upgrading at Harar nursing school. The new ones came within a week. The pregnant one handed over the work and oriented the new ones before she left.

The HEW said there are 2 new HEWs in addition to the previous one; one assigned for the urban part and one to the rural part. The main activities of the HEWs are supervising households to complete the packages; technical assistance, maternal services; family planning; EPI vaccination

The middle wealth farmer said the HEWs educate people through meetings and visiting each village. In the past 2 months they came to my house and educated about toilet, compound cleaning, avoiding water ponds and personal hygiene for us and our children. The poor farmer said: 'No HEW came to my house in the past 7 months'. The rich farmer said: 'There are new HEWs but they didn't come to our house since April. I don't think they are working well'. A youth said: 'HEWs have shortage of materials. They use the mass media of RATSON to give information about vaccination etc. There is a complaint from mothers that the new HEWs come from another region and don't speak Oromiffa while the mothers don't speak Amharic. There is therefore a communication barrier in gere meetings'.

#### Community health volunteers

Two years ago health programmes were implemented in the community through volunteers called the health army. According to the HEW, since many of these volunteers were men, the health programmes were not effective. She believes that targeting women is the best way to deliver health information. Most of the health extension packages are directly linked with the daily life of women rather than men. The health army was replaced in 2011 by the female 1-5 teams. So far, there are six 1-5 teams, a total of 30 women, in the kebele who are supporting the health extension programme at the community level. She believes that this structure is effective in implementing the health extension packages. As the members of each team have strong social interactions and links with the different sections of the community, they are effective in disseminating important information. Meanwhile, large meetings, trainings and formal or informal women's meetings are helpful to provide health education to the community. When she ranks the methods in accordance to their importance, she puts them as: 1-5 teams, women's meetings, development teams and model farmers. There are about seven individuals who are leaders of development teams and are also part of a health army, with better education and also who are closer to the HEWs in communication.

## Preventive health services

### *Hygiene and environmental sanitation*

According to respondents, there has been little activity by the HEWs in the last 12 months.

#### Latrines

Most households built latrines several years ago, following the instructions of the HEWs. For the most part, respondents said that they do use the latrines. The HEWs said that convincing people to build latrines was difficult and required repeated visits from the HEWs.

The HEWs are working to have toilets and keep compounds clean. They feel that the community has been reluctant to complete the packages properly and suggest there is still a big problem in preparing toilets properly and people are still not washing their hands properly.

#### Waste disposal

One respondent said that she had dug a hole where she burned solid waste and had another for the disposal of liquid wastes. There was no mention of activities by the HEWs.

#### Washing hands, bodies, clothes and dishes

No mention.

#### Kitchen cupboards

Several respondents reported that they wanted to buy 'modern' kitchen cabinets. There was no mention of HEW activity in this area.

#### Livestock in the house

Several respondents reported that they have separate rooms to keep livestock. There was no mention of specific activities by the HEWs.

#### Smoke-free houses

No mention.

#### Pest control

No mention.

#### Other

### *Disease prevention and control*

#### Immunisations

There are vaccinations available at the health centre. The HEWs reported that it was quite easy to convince local people of the importance of vaccinations, because mothers are keen to improve their children's health.

There were polio vaccinations at the end of September 2013; anti-malaria spray at the beginning of September. Some people closed their doors to the anti-malaria spray thinking it would leave some marks on the wall. The HEW said it was the DDT that left marks on the wall, not the current medicine, but it was a bit of a challenge.

#### Bednets

Bednets were originally introduced by HEWs ten years ago. At present they are widely used in the community. One respondent reported a widespread campaign by HEWs and 1-5 teams the previous September about malaria prevention and the use of bednets. Another respondent said that she was informed about bednets by her iddir. Bednets are available from the health centre in Ude.

#### House spraying

Several respondents reported that their houses had been sprayed for mosquitoes by health experts.

#### Removing stagnant water

No mention.

#### TB prevention

No mention.

#### HIV/AIDS prevention

Pregnant women with HIV or other STDs are referred to the health centre where there is a Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission of HIV service. According to the wereda health official, when women are HIV positive, the best option is to prevent pregnancy. However, if PLHIV do get pregnant, the women should be closely monitored and provided with prophylaxis during delivery. After the child is born, medicines are provided and a blood test is done.

Most couples now get blood tests for HIV before they get married. Education on HIV/AIDS is also provided by teachers and the HEWs, and there are often programmes about HIV on television. Some young students also helped to teach the community about HIV last year. Nevertheless, most respondents agreed that unprotected sex remains common in the community. Young people do not want to get condoms from the health post, even though they are available, because they fear that the HEWs might tell their parents. According to the HEWs, HIV infection rates are increasing.

#### First Aid at the Health Post

No mention.

#### *HTPs affecting health*

There were no cases of negative health effects resulting from harmful traditional practices in the community. Many women disputed the government's claims that female circumcision has negative health effects.

### **Reproductive health & services**

#### *Infertility*

According to the HEWs, infertility is not a common problem in the community, although some women have visited the HEWs to discuss infertility. She advises women to have children before they use long-term contraceptives because they might delay pregnancy. She also advises clients to use a variety of contraceptives rather than only one type, as this might also cause a delay in pregnancy.

#### *Contraception*

The health post keeps condoms, dippro (injectable contraceptive), pills and implants. Implants were introduced just four months ago after the HEWs received training by the wereda health office about its insertion. No training has been provided on their removal. There was a community awareness raising programme to introduce the contraceptive. However, none of the women in the community has demanded an implant yet. The HEW believes that contraceptives have greatly reduced the local birth rate.

The HEWs believe that most married women now use contraceptives to control their family size. Many young people do not use contraceptives when they have sex because they are afraid that the HEWs will tell their parents. Some others buy contraceptives at pharmacies in Debre Zeit. According to the HEWs there is a condom dispenser in the youth centre.

Indeed, most of the married women prefer to use the injectable contraceptive (dippo) which is injected every three months. However, there are also complaints by people who blame this type of contraceptive for increasing their body weight and causing increased bleeding during menstruation.

Family planning is only taught in meetings. People are happy with this service and many use it; men don't stand in the way of wife's usage. The Health Post provides only injectables and tablets; implants have been introduced but people are not comfortable having something buried in their bodies and very few have taken implants. One problem is that HEWs are not trained in removal.

The poor farmer's wife has never used contraceptives and even said that she does not like the term itself. She said that people should not interrupt the will of God as it is He who should decide matters of life. Although her older married daughter uses contraceptives, she has not been able to control her family size. She said that her daughter has five children despite using contraceptives.

Most clients are married but there are some young women with sex partners.

#### *Abortion*

The HEWs have no records of abortion because anyone having an abortion goes to Debre Zeit hospital or private clinics. The poor 16-year-old respondent said that she knew an 18-year-old girl who unexpectedly got pregnant and had an abortion in Debre Zeit hospital. She felt that she could not return to school afterwards and so she decided to work in Mokodi flower farm. The respondent believes that most girls who have unexpected pregnancies give birth and end up dependent on their families rather than aborting the pregnancy. The poor 19-year-old reported that some pregnant girls have abortions in Debre Zeit or Addis Ababa, if they can afford it.

#### *Fistula*

No fistula cases have been reported to the HEWs and so they do not think it is common.

#### *Other reproductive health problems*

Not mentioned.

### **Pregnancy and childbirth & services**

#### *Pregnancy*

According to the wereda health official, there is now a regular event called the pregnant mother's conference, which started four months ago. It aims to inform pregnant women about the services provided at the health facilities. HEWs also encourage pregnant women to have ante-natal check-ups.

Last month there was training for Development Team leaders - men and women given for 6 days in one session and for 4 days to women only on maternal and child health aiming to avoid death during delivery. The kebele said there was a gap in this area and RATSON, the NGO functioning in the community, financed the training. The trainees are hoped to disseminate the ideas to the general community within their networks. HEWS are working for mothers to go to health facilities for ANC and birth; even the night before the interview in November 2013 an ambulance took a woman for delivery at 3.00. RATSON provided bednets for pregnant mothers.

#### *Delivery*

According to the wereda health official, a number of activities have been undertaken to encourage women to give birth at health facilities. For example, 24 of the best health experts from the wereda were given training in Debre Zeit Hospital about safe delivery services. Although the HEWs are trained to provide clean delivery services, they are not encouraged to perform deliveries unless there is no other option. Women are encouraged to give birth at the health centres.

Although there are also two private clinics in Ude they do not provide delivery services. The health post refers complicated cases to the kebele health centre. When the case is too difficult for the health experts at the health centre, it is referred to the hospital in Debre Zeit. There has been no report of maternal death in the last months of 2005EC (2012).

The two HEWs in Ude kebele were trained to provide safe delivery services and they have been involved in deliveries and do their best to help mothers. However, by the time of the second period of fieldwork in October 2013, the HEWs had received instructions from the wereda health office to send women to the health centre to give birth and to avoid deliveries in the health post, wherever possible. The HEWs have a monthly meeting in each village with the 1-5 team members in the community and they discuss mothers and children's health. The HEWs also provide education to the mothers about the consequences of unsafe delivery at home, the need to deliver at health facilities and the need to have timely ante and post-natal check-ups.

Across the wereda, there are now porridge-eating ceremonies after each mother delivers, promoted by the wereda health office. The wereda health office provides the health centres with some flour, coffee, and charcoal so that the clients received a friendly family service and a pleasant home-like environment. There is also a grain bank system in some kebele, but not Ude, where the community saves some flour for the porridge ceremony and the grain can be sold to provide some income for the health post and health centres. It is envisaged that this will enable the community to become independent from the government's support and sustainable. In Ude, the health centre tries to treat patients in a way that enables them to feel at home when they deliver at the health centre. The health workers prepare genfo (porridge), charcoal, flour soup and a coffee ceremony. This has encouraged many women to deliver at the health centre and to get family planning services there.

There is a national plan to provide each wereda in the country with an ambulance with a particular focus on bringing pregnant women to health centres and hospitals to give birth. The Ada'a wereda expects an ambulance to be provided in the near future. The wereda health office already has five Bajaj from an NGO called RATSON. A driver has been hired for one of the Bajaj and the health office is trying to find the money to hire more drivers.

The wereda has trained Traditional Birth Attendants (TBA) to help in safe delivery services. There are about 46 TBAs trained at wereda level. This training has helped to bring more pregnant women to the health facilities and to avoid some harmful traditional practices such as the Amechisa. This is a custom that newborn children should not be seen by an outsider before the amechisa ritual is performed by a skilled person. This is a ritual where a man or a woman pours some water on the baby and blesses him/her. It is believed that if a person sees the child before the ritual is performed, the child might get sick or die. This custom has been a big challenge causing many infants to die from infections when they could have been vaccinated on time and saved. In Ude, there are now two TBAs trained by the wereda health bureau. The TBA in Sirba died in October after she was sick for a year.

According to the wereda respondent there has been an increase in the rate of improved delivery services of 200% in the last year. During the last 9 months, there were 472 deliveries (over 50%) at the health centres. The deliveries at the hospital have decreased because women can now get a safe delivery service at the health centres. It is expected that there will be further improvements when the ambulance comes. The TBAs are rewarded when they assist women to deliver at the health facilities. They are given umbrellas and shoes.

According to the HEWs, the government's policy to reduce maternal death has been implemented better since 2011 than previously. The HEWs spent a large part of their energy and time preventing maternal death by providing information to the community. The intention is to bring all pregnant women for health services at the health post or at the health centre to reduce the death of mothers during delivery. Despite this, the programme has a big obstacle because there is no ambulance service in the kebele.

One respondent reported that her oldest daughter recently gave birth at Debre Zeit hospital. Her daughter had not told her about the pregnancy until she was in labour and so it was completely unexpected. The respondent had to cover all her delivery costs. She spent 1,300birr for the delivery and other health costs to support her daughter.

The HEW said that although she has been trained in delivery she hasn't done it as there is a HC in Denkaka and the policy is all deliveries should be there. There is a gonfo and coffee ceremony and RATSON provides baby clothes. The HC refers complicated cases or women with diabetes, anaemia or HIV to Debre Zeit Hospital. She is following up 26 pregnant women 2 of whom gave birth at the HC. She meets the pregnant women once a month to provide important information regarding their pregnancies and to prepare them for delivery. Some mothers have fears and misconceptions about the treatments given at the HC but the ceremony has changed their mind. Development Teams have prepared a bench to carry women in delivery to where the ambulance can reach. The roles of the HEWs and TBAs is now limited to providing important information and following up.

There has been a change from mid-2013 with an ambulance service available and the phone of the ambulance was provided since June. The medium wealth farmer said: 'Recently HEWs worked much on maternal health and delivery is in the health centre with the help of the ambulance which can be reached by phone; all for free. The HEWs move in the village educating women, mainly the pregnant ones. They advise in favour of delivery at the Health Centre and TBAs to be punished with 5 years' imprisonment. They said both baby and mother will be healthy and safe if delivery is done at a health facility. People accepted this and no-one prefers to give birth at home. If labour is sudden the TBAs will help them but then take them to the HC for post-delivery follow-up and explain the case. They are happy about the banning as they are not paid and now they are saying 'we are relieved from burden of community obligation'. One woman was taken by ambulance the day before yesterday (November 2013) and gave birth at the Health Centre. The porridge and coffee ceremony at the HC encouraged mothers to deliver there. At a recent kebele meeting every household agreed to give a kilo of barley or wheat to the HC. People were happy to contribute for this from the harvest'. A knowledgeable woman informant said: 'In addition bed sheets and baby clothes are provided when women deliver at the HC. One woman from Sirba has delivered at the HC in July. The women members of the 1-5 helped her call the ambulance; although it was raining and midnight after about 25 minutes' drive the woman's delivery was safe. However, the rich farmer said he had never heard of the ambulance service and does not have a phone number for it.

### *Mother and infant care*

HEWs encourage women to breastfeed at least until their child is six months old. The HEWs also provide vaccination services and regular check-ups after birth. The Middle Wealth farmer said that HEWs give advice about infant care, vaccination, breast-feeding only to 6 months, additional food afterwards, care of mother in nutrition and sanitation.

De-worming and Vitamin A was provided in last 2 months prior to the second fieldwork in November 2013.

People from the kebele office in Udie mobilised the community to get birth certificates for their children; most took certificates from the church.

The wife of the poor farmer said her daughter has not yet baptised her baby son who is 4 months old as she can't afford the cost of the ceremony.

## **Illnesses and curative health services**

### *Government*

There have been 10 deaths in the kebele from April to November 2013. One person died falling off a building in Debre Zeit where he worked as a guard and another died suddenly after a full day's work

on his farm. The other deaths were from different diseases but some who died after being thin were suspected to have died of HIV.

#### Health Post

One of the daughters of the middle wealth farmer was sick with intestinal problems and was treated at the health post and recovered.

#### Health Centre

A health centre was constructed in the last year in Ude. It is relatively easily accessible for people living in Sirba. Several people reported that the cost of treatment is affordable. The health centre provides treatment for mild cases of malnutrition, delivery services for pregnant mothers and treatment for relatively minor health problems. In the past, people's perceptions of the services at the health centre were not positive because of the lack of polite service from the health workers. The health workers have now received training on polite client services. At the time of the second fieldwork in November 2013 the wife of the poor farmer took her grandchild to the Health Centre as the child had a high fever but the nurse said it was just flu and did not require any treatment. She herself had a problem with her leg and went for holy water last year without being cured/

#### Hospitals

The closest hospital to Sirba is in Debre Zeit. The poor female household head had a pain in her back and shoulder and went for treatment in Debre Zeit hospital. She paid 600 birr. She was sick again more recently and went again spending 250 *birr*. The successful businessman was treated for typhoid at Debre Zeit hospital in the last year. The successful farmer's wife also had typhoid and was treated in the hospital. She paid 600 birr and another 500 birr to treat her son who had a fungus on his head. The successful woman heading a household went to Debre Zeit hospital in November 2013 but was told she couldn't get any medical treatment because all the physicians were busy in meetings. So she came home without treatment. She went to Debre Zeit because she is familiar with the hospital and feels comfortable. She only recently heard about the Health centre in Denkaka. The wife of the poor farmer has been frequently sick in the last 6 months; In September 2013 she got typhoid and went to the hospital at Debre Zeit and spent 200 *birr* on medication.

#### NGOs

None mentioned.

#### *Private clinics and pharmacies*

There are two private clinics in Ude, but none of the respondents had sought treatment there.

#### *Traditional practitioners*

There are three traditional healers in the kebele, two in Ude and one in Sirba. They give medicines made from roots and leaves for various illnesses like earache, toothache, leg pains, injuries, evil eye, and protection from evil eye for new-born calves. The poor male 16-year-old reported that his brother was sick of evil eye and he had to stay with him in the church near Mojo while he prayed and received holy water (Tsebel). The wife of the poor farmer has a chronic problem with back pains and stress. She takes some traditional treatments which she prepares at home. She believes that her problem is caused by an evil spirit and so medical treatment in the hospital would not help her. She needs support to travel to faraway monasteries to be treated.

## Education

#### *Education overview*

Children are sent to school from 7 years old. There is one grade 1-4 school in Sirba and another school for grades 1-10 in Ude. Beyond grade 10, students must go to Debre Zeit or Mojo.

The wereda gave instructions to the kebele to mobilise the community to reduce school dropout; those students who refused to go back to school should be made to by forcing their parents to send them to school. Kebele and school teachers went door-to-door to remind parents to send their school age children to school at the beginning of the school year. The school registration fee was arranged on credit until the harvesting season when parents have money to pay.

#### *Pre-school*

There is only one kindergarten for children aged 4-7 in Ude town. This was constructed by an NGO called RATSON in the last few years. According to some respondents access is free. However, the successful businessman's wife says that she pays a 20 birr registration fee and 10 birr monthly fee for her child to attend. Respondents say that the kindergarten has insufficient classrooms and toys for the children, the compound is not adequately fenced and the toilets are of a poor quality for children. One respondent from Sirba said that they would like a kindergarten in the village.

#### *Alternative basic education*

None mentioned.

#### *Primary education*

##### *The primary schools*

The school was opened in 2008 (2001EC) and the headteacher has directed it since 2009 (2002EC). There is a plan to upgrade the school to grades 1-6 in 2013/14 (2006EC). In 2008 (2001EC), an NGO called Engage Now provided the school with 62 desks, three classrooms and one office. In 2011 (2004EC), Passion Connects Ethiopia provided 54 desks and built two new classrooms. Recently, the school's compound has been well fenced and they have planted trees and flowers for decoration. It also has a door and guard hired from the school budget.

The headteacher said that 11 students dropped out in 2011 (2004EC) and this has increased to 15 in the first semester of 2012 (2005EC). In her opinion, the main reasons are: low community awareness about education, family separation and migration. She thinks that the reason that many college students have poor English is because they start to learn all subjects in English only when they are in grade nine. Although they have been learning English as a subject since grade one, English is only the language of instruction in high school. This leads to poor results in the language.

In 2011, there were 52 students registered as being seven years old in Sirba. However, only 30 of them had started grade one. However, overall most of the students, 80%, are at their correct grade for their age. There is only one 14-year-old who is in grade 2. The oldest age is 15 and the youngest is 7 years old. She said that 96% of the students do not dropout. If students drop out, the teachers help them and try to get them to return by discussing the problems with their parents. So far, 10 students have returned to school with the help of the teachers. Permission for absence is only given for three days in a semester.

Respondents were divided about the fees required to attend school. While some said that there are no fees, others mentioned registration fees of 10-150 birr. The poor 16-year-old girl said that the previous year she was asked to pay 100 birr as a registration fee and she dropped out as a result, because she could not afford this cost. According to the middle wealth 13-year-old, poor students can get a letter from the kebele exempting them from the registration fee.

In addition to any fees, there are associated costs with attending education, including exercise books, stationery and clothes. The poor farmer's wife said that she does not send her grandchild, who she looks after, to school because of these associated costs. She also admitted that she is scared to be alone in the daytime.

To continue education past grade 4, students have to walk to Ude, which can take 30-40 minutes, depending where exactly they live in the kebele.

### School management and staff

According to the headteacher, there are enough classrooms at the school, but there is a shortage of budget to hire teachers. As the wereda education office has financial constraints, it has been unable to allocate a sufficient number of teachers to the school. The headteacher has asked for at least two additional teachers. Furthermore, the school has no electricity so students cannot take advantage of radio lessons. There is also a shortage of textbooks, especially for grades 3 and 4. Consequently, students do not get textbooks to read at home.

The head of the Sirba elementary school has regular contact with the wereda office to report activities, to discuss certain problems in her school and to send the students' results. The wereda office also asks for clarification and calls monthly meetings. She suggests that the self-contained system, which requires grades 1-4 to have only one teacher for all subjects, has not been able to ensure quality of education because one teacher cannot have the same performance in all subjects. She feels that it would be better if teachers were assigned to their main subject of interest so that they could teach effectively.

### Experiences of primary school

#### *Secondary education*

The kebele's high school used to only teach grades 1-8, but has been upgraded to grades 1-10 by constructing an additional three classrooms, one toilet and one office. The wereda provided the necessary financial and technical support to the school. According to one respondent, this upgrade was an idea raised by the youth in the haya gasha iddir five years ago. The upgrade was partially funded by the sale of community forest that generated up to 250,000 birr, stone and red ash from the kebele for 400,000 birr and every household contributed 150 birr.

Students wishing to continue their education beyond grade 10 have to go to schools in Debre Zeit or Mojo. Although there is good public transport available on the main road, most need to find accommodation in town.

#### *Post-secondary education and adult education*

### Government TVET

The successful farmer has a daughter studying hairdressing and beauty in Debre Zeit.

### Government universities

Two children of the middle wealth farmer have completed university degrees. One studied accounting and now works for the government. No information is provided on the other.

Two children of the successful female household head have completed university degrees. One is now a government employee. There is no information on what they studied or what the other child currently does.

### Private colleges

The successful female household head has a son studying in a private college in Debre Zeit. Other respondents mentioned that children of wealthy households study for their preparatory exams for university in private colleges.

### Adult education

Respondents expect adult education to begin in the near future. One female respondent intends to start adult education as soon as it begins. She has heard classes will be held for adult women at 2-4pm and at 4-6pm for men.

34 people registered for adult education 18 of them from Sirba. The class will be from 3-5 pm and teachers from the schools have agreed to work voluntarily. The adult education had begun last May

but stopped due to the rainy season.

### *Attitudes to education*

Education is increasingly seen as the main opportunity for young people given the shortage of land and employment opportunities in Sirba. Most children want to move to cities and find employment there. The headteacher of the primary school says that although the youth are ambitious to finish their education, they are also losing hope as they see many of young girls and boys sitting idle after completing grade ten. Some students consequently believe that it would be better to look for work than to spend time in school. In her opinion, the community's awareness of the importance of education is still weak and so the community has low participation. This is even worse when considering female education.

## **Social re/production domain**

### **Social institutions and organisations**

#### *Local informal security regime*

The sharing of labour, oxen and farm tools is quite common in the community. For example, the middle wealth farmer participates in the wonfel labour sharing arrangement. He contributed three days labour to another household and received the same support in return. The successful female household head participates in debo during peak agricultural seasons, for activities such as weeding, harvesting and carry the crop to the house from the field. Although sharing of oxen often involves an exchange, for example the exchange of labour for use of oxen, some farmers lend oxen to relatives who need them, without receiving anything in return.

Women in the neighbourhood frequently help each other when there is a lot of work to do to prepare for a feast such as a wedding, funeral or mahaber. Among men there is also some cooperation in house building. However, cooperation in house building has reduced compared to five years ago. This is because houses are now built by paid, skilled builders. Most people now prefer to hire skilled builders and complete the work quickly rather than waiting for free support from the community. This reflects a general trend of declining cooperation in farming and other activities because people prefer to concentrate on their own work and can increasingly hire labourers to complete tasks.

Most people in the community are members of at least one and frequently several iddirs.

There are about 7 iddirs in the community – some named with saints or angels. Three are divided into various groups depending on membership. For example one has separate groups for young men, adult men and women and two have groups for men and women. Some have tents, some have equipment, some have big money during crises so people like to belong to each seeking the different resources. Some iddir lend money for farmwork (depending on budget and loans are also given for crises like sickness, accidents, house burning etc

One respondent is a member of five different iddirs. The rich farmer said people join more than one iddir as they provide different things – e.g. some don't pay if the death is somewhere else; some provide food and some money etc. The successful Female heading her household belongs to two women's iddirs and one man's. She said the men's iddir will be helpful for the burial ceremony, funeral ceremony, making the tent and other activities requiring labour force. The women's iddirs have kitchen equipment and women are the front players in facilitating the ceremony. Also she has intimates, friends and relatives in the iddirs with whom she would like to co-operate. She likes the togetherness and appreciates the interaction. Labour and equipment are also shared during weddings and baptisms.

The main function of the iddirs is to provide money and grain to members for the funeral and feast when a close relative dies. One respondent mentioned that his uncle recently died, but he was not

considered to be a close enough relative and so the iddir provided no support, even though the man was responsible for all the funeral costs. Members make regular monthly contributions ranging from 5 to 20 birr. Respondents mentioned a specific women's iddir, iddirs named for particular saints, such as St Gabriel, and the Haya Gasha iddir, which reportedly includes all members of the community.

In recent years the iddirs have diversified their activities from just support for funerals. A few respondents mentioned that iddir also lend money when people are in need, for example for medical expenses. In these cases, if the person dies, then the money does not have to be repaid, if they recover the money has to be repaid with interest. Some iddirs also lend their property to members for weddings and other celebrations and one respondent mentioned that iddirs sometimes lend members money to buy agricultural inputs. No details about this lending were provided, however. The iddirs have also been actively involved in collecting money to finance the rebuilding of the health post after it was destroyed in a recent fire. The haya gasha iddir had accumulated a large amount of capital in recent years, and the members decided that the money should be used to open a mill, which would function for the community, rather than keeping the money in the bank. The mill has now opened and charges lower fees than the private mills, a discount of 2 birr per quintal of grain.

Finally, government officials reported that the iddirs are also used to pass political and developmental messages to their members, including during funerals. The iddirs are one of the important means of communicating information about agricultural extension packages.

For instance the poor farmer said during the second fieldwork period that at the next 20 Gasha iddir meeting they would be discussing the pests on the chickpeas and partly on the *teff*. He added: "Next Friday at the iddir meeting ; the DAs will come and may tell us what it is and what to do. The DAs don't want to consult farmers individually; discussion is not that urgent as the risk is not that big. People join many iddir hoping the combined help is enough for the crisis. Larger ones give up to 1500 birr but the smallest may give only 400 which won't cover funeral costs.

A few respondents mentioned that they are members of equbs, contributing around 50 birr each week. No further details were provided about these organisations.

Most people are a member of one or sometimes several mahabers. Members have to invite the rest of the mahaber to their house for a feast every one to three years, providing tella and food. These are religious organisations and are given religious names such as St Gabriel, St Mary and Emmanuel. Respondents reported that they spend a large amount on these feasts. For example the middle wealth farmer said that he spends 3,000 birr to host the event and another respondent said that he spends 2,000 birr. Some people might even slaughter a bull for the feast. Members make contributions each year, for example one respondent mentioned 100 birr a year, and these contributions are used for the feasts, thereby limiting the burden on the host. However, the poor farmer's wife says that she is not a member of a mahaber because she is too poor and sick with the evil eye. One respondent mentioned that mahaber members also help each other in times of crisis, but provided no further details.

### *Community celebrations*

Respondents mentioned that they had celebrated Christmas and saints' days such as St Gabriel and St Emmanuel. They visit the church and spend money on a feast. There was *Drea* – a cultural ritual conducted by elders and community members by going to the hills and slaughtering a bull and praying to Waka/God to bring a good rainy season. This was done in all 3 villages. The elders mobilised the community to contribute for the purchase of bulls. The ritual began at 3.00pm and ended at 6.00 pm. The successful businessman contributed money for Drea but didn't participate as he does not believe in it; he says he did not face any problem from community for not participating. The rich farmer said there is another ritual in November where the community does the same as

Drea but around a pond; this is to have health and be able to eat what God has given in the harvest – this is less obligatory than Drea in which he participated. The wife of the poor farmer said her daughter has not yet baptised her baby son as she can't afford the cost of the ceremony.

### *Holidays*

The only holidays mentioned were major religious celebrations, such as Christmas and saints' days. There were feasts of Easter, Filseta, New Year and Meskel; celebrated in the traditional ways. In Sirba a meskel feast organising committee was formed of 6 elders who planned the activities, mobilised the necessary resources like injera, tella, tea, defo bread etc, prepared the chibo and made the feast enjoyable to the community. It was celebrated in a place in the middle of the village. Each household in the village contributed 1 jerrican of tella and 5 pieces of injera. Those who didn't give served. The religious leaders of the Orthodox Church prayed and lit the chibo followed by eating and dancing ceremony. The feast had more participants and was better organised than in the past. The Meskel bonfire was done in Ude village on 26 September for all three villages. Orthodox Christians brought wood for the celebration and the monks prayed and started the fire attended by community members.

### *Customary organisations*

Almost everyone in the community is a member of at least one and sometimes several iddirs, mahaber and equb. These organisations are discussed as part of the informal security regime, above.

There are five Gadaa groups named: Dolo, Bilba, Birmeji, Robelea and Mudena. Three additional groups, the Folea, Debele and Etimeko, are selected from the five. The Folea are the leaders, the Debele will succeed the Folea after eight years and the Etimeko are young people who serve as police for the Folea. They are given orders to search, catch and bring any deviators from the customs. Folea leaders are highly respected by community members. In general the role of Folea is supposed to be resolving conflict, giving blessing and punishing men who are found to have had an affair with widows. The leader of the Folea is the Kussa and the Folea has about 60 members.

Each group holds its position for eight years. After eight years, the Debele replace the Folea and the Etimeko replace the Debele. The leadership is passed down through certain families, with the result that the present Kussa's son will be leader himself in 40 years. The Debele and Etimeko are subordinates of the Folea. These subordinate groups are not allowed to sit with the Folea during festivals. They are less privileged and eat outside the door of the house or around the livestock house. This lower status continues until they assume the position of Folea.

Only Arssi and Adea Oromo are allowed to be members of the Gadaa. In the kebele there are also Chefea Oromo and Selalea Oromo but they are not allowed in the Gadaa. The leader of the folea says that it has existed since man was created. The group has no relationship with the government or any NGO. There is a Gadaa office in Debre Zeit town that assists the Folea groups in Sirba and other places.

Members of the Folea take turns to host a feast for the Folea, Debele and Etimeko. They slaughter a bull and eat, drink and sing all through the night. Other Folea also used to come from neighbouring kebele to attend the celebration every eight years, and the Folea from Sirba went to faraway kebele walking up to four hours. However, after they got drunk, fights tended to break out among Folea of different kebele and wereda. As a result, based on mediation by the wereda Gadaa office, these visits to other Folea have been banned. The wereda Gadaa office also gave training for Folea leaders about their roles and has advised them not to visit the Folea in neighbouring areas, as this frequently leads to conflict.

This customary group is autonomous and the law cannot intervene. Ten years ago there was a group fight between the Folea of Sirba and others from Kola area in Lumea wereda. One man from the

Lumea Folea was killed with a stick. The Lumea Folea took the body away crying. However, the police did not intervene and no one was accused of the murder.

The punishment for having an affair with a widow is usually forcing the man to buy a new gabi. They then tear it into pieces and tie it to the tip of each Folea's stick. They then sing the following song:

- 'we found him when he was eating doro wot (spicy chicken stew) and we dumped his food down
- 'Yesigaba Kiber Yelewm Kesem bihon', meaning 'there is no respect for the informal lover of a widow, even if he is a monk.'

If a member of the Folea is himself found with a widow, he is not punished. Furthermore, if the widow is the Folea leader's daughter, the man will not be punished.

When a member of the Folea is to organise a feast, four Folea members, usually elders, are required to check that the man has been circumcised. He must show his penis to these men, and they go and tell the rest of the group that he is circumcised. Only once this has happened do the Folea go to his house and attend the celebration. If the man is found to be uncircumcised, the men bring a circumcision practitioner and circumcise him that same day. They say that only then is the food and drink edible. After a week, the man's wound is washed by these four men using river water and on this day he must hold another celebration. For the second celebration, the person who covers his eyes during the circumcision helps the man to cover the cost of the celebration. Religious leaders oppose the custom in general and they don't have contact with the groups. However, there is no conflict.

#### *Marriage, divorce, widowhood*

Most marriages are traditional with elders as witnesses or in church. For the most part the marriage ceremonies are conducted in church or are witnessed by elders. However, some young couples have started to hold the weddings at the municipality offices in Ude. The first of these was in April 2012. The middle wealth farmer reported that his daughter got married two years previously. All the arrangements were made through local elders and there was no interaction with the kebele or any government office.

Respondents report that the cost of wedding ceremonies is rising with inflation. For instance the middle wealth farmer recently spent approximately 14,000 birr in total, in addition to presents such as kitchen materials and clothes. Another of his daughters got married previously, but that wedding was much less expensive. The cost has increased both because of inflation and because he is now wealthier than before and could afford to organise a bigger celebration.

One response to the rising cost of ceremonies has been to reduce the amount of meat consumed. For example some people used to slaughter several bulls for the feast. More recently some people have hired a cook from Debre Zeit and asked them to slaughter only one bull and to mix other foods such as vegetables in the buffet. This has reduced the cost.

According to one respondent, in the past when there was a wedding, there would be two different tents, one for urban guests and the other for rural people. The informant said that he was once asked to look after the urban guests and the host of the wedding asked him to wash his clothes and ensure that he was neatly dressed, so that the urbanites did not complain. Nowadays there is only one tent for everyone and no one gives urban guests a better space.

Guests at the wedding and close relatives are expected to make financial contributions, as well as food and drink, to help with the cost of hosting the ceremony. For example the middle wealth farmer mentioned above received sheep and goats from his relatives and about 1,800 birr from guests. Contributions from guests have increased in recent years because people acknowledge the rising costs of hosting such events. In the past guests might have given 10-20 birr, but now it is considered an embarrassment to give less than 50 birr. Other people might give 100 birr if they are

able to do so and if they are close to the couple. Other respondents contributed injera, areqi and cooking oil for the feasts.

According to the wereda, there are reports of an increasing rate of divorce, especially among young couples. The courts try to delay divorce cases deliberately and advise disputants to consider their cases calmly so as to decrease the probability of divorce. The court sends the cases to be seen again by elders. Divorce is accepted only if the local elders report that there is a fundamental problem that prevents the couple from living together and they believe that the couple's continued marriage would bring further bad consequences for the couple and their family. However, divorce can also be granted when one member of the couple demands it. During the past two months, there were 20 marriage disputes and one ended in divorce, while the others were reconciled. One problem with this approach to divorce is that men frequently use this delay to hide their property, giving their belongings to a close friend so that they will not be divided when they divorce.

The successful female household head divorced her husband ten years ago. She moved to Mojo with her children and started working in a plastic factory. At that time she was in crisis because her husband was unable to help her to feed the children and was unwilling to share the household's property with her. After living in Mojo for five years, she came home in 2005 (1998EC) having decided to reconcile with her husband. However, her husband soon died.

The poor farmer's wife said that women's rights to divorce and property have improved in recent years. In the past if a man did not want the divorce, elders would refuse. Now, a woman can propose divorce and it will be accepted by the law. At present women have easy access to legal bodies and divorce is conducted in a way that respects the rights of women.

#### *Death ceremonies and inheritance*

There is a burial ceremony when a person dies in the community. Those who are rich slaughter an ox and prepare food and local drinks for guests. The funeral continues for at least three days and there will be visitors for up to 2-3 months. On the third day after the funeral, mourning continues with more intensity as if there was a new incident, rather than moving on to normal functioning of the family. In the past, people used to fire about 60 shots when older and highly respected people died. There was one time when about 180 bullets were fired when one old rich man who was highly respected died nine years ago. This bullet firing was common during weddings as well. However, this practice has ended because on one occasion eight people were killed by these bullets during a funeral. Recently, some knowledgeable people from the church with urban links said that if any bullet is fired, the monks would not pray for the dead. As a result, it has been stopped. In addition, at present one bullet costs 70 birr whereas it used to be only 5 birr before. So it would also be an additional cost.

In the past, relatives of the deceased were not expected to switch on a radio for a year or they would be criticised for being cruel, but now urbanites say that at least you have to listen to the news. People are now more flexible.

When the son of one respondent died, she slaughtered a sheep for the burial ceremony and prepared food and tella for guests at the ceremony and for those who visited during the three days mourning. She also had to prepare food and tella for the priests in the local church who prayed for the deceased on the 12<sup>th</sup> day and 40<sup>th</sup> day. She prepared 40 pieces of injera, two jerry cans of tella and slaughtered one sheep for these rituals. She plans to hold a big memorial ceremony when she has enough resources. For this, she will slaughter an ox, prepare food and drinks and she will invite all the relatives, neighbours and iddir members who supported her emotionally and financially when she was in mourning. She said that it is necessary to prepare something for the annual memorial ceremony, at least for the priests at the church. The annual memorial ceremony is held for seven consecutive years. She received teff flour for injera from her relatives, financial support of 2,000 birr and labour from iddir members to organise the feasts.

### *Religion*

The vast majority of the inhabitants of the kebele and all residents of Sirba are Orthodox Christian. There are some Protestants in Ude and Kumbursa villages and a very few Muslims. Some people are very active in religion and attend church several times a week, others are much less active and only go to church on major religious days. There are three churches in the kebele, Balewold, Emanuel, and Mariam. According to the Orthodox leader, most of the youth attend church and some follow Sunday schools. However, many others are not interested in attending. He thinks that these days the young are not obedient and are not educated in good behaviour, because they do not come to church. He says that they educate those who are near to the church about marriage and they help them to follow church rules in their marriage. The role of the church is to conduct religious work as instructed by the mother church at the wereda. The church also passes developmental messages from the kebele, but it does nothing else on development. The church cooperates with the kebele, helping the kebele to mobilise the community.

In Ude village there is one Protestant church called Mekaneyesus. There was a conflict 9 years ago between Orthodox followers and the incoming Protestant faith in Ude village. Over time, the conflict reduced and gradually focused on about getting land to build a Protestant church rather than worshipping in a rented house. In the end, the Protestants got land from the administration. However, they still do not have a burial place and if anyone among them dies, the deceased is taken to Debre Zeit for burial. No one from Sirba goes to the Protestant church, but two young men and a girl are rumoured to be attracted to Protestantism.

According to one respondent, most of the youths who visit the church and attend religious events and ceremonies are young women. Young girls go to church as a means of recreation because they spend all of their time at home. Young men have better access to recreational places such as drinking houses, teahouses, jettony houses, playing football and walking in the streets. Girls meet their friends, including their boyfriends, at the church. Their parents are happy for them to visit church as much as they want. During annual religious celebrations, they spend the night in the church.

In the past, credit was available from moneylenders who sought double interest. However, young men from the church school taught the community that this usury is a sin and should be avoided.

About ten years ago, some of the old people participated in a traditional religion ritual known as iricha. At present, it is not practised locally but some young men go to Hora in Debre Zeit where the celebration takes place just to enjoy the celebration and the social gathering. They go there as visitors and not as believers.

### *New community-initiated organisations*

None mentioned.

### **Key social actors and their networks**

#### *Kebele cabinet*

The kebele cabinet comprises the chairman, vice-chairman, the head of women's affairs, the head of justice and administration, the headteacher of the school and a development agent. The kebele chairman also works as the agafari (spokesperson) for the waka efeta (customary religious leader). People seek these religious leaders to bless newborns and to find out the truth when there is a disagreement. He has strong links with the rest of the kebele administration, the wereda administration, and especially the security and justice office.

The vice chairman is also an elder in dispute resolution and is close to the other elders and the kebele administration.

The head of women's affairs and justice and administration have no other positions in the community and only have links to the rest of the kebele administration.

#### *Elders*

The elders are involved in dispute resolution and also bless newly constructed houses. They have links to the iddir leaders and church leaders, since these people work closely with the iddir in their activities.

#### *Religious leaders*

The Orthodox Christian leaders are linked to the community elders. One is also the secretary of a community-based credit and savings organisation.

DAs were meeting the community at church gatherings to pass their messages about preparing soil, getting fertiliser, sowing in line, crop rotation, flood protection, control of weeds and pests.

#### *Clan leaders*

The kussa, a position of authority under the Gadaa system, manages the 60 members of the folea. He is close to the etimeko, the cultural police of the Gadaa, who hunt down those who deviate from the culture, and the deblea, the subordinates of the folea, who will take over in eight years' time.

#### *Iddir leaders*

DAs passed messages at iddir meetings. The Government t uses 20 Gasha/Balewold iddir to mobilise the community as it did to rebuild the burned Health Post. 20,000 *birr* was collected. 10,000 was raised for the school 5 months ago to build an additional room for Grade 5. Iddir leaders have a connection with kebele officials and with a formal letter they save money collected from members in a bank and issue receipts until the money is used for the work needed. This linkage is also done with the wereda through the kebele. The iddir interact with the government through the kebele administration. They convey messages like appointments for Public Works.

#### *Successful farmers*

##### *Male*

One of the successful farmers is a representative for the farmers' association for fertiliser distribution, chairman of a group of improved seed producers and a community elder. He is close to other elders, the kebele administration and the farmers producing improved seeds.

The other leading farmer is also an iddir treasurer and is linked to other iddir leaders.

##### *Female*

One of the successful female farmers interviewed is head of women's affairs in the kebele and treasurer of an iddir, the other is the leader of an iddir. They are close to the iddir leaders and the kebele administration.

#### *Successful traders/businessmen*

##### *Male*

The two businessmen have no positions in the community but are close to iddir and mahaber leaders.

##### *Female*

Neither of the businesswomen has positions in the community. They are involved in iddir.

#### *Women's leaders*

The two women's leaders have no other positions in the community. They are close to the kebele

administration and women's organisations.

#### *Political activists*

The vice-chairman of the kebele is also a community elder and is close to the rest of the kebele administration and OPDO members. The militia head is also an iddir leader and is close to other OPDO members.

### **Social interactions within the community**

#### *Community-government relations*

Three years ago, there were disagreements between the supporters of the then kebele chairman and his opponents. Many people resisted when the chairman was re-elected because they believed that he was not able to bring change to the community during his previous term. However, the chairman promised he would correct his mistakes and would work hard to bring change. Despite this, there are people who are unhappy with the governance in the kebele. They feel that the kebele leadership is not strong enough to influence the DAs, HEWs and teachers to work hard and implement the government's development goals. The higher levels of government do not visit to check if local government officials are doing their tasks properly or if they are only taking their salary.

For the most part, respondents reported that they were happy with the government's policies and the progress that had been made in terms of education, health and agriculture. Some respondents did, however, raise a few issues that they would like the government to address. These included: subsidies for fertiliser prices, and credit for fertiliser and improved breed animals; and job creation for young people, especially for young women so they would not have to migrate abroad. The issue of irrigation was also raised. One respondent said that the wereda had promised to dig boreholes to enable local people to use groundwater for irrigation, but that two years later it has failed to deliver on this promise.

Several respondents reported their dissatisfaction with the work of the HEWs in the last two years. They say that the HEWs used to provide trainings and were active but that there has been no activity recently.

One respondent said that although the community was not initially convinced about the 1-5 groups, once they were adopted, people accepted them as being helpful because they allow interaction and cooperation, sharing farming skills.

The terracing for the watershed management scheme was accepted by most people since it prevents erosion on farms. However, when they were told that trees should be planted, the people resisted because they use the land for grazing during the growing season. The animals cannot stay on the farms at this time, and they must be kept in compounds. As a result the compounds get muddy, so people did not want to lose this grazing land. In spite of the protests, the government's plans were realised.

DAs were meeting the community at church gatherings to pass their messages about preparing soil, getting fertiliser, sowing in line, crop rotation, flood protection, control of weeds and pests.

#### *Local elite-people relations*

No information.

#### *Ethnic/clan relations*

Relations between the different ethnic groups are good. Inter-marriage between ethnic groups is common.

### *Relations among different religious groups*

The vast majority of residents are Orthodox Christian. There was reportedly a conflict in Ude between Orthodox and Protestants several years previously. The Protestants demanded land to build a church. There are no reports of problems once this was achieved.

### *Class relations*

Many wealthy families hire domestic servants and agricultural labourers on a long-term basis, as well as daily labourers during peak agricultural seasons. There is very little information on the relations between these groups.

### *Interactions affecting gender relations*

Several respondents said that as a result of government activities to promote gender equality, women are now aware of their rights and receive support from the kebele and courts to claim these rights.

### *Interactions affecting inter-generational relations*

For the most part, respondents report that intergenerational relations are good and the younger generations respect their elders. A few respondents reported that some young people, especially boys, resist helping with agricultural work. Some older generations do not like the new clothing styles and hairstyles of young people.

Some of the ideas raised by young people in the community have been widely accepted. For example, youths raised the idea of building a mill in the Haya Gasha Iddir. Young people also suggested upgrading the school in Ude from grades 1-8 to 1-10. Both of these ideas were accepted by the community.

## **External relations**

### *Relations with other communities*

There are no reports of conflicts with neighbouring communities. According to the kebele respondent, there are very good relations with neighbouring kebele. He did, however, claim that livestock thieves sometimes come to the kebele from another wereda called Akaki/Abu wereda. There were three livestock thefts last year and this year a total of 13 livestock have been taken from another three households during the night. Since 1-5 groups started to patrol the community at night two months ago, no cattle have been stolen.

### *Community-wereda relations*

One respondent described a wereda meeting in which the wereda administrators told the people that they had to farm throughout the year. The people responded that to produce during the dry season, they need irrigation. They demanded that the wereda supplied them with one motor pump for five people. The wereda did not respond. People also asked for piped drinking water, but there was no response or promise.

### *Community – NGO relations*

Respondents are positive about the contributions of a few NGOs, notably Passion Connects Ethiopia, which has built an irrigation system for a few farmers, contributed to the expansion of the schools, among other things.

## **Social cohesion in the community and beyond**

There are no reports of any conflicts or tensions in the community.

## ***Ideas domain***

### **Community cultural repertoires**

#### *Major areas of contention*

Among the main areas of contestation is female circumcision. This custom still has considerable support among older generations who, based on their own experiences, do not believe that there are any negative health consequences. They also think that circumcision helps girls to behave properly. Most young people, however, have been convinced by government programmes that circumcision has negative health consequences.

New clothing and hairstyles are also subject to contention. Older generations disapprove of women wearing trousers, using cosmetics and hair extensions. These are becoming increasingly common as girls copy people from the towns and returning foreign migrants. Similarly for boys, older generations disapprove of fashions such as tearing the ends of trouser legs and curling hair. Older people think that boys' hair should be kept short. Tearing trousers and curling hair has been banned in the schools. In contrast, older people think that skinny jeans are a good idea because the ends of the trouser legs do not get dirty when it is muddy in the rainy season.

There is also contestation regarding relations between young boys and girls. Older people do not think that boys and girls should be seen walking together or spending time together. Furthermore, some young people have started living together before getting married and this is opposed by older generations.

Finally, many young people want to pursue education in private colleges and move to cities. They expect their parents to support them financially in this and believe that their parents have the money to do so. Some of the parents, however, want them to stay in the community and be involved in agriculture. They fear they will get into bad habits in towns such as chewing chat and smoking.

#### *Conservative repertoire*

In addition to the areas of contention discussed above, some old people also believe in tree spirits. They gather under a big tree with which they feel a connection with the spirit of the almighty who gives rain, good harvests, health and prosperity. They organise a feast, slaughtering a sheep, chicken or bull, they rub the tree with butter, make coffee and build a fire. Some people still believe that it is important to pray this way when the rain is inconsistent, when pests affect crops and during epidemics. Gradually, the belief is losing support, though some conservatives continue.

#### *Modern repertoire*

Modern ideas include a growing desire for many people to maximise their economic opportunities, conducting additional activities to earn more money. Many men now look for additional work during the dry season rather than sitting around as before. Similarly many wives are engaging in income earning activities, such as seeking employment, opening small shops or engaging in crop trading.

In recent years, people have started to cut injera into strips and to take only as much as a person can eat on individual plates, rather than spreading a whole injera on a shared plate as previously. This is thought to reduce wastage. This occurs during funerals, weddings and also in many households.

Similarly modern houses are built in a simple rectangular shape so as to avoid wasting corrugated iron as was the case with L-shaped, pitched roof houses that used to be common.

During funerals people used to beat their chests and fired shots with guns. These customs are no longer practised.

## **Cultural entrepreneurs**

### *Government ideology*

The government, through the kebele, wereda and extension workers, encourages farmers to increase agricultural production through new technologies, such as improved seeds, fertiliser, compost, pesticides and irrigation, and techniques, such as planting seeds in lines, rather than broadcasting seeds. DAs also encourage farmers to produce both crops and livestock products for the market and to diversify their production, including more cash crops such as vegetables. The government has actively promoted gender equality through awareness raising programmes focused on female circumcision, underage marriage, rape, abduction and rights to property on divorce and inheritance. Finally, the government has promoted preventive healthcare and sanitation, pressurising residents to build latrines, teaching about HIV/AIDS and promoting the use of bednets.

### *Ethnic ideologies*

No information.

### *Religious ideologies*

In the past, credit was available from moneylenders who charged high interest rates. Young men from the church school taught the community that this is a sin. Church leaders said that they help pass messages from the kebele to the people about development issues and help to mobilise the people for campaigns.

### *Other ideologies*

The Chinese men working on road construction have introduced ideas about new construction technologies and the value of working hard. Many young men from the community are working with these foreigners and learn skills from them.

## **Urban connections and ideas**

As a result of urban connections a number of new ideas have been introduced into the community. These include: mobile phones and new technologies; new dressing styles and hairstyles; the use of cosmetics; and 'modern' styles of house decoration. Some people also attribute the new focus on earning money to urban influences.

These days people have frequent contact with town dwellers. Previously people used to believe that urban people did not respect rural people (they say *yeniquanal*, 'they look down on us'). Rural people felt inferior and had low self-esteem. At weddings there would often be separate tents for rural and urban people. When rural people speak to urbanites, those living in urban areas say that even urban women working as maids send their children to school and ask why rural parents do not do so.

## **Diaspora connections and ideas**

The young female migrants who have been working in Arab countries return home, either for short visits or to settle down. They bring new dressing styles and new fashions in decorating their homes with 'modern' furnishings, TVs and refrigerators.

## **Modern media and ideas**

Many people in the community now have TVs. They have access to Oromia TV and radio in Afaan Oromo, as well as Ethiopian TV and radio in Amharic. Some households also have satellite TV decoders. TV programmes show the successful experiences of other agricultural communities in the country, for example in terracing and soil conservation in a village in Tigray. These programmes emphasise the importance of hard work. For boys, TV has also increased their interest in football, with the Champions' League and English Premier League very popular.

## **Community management domain**

### **Public Works**

#### *Environment*

##### *Main issues and activities*

Public works are conducted for 34 days a year, for 3-4 days a week in December and January each year. Everyone between the ages of 18 and 50 in good health is expected to participate, whether male or female. According to the wereda respondent, the most successful programme is natural resource rehabilitation, involving terracing, tree planting and soil conservation. This is because people in the community can understand the advantages since rehabilitation reduces the risk of soil erosion, they can see the weather improvement and they are able to use grasses grown on hillsides.

##### *Watershed management, trees and grazing land*

A watershed management scheme has been undertaken through public works on Ude and Sirba mountains. This scheme involves terracing, check dams and planting trees. Several respondents reported that this has reduced erosion and flooding during the rainy season. Public works are used to dig holes during the dry season, and trees are planted in these holes during the rainy season. However, some respondents complained that planting trees on this area meant that it was lost as grazing land. Now people have to keep their livestock in their compounds during the rainy season when there are crops on the fields and they also have to pay more for livestock feed. At present there is no communal grazing land in the community. The workload for terracing is allocated by metre. People prefer this terracing work as it is relatively easy to complete your quota and then go home. However, some respondents also reported that the terracing is destroyed or damaged each year when the rains come.

Terracing was carried out on Sirba, Ude and Godetie mountains since April 2013; terracing and hole-digging was done in April-May and trees planted in July. The DA said that in July and August 35,000 trees were planted including eucalyptus, grevillea, etc and indigenous trees like wanza etc. Eucalyptus is very common though the community has been informed that it reduces the fertility of the land due to its acidic nature. Despite this it is a source of income for individuals and the community. The community's participation was below expectation as farmers wanted to focus on their individual activities. But it was better in Sirba than the other sub-kebeles because the Debre Zeit ARC was working closely with the community hiring guards and giving incentives which motivate people to work closely. It has a model nursery site in the village where it does experiments. The ARC in co-operation with the wereda agriculture office provided different varieties of trees for farmers to plant around their houses. A full loaded truck with seedlings of at least 5 types of tree plus eucalyptus came in July. Eucalyptus trees were given in large numbers though government is discouraging them theoretically. Tree planting has been done on Sirba and Ude mountain but not Godeti mountain as it partly belongs to a neighbouring kebele which has planted on it and the rest is cultivated by nine farmers.

One respondent said: "Now these mountains are protected and trees have been planted grass has grown on them which has helped the soil not to be washed away. The area is not unpleasant to look at as it was before when it was mostly soil and stones". The rich farmer said: "I have land beneath Godeti and Sirba mountains where the flood was terrible but now there is no such risk to wash away my land. Protection is done by armed guards and there is a penalty if anyone lets livestock on these mountains. There is problem with participation in watershed management; the DT leaders are responsible for mobilising but the people are reluctant and there are frequent arguments. There is no penalty; kebele gives warning but that makes no difference". The poor farmer said: "My land was affected by the Godeti mountain running water but now this has reduced a lot. The air condition improving. People complain about their labour being wasted because after it was completed some

people let their cattle on to it; this has reduced motivation to work on the preservation of the mountains”

There is no grazing land apart from unploughed space in a gorge in Kumbursa which is not considered as good grazing land at all. Fodder is produced in the community: One type looks like an acacia tree and the other is a grass. They are mixed and given to livestock at home. One farmer mentioned that farmlands are used for communal grazing once the crops are harvested. Fodder can be bought in the SC, Debre Zeit ARC and the Mojo oil factory. The rich farmer said he has highbreed cows for milk and fattens bulls – use various feeds like fagulo, cotton seed bought in Mojo, telba and wheat residues after threshing. Herding is important as it produces a good amount of milk. Bull fattening is only done when teff straw is available well.

#### Animal protection

There have been no specific activities focused on animals. However, some people say that there are increasing numbers of animals, such as monkeys, in the forest since the watershed management scheme was started.

#### Soil fertility

The watershed management scheme has reportedly addressed the problem of soil erosion on farmland next to the mountain where the scheme has been undertaken.

#### *Infrastructure*

##### Roads and transport

If internal roads are damaged in the rainy season, these are given priority in public works campaigns, since they are essential for transport.

##### Electricity

No public works

##### Communications

None.

##### Water infrastructure

Check dams and terracing are built to limit flooding during the rainy season.

##### Public buildings

In previous years, public works have been used to plant trees and build a fence in the school compound, as well as to build additional classrooms to expand the primary school. Seven years ago public works were used to construct the health post, which recently burned down.

##### Urban development

#### *Organising Public Works*

Although some community members were reluctant to participate in the public works done in 2011 (2004EC), they were given an oral warning from the kebele administration that they might be prevented from getting access to goods and services provided by the kebele. This year different community awareness raising trainings and meetings have helped to bring better community participation. According to kebele officials, relatively few people miss public works. In such cases the offenders are advised not to repeat their absence, although there is no penalty.

The kebele provides the community with information about the best experiences of the farmers in Tigray, Dire Dawa and Harari regions where there are successful results of soil and water conservation activities through public works. According to one respondent, they were told by kebele

officials in a meeting that if they manage to stop erosion in their villages, Ethiopia's soil will not be taken by the Nile to Egypt. The wereda has also worked hard to raise awareness in the community and to follow up on its implementation. Wereda leaders have even taken part in the work on occasion to act as models and to encourage community members.

Public works are organised through development teams and 1-5 groups. The leaders of these structures are responsible for ensuring that all members of their teams participate in the public works and complete their objectives.

#### *Doing Public Works*

Some wealthy people send their employees to cover their public works responsibilities. Most of the respondents said that the requirement did not affect their other work activities. However, the wife of the poor farmer said that he works in construction at that time of year and, consequently, the public works interfere with his other work.

### **Taxes and contributions**

Previously, land tax was the only tax collected in the rural kebele administration, but now the kebele is also registering some small businesses to give them licences. These include shops, rural bars and grain traders. The only problem in tax collection is that some people delay their payment. The kebele mobilises the community to reduce the delay.

#### *Land tax*

Every year the kebele collects 41,460 birr from land tax. The land tax is 40 birr per hectare per year. Respondents reported paying between 40 and 250 birr in land tax. One respondent claimed they paid 60 birr for one hectare.

#### *Market tax*

Every trader at the market place selling anything should pay 5 birr per week. Farmers selling their own products are not taxed. In addition traders must pay income tax. A number of people have already started to do so, including a grain trader, two butchers, one alcohol bar and some shops. There is no tax on eucalyptus even when a farmer sells about 50,000 *birr's* worth and trucks coming to load them don't pay anything unlike the case for stone and red-ash soil.

Shops in the kebele have been registered and shopkeepers are required to have a license. The community is informed to ask permission from the kebele administration before starting any kind of business.

#### *Income tax*

The leading male trader pays 4,780 birr in income tax for his business. The successful businessman pays 2,000 birr in tax for his hotel business and another 800 birr on the income from his minibus. The wereda finance office comes and decides the rate of income tax for each business, by observing their sales.

#### *Licences*

Those involved in trade are required to have a licence, for example for the shops, grain traders, butchers and the better small restaurants. Only two out of the seven restaurants have a licence. The 17 small bars selling areqi and tella do not currently have licences. However the kebele has demanded that they purchase them. The barbers also do not have a licence. The successful businessman paid 210 birr for a licence for each of his businesses, the tejj house, the grocery and the butchers, making 630 birr in total. He also paid another 210 birr for a car licence.

#### *Contributions in cash and kind*

Community residents are expected to make contributions for the local school. These are 350 birr per

annum for those who send at least one child to school and 100 birr for those who do not have a child at school. There is also a 10 birr contribution for the Red Cross, 12 birr for kebele logistics, and a few people have bought bonds for the Renaissance dam, from 100-1000 birr. For example, the successful businessman bought a bond in the Renaissance dam for 1,000 birr, and another respondent contributed 10 birr for the construction of the Renaissance dam through the iddir. There have been no in-kind contributions such as wood for school construction or fencing in the past 12 months. The Health Post burnt down when a cylinder gas blew up recently, and now the community is contributing 100 birr each to rebuild it. Party members contribute 14 birr annually in fees. Contributions for the Health Post reconstruction came to 76,800 *birr* and for a school classroom 10,000 birr. Households were asked to provide barley for delivery ceremonies at the Health Centre

## **The wereda**

### *Wereda policies and budget*

After salaries, development programmes and projects constitute the largest proportion of the budget. These include rural roads, water, the building of health posts and the expansion of the health extension programme, the provision of veterinary services and building of FTCs. One health centre was also built in the wereda last year. Road construction takes a huge amount of the budget since it is very expensive. After roads, drinking water projects takes the next largest amount, and then the health extension programmes. Overall, salaries for civil servants constitute 90-95% of the budget, which is a problem for implementing the other programmes. The wereda has many experienced workers with big salaries. People from other places want to come to Debre Zeit since it is a town. In total there are about 1,400 civil servants at the wereda level.

The water programme needs a larger budget, because the water office requires big machines to dig deep boreholes to reach groundwater. Despite the fact that it is given second place in the budget allocation, it is suffering from a lack of budget.

The MDG fund has made a positive contribution, in particular in road construction, linking rural kebele and linking them with the wereda. The MDG fund has also helped to expand the health extension programme.

Vaccinations are done in the form of a campaign using funds from UNICEF, the government and other donors.

### *Wereda progress*

According to wereda officials, the most successful programme in the wereda is natural resource rehabilitation. This is because people can easily see the benefits of reducing erosion. The road project is still lagging behind, however, despite the wereda's efforts. The programme is behind schedule and there is also a problem of quality. This year the plan was to construct about 60 km of rural roads but the work had not started in April 2013. Indeed, last year's plan has still not been completed by the contractors, who are an association of skilled young engineers formed into a cooperative by the government. Once these three groups were given the wereda contract, other contractors were not allowed to compete for bids for the next year's road projects.

The Universal Rural Road Upgrading Programme is funded by the government and the wereda is not mandated to make decisions on this budget. There are three contractors who won the bid at the beginning and they have to do any upcoming road programme every year. However, they have not completed last year's programmes and they were not given the remaining budget. As a result, the work stopped and this year's budget is currently unspent. This has created a pause in financing all contracts. The wereda has contacted the road authority at the zone level, though there is no response yet.

The wereda official wonders whether the government fears that if the programme were decentralised, the wereda might not be able to manage such big project with such a large budget.

However, he feels that if skilled professionals were assigned to the wereda and given the mandate to manage the work, it would proceed much better.

There is also a shortfall in other programmes that the wereda is expected to manage, such as the FTC expansion and the health extension programme. This has lagged behind the expectation of the zone. The wereda was given a 2.7 million birr budget for these programmes and to build sectoral offices, but the money is currently idle in the bank, because the budget just arrived in mid-year rather than being part of the normal annual budget. It was given as a reward for excess revenue collected last year. In the past the use of such funds was flexible according to wereda priorities, but now they have been told to spend it only these particular programmes. The wereda, however, has not yet advertised for bidders for the projects.

### *Working with NGOs*

There are 11 NGOs operating in the wereda but the most active ones are: RATSON, Kalehiwot faith-based NGO, Engage-Now Foundation, Passion Connects Ethiopia, Kulech, a local NGO, and Oromo Ras Gez. Of these, Passion Connects Ethiopia operates in Sirba and RATSON in Ude.

The wereda has 23 kebele and RATSON works in 18 of these. RATSON's programmes include work on children, education and HIV. Kalehiwot works in education, water expansion and HIV. Last year it provided 40 hand pump water points in the wereda. Kalehiwot works mainly in four kebele. The programme was focused on providing water to schools they build in the kebele, and they pay teachers' salaries for two years until the wereda takes over. The wereda negotiated with the NGO and the water programme was expanded to more kebele than just the ones with NGO schools.

Passion Connects and Engage Now work on women's economic opportunities, forming them into associations and helping them to finance small income generating activities. Engage Now also works on health, building health posts and schools, and providing hand water pumps. This year it has plans to dig boreholes and it has taken land from the wereda for this. Kulech NGO works mainly on HIV with women working in flower farms, in and around Debre Zeit. Oromo Ras Gez works on zero grazing programmes. It intervenes in two kebeles, Kurkura and Kajima, though now both have moved under the town administration.

According to the wereda official, government legislation has not affected their work negatively, because the NGOs continue to function as they did before. He does not believe that government legislation caused NGOs difficulty in getting funding. For example, Engage Now was weak in the past and the quality of schools it built was not good. Now it is building schools with bricks. They had to add other programmes such as those addressing HIV if they were working on children's issues only. Their contact with the wereda is now very close and they submit their plans. There are a few NGOs that are still not good at completing their projects on time. There is a gap in the activities of the wereda. At present the wereda contacts each NGO separately, rather than bringing them together in one group to discuss issues of the working environment and their accomplishment. The wereda official believes that this approach would be more productive.

Previously NGOs were obtaining funds in the name of the communities in which they worked, but they spent the money on programmes as they wished. Now there are consultations with community members and they plan their activities with the wereda administration. The NGOs are supposed to invite the wereda to any major planning session. This has helped the wereda to monitor and control their activities. Nevertheless, there are a few NGOs who only communicate with the relevant wereda sector office, for example the agricultural office if they are working in agriculture. They claim that they carried out their duty by doing so. The wereda is pressing them to ensure contact with the wereda administration office.

The NGO respondent has been working for Passion Connects Ethiopia as a community facilitator for the last three years. Passion Connects Ethiopia focuses on improving the lives of women and empowering the farmers. It has different lines of activities, which aim to enhance the capacity of the

community in general, but that of women in particular. These activities include training on: health issues; agricultural activities such as beekeeping, fattening and use of improved breed livestock; and income generating activities for women's groups. It tries to help the community by providing credit services to enable participation in different farming or business activities. Three years ago, the NGO established a borehole and irrigation system for 18 households as a group in Sirba. The NGO provided this system on credit to the farmers and these households are still paying their debt. It also supplies improved breed cows and poultry for model farmers on credit. Five model farmers (two from Sirba and three from Ude village) have received improved breed cows on credit.

In addition, the NGO has trained 100 women from the kebele in different income generating activities such as fattening, poultry production, petty trade and local drinks businesses. However, the number of women involved in this programme has currently reduced to 30 women. The NGO official says that this is because of a dependency syndrome; most of the women did not want to work hard and take on the risk of the credit service. The NGO also supports farmers' participation in the functional adult education programme. They encourage participants to take credit for improved breed cows. Indeed the five model farmers were selected because they were active participants of the functional adult education. Finally, the NGO works in sanitation and supply of clean drinking water to the community. It has constructed three standard latrines in Sirba and three in Ude village. These latrines are frequently used by the community. It also has constructed two tap water points which function by electric power. There is also a water point for animals to drink from in Sirba.

The NGO is funded by the Netherlands government and gets some funds from a German donor called DVV. The respondent said that the NGO has a smooth interaction with the kebele and wereda Women's Affairs, Education office and Health office. The NGO gets support from these sectors to mobilise the community, to arrange meetings and trainings. According to the NGO respondent, the main problems that they encounter are: low community awareness about the credit system; a dependency syndrome among community members, which means that they just want aid without working; and a lack of active participation in meetings and trainings. This is particularly a problem for women due to their domestic workload. The other problem they have faced is that there is a lack of integration and policy coherence among the different government programmes of the government sectors: health, agriculture and education. This has resulted in low attendance of trainees since the plans of these sectors overlap.

Overall, the respondent added that the NGO has a management problem and finds it difficult to coordinate all the different programmes due to a shortage of experienced staff. The NGO's activities need day-to-day supervision.

#### *Investors in the wereda*

There were about 101 investments managed by the wereda administration until recently, but now most of them have been moved into the town administration when four kebele were transferred to the town. The wereda is left with 10 investments. Three of these work in bull fattening, there is one soil research consultant working for flower farms, and there are two dairy and irrigated farms. The other investments are involved in fruit production, textile industry, brick factory, and hotels. For these 10 investments about 50 hectares has been given out. Many of the investors are from other areas, mainly from Addis Ababa and from Holland. There is one farmer from Denkaka kebele who took an investment licence for Irrigation using groundwater. This farmer already had land.

The benefit of these investments is creating employment for people in the wereda, mainly for women. These workers learn skills. The investors provide water for the community and farm tools for the watershed management scheme. The investments have helped a lot with the wereda's revenue. Before these investments, say in 2008, the wereda revenue was only 9 million birr per year, but now it is about 40 million. The wereda collects revenue from land leases, tax from investors, businesses and land tax from farmers. The money is submitted to the zone and the zone allocates the annual budget for each wereda. Now that most of the investments have moved to the town

administration, the wereda will not be able to have the same revenue next year. The wereda respondent feared that they might require a budget subsidy from zone or region as a result.

There are about 13 groups investing in mineral extraction, but these are managed by the Water, Mineral and Energy Bureau, rather than the investment office. These investors are mainly extracting ingredients for cement production. These activities have caused environmental problems and soil erosion, affecting four kebele. People are now complaining about it.

The government decided not to lease land on the new Nazret-Addis Ababa road until the road and railway construction had begun. However, now this work has started and the wereda official thinks that they will start to lease this land. However, there is no free land. All of it is occupied by farmers, and so they will need to be paid compensation. There is a wereda plan for expanding investment, but the principal problem is displacing farmers. There is huge demand for land. One investor has asked for 100 hectares, but at the moment the wereda does not have land for such large requests. The investors apply to the wereda, and the wereda refers them to the zone if the request is for up to 5 hectares. If it is more than this, the region is mandated to decide. The wereda facilitates the investments and supports investors on any issue. Even though the zone is allowed to make decisions on investments of less than 5 hectares, the region still has to approve them.

#### *Regional and zonal plans for the wereda*

The region is planning for infrastructure development in all wereda and to develop agricultural production. The zone and the region now give priority to the expansion of rural kebele linkages, drinking water expansion and irrigation. The wereda has great potential in the production of teff and other crops, and in irrigation. As a result, the federal government is giving the wereda priority and trying to expand Irrigation.

At the regional level, regional bureau officials share out the zones in Oromia amongst themselves to provide supervision. As it happens, the regional president is responsible for the zone where Sirba is located. Furthermore, when the wereda in the zone were allocated to zone officials, the zone administrator also took Ada'a wereda. The wereda respondent thinks that this gives the wereda an advantage in accessing important people and the allocation of resources.

#### *Wereda relations with neighbours*

There is a good working relationship between all the 10 wereda and three towns in the zone. Ada'a wereda borders Gimbichu, Liben, and Lumea wereda. There are more opportunities to work closely with these wereda. Review meetings are held by the zone in Ada'a wereda with these neighbouring three wereda. There is no conflict or tension and there is peaceful communication among people in neighbouring wereda. There is no communal land or resource that these wereda share. Wereda are, however, expected to compete against one another as a means of motivating wereda staff.

### **The kebele**

#### *Wereda report on the kebele*

There is a working relationship with the kebeles that is based on reports, follow up of implementation of government programmes, and continuous meetings and contacts with cabinets. Wereda administrators are assigned to specific kebeles in order to give supportive supervision and follow up in that specific kebele. Ude kebele is one of the model kebeles, where people are linked to urban areas and they are more knowledgeable. That helped them to have much better capacity and awareness to implement intervention programmes. The problem for the wereda in administering Ude kebele is the illegal construction of houses that are mushrooming. It has become hard to control unplanned town development and informal land sales.

The wereda is well linked to the kebele. Previously the wereda was less involved and there were no frequent visits to the kebele. Now, an assigned cabinet member from the wereda comes every day

to see how the kebele is doing and to give support. There is a meeting at wereda level with the kebele administrations at the Ada'a wereda office in Debre Zeit.

#### *Wereda plan for the kebele*

There is a plan to construct internal roads in the town kebele, but the wereda has not been able to implement this yet due to its budget shortage. Last year one road to the market and kebele office was upgraded in the kebele. There is one vet centre under construction, and the wereda is contributing to the re-building of the health post. There is a plan to expand irrigated agriculture to cover a large proportion of the kebele. This irrigation will draw on deep underground water, extracted through boreholes and electric pumps, with farmers charged for their usage on an individual basis. Eleven boreholes have already been dug, but irrigation has not yet commenced. Wereda officials mentioned that the Agricultural Growth Programme (AGP) encourages and supports farmers by providing inputs for irrigation and that it has helped a lot. However, it is not clear whether resources from this programme have been used to dig the boreholes.

There are wereda activities which aim to help farmers' cooperatives to raise productivity and to provide consumption items for the community like oil and sugar. This is to protect consumers in rural places from private traders' high prices. They distribute fertiliser provided by the wereda, and they buy crops and sell them to capacitate their cooperative. The wereda provides training for coop leaders, and there is a progress review with them. There are about 22 such cooperatives, and in some of them there are credit and saving associations created within the coops by the support of the wereda.

There is no plan to create non-farm employment, but as the wereda expands investment and irrigation, non-farm employment may increase as a positive by-product of incoming investments. The wereda respondent said that they try to bring the youth together in cooperatives and help them in mineral resource extraction. On the watershed management area the wereda has planned to promote beekeeping and vegetable production by youths and women in cooperation. There are no new investors coming to the wereda, because the wereda already announced that they would not accept new investments until the railway and road construction to Adama had begun.

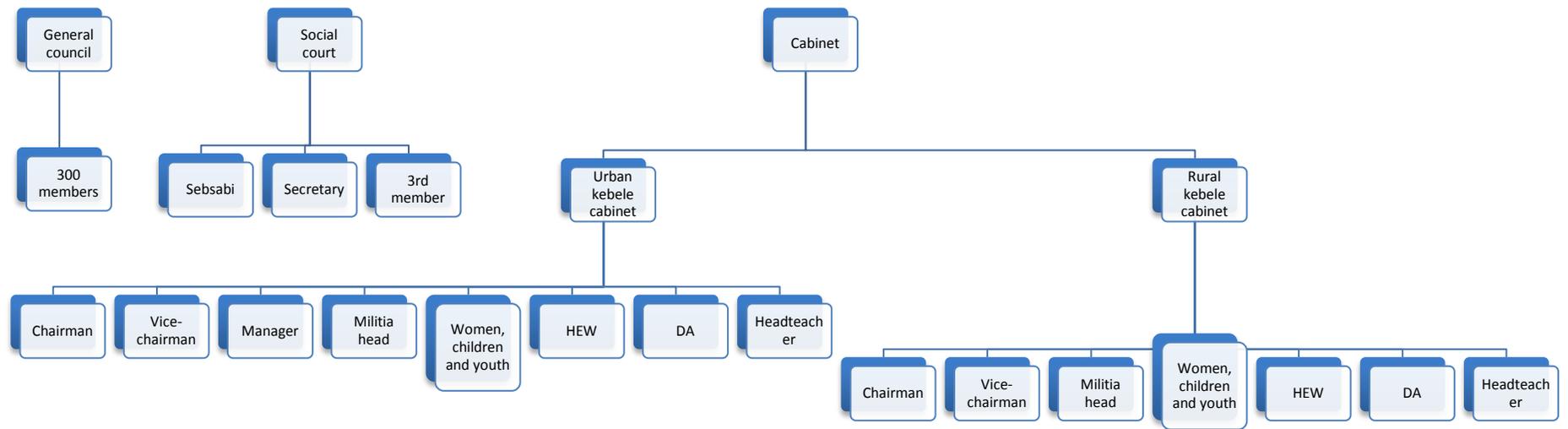
There was a big *gimgema* of 10 days to evaluate if last year's plan was accomplished well. The meeting was held in Ude village under a big tree near the kebele office. The main issues discussed were farm input provision, health service coverage and quality, adult education and community security. The conclusion was that the plan was not accomplished well due to poor community linkage, lack of participation in meetings and expressing problems. Kebele officials accepted weaknesses of loose follow-up and mobilisation of the community but no-one was demoted and they all promised to improve. The kebele chair said the chair, vice and manager had got As. This *gimgema* was a follow-up to the regional *gimgema* evaluating the wereda's performance in Adama.

#### *Kebele and party structures and activities*

The former Sirba kebele was merged with Ude and Kumbursa kebeles 12 years ago. The new kebele is called Ude and the kebele office is located in Ude village. There are separate administrative structures for the rural and urban parts of the kebele (see figure, below). Ude village and Denkaka town are part of the urban administration, while the rest of the kebele is under the rural administration. There is one building for both administrations but separate offices and separate officials, with the exception of the kebele manager, who serves both the rural and urban administrations, although he is not included in the rural cabinet.

The previous year, members of the community complained about the performance of the (rural) kebele chairman, accusing him of corruption. There was a kebele meeting to evaluate the kebele administration's work. The conclusion was that the chairman was not loyal to the people and abused his position. The meeting decided to elect another kebele chairman and vice-chairman.

Figure 1: The structure of the kebele administration



According to the wereda respondent, affirmative action is applied for all vacancies to promote female applicants.

#### Sub-kebele structures

There are no sub-kebele structures as such but there are rural and urban kebele administration. The urban kebele has a chair, vice and manager and the rural kebele has the same; recently it was given a kebele manager. Ude, where Denkaka town is found, is administered both by the kebele administration and the municipality. The municipality governs urban area land and tax from non-farm activities in the town. The kebele deals with agricultural issues and services and development in the area.

Vice chairs living in their respective villages are responsible for them. Kumbursa and Sirba are governed by the vices living there but Ude is administered by the chair and vice chair as they both live in Ude. The office is one for all but there are shared room and there are no special mandates or offices for the vices. They work on security, administration, health, education, party work, communication and mobilisation for development.

#### Development teams and 1-5s

In the kebele there are about 31 development teams and each team has 28-30 members. The teams are organised by neighbourhood and gender, with women organised into separate teams. The development team leaders call their members to a meeting twice a month to share ideas on development issues. 1-5 teams meet at least once a week to discuss government agricultural and health extension packages. For instance, one 1-5 team meets every Sunday for about an hour and a half.

The development team has a head (Dureta Gere), Secretary (Beresa), treasurer (Kershi kebdu), who keeps the contribution to cover refreshments during meetings, and a political representative (Gurmayna) responsible for public organisation and party activities. The development teams have written rules and regulations. The team's work plans are written and a copy is given to the kebele administration. If anybody fails to follow the rules or work plans, the head is allowed to penalise members. The penalties are usually in the form of additional public works.

The kebele chair said Sirba has 18 Development Teams, 9 for men and 9 for women. The whole kebele has about 62 DTs and 105 1-5s for men and the same for women. Sometimes the meetings of the 1-5s and DTs are not done properly because of some problems but still all of them are active. Women's groups work on mobilisation for health, security, sanitation etc while men work on farming activities, development and security. Women did terracing, tree-planting, weeding and discussed health issues. Recently they requested the reconstruction of the HP after they had discussed it in their DTs. 1-5s discuss together a lot but their real involvement in action is limited maybe because some are reluctant and others are discouraged by this. In addition there are some group members who disturb the others with bad behaviour. This group is fully voluntary and one can leave at any time.

The responsibilities of the development teams and 1-5 groups include: implementation of the agricultural and health extension programmes; security patrols in the community; and mobilising the community for kebele meetings and public works. The leaders of development teams are also involved in dispute resolution between members of the team. If they are unable to resolve the problem, it is referred to the elders for resolution.

The 1-5 teams specialise in the delivery of agricultural extension packages, health packages or peace and security. Women's development teams and one-to-fives started just last year, and are already well established. They focus primarily on implementation of health extension packages. There are model mothers among them called 'Ade Durea'. In the past health programmes were delivered through a volunteer health army. In the opinion of the HEWs, this was not effective because many of

the volunteers were men. They believe that nutritional and health issues are more closely related to the daily lives of women and so delivery of the packages should focus on women. At present, there are 6 female 1-5 teams, a total of 30 women, in the kebele. Since the members of each team have strong social links with the different sections of the community, they have become effective in the dissemination of important information.

1-5 teams recently began security patrols at night in the community, taking turns. The aim of these patrols is to prevent livestock theft, which had been an occasional problem for several years, and to stop men from getting drunk in local bars and fighting. 1-5s groups have also been used to encourage people to pay their taxes on time.

There are conflicting reports about the successes of the development teams and 1-5s. According to some government officials they have reduced conflict and have enabled more public works activities than ever before, since they are an effective means of tracking people down. The HEWs also reported that the female 1-5s had been very important in improving delivery of the health extension packages. Some household respondents also noted that, despite their initial doubts, they had found the 1-5s to be useful, especially for exchanging ideas about farming. However, a few kebele respondents complained that the 1-5s were not operating as they are supposed to, because the community members still prefer to focus on their own individual activities or traditional means of interaction within their communities, rather than contributing to the work of the 1-5s. Furthermore, some respondents noted that some leaders are too old and poorly trained and consequently are unable to lead their teams effectively.

#### The party

Almost 99% of the community are members of the ruling party. This has greatly increased in recent years. The annual party membership contribution is 14 birr, an increase from 12 birr in 2011 (2004EC). The members of the central committee meet every month. There is also a meeting every month for the political party and all its members participate. Everyone in the kebele participates because they are all members. According to the kebele administration, there is no punishment if they do not come.

The kebele chair said too much work was done by the kebele administration and party mainly to organise 1-s and DTs for the use of BBM, planting in line, work on the watershed; the kebele leaders were made models by practising all the above. Party leaders have meetings every 2 months and collect reports from the cabinet, security head, DA, HEWs and school head. They address political activity of each sector as well as evaluate their performance according to their report. The school, DA and HEW are mainly focused on development rather than politics. The kebele chair said the party has been doing its meetings very well and worked actively in encouraging the kebele to bring change in farming, health and other sectors. Party cells are different and separate from 1-5 and DTs. There might be 8 in a group or more – there is no limit and they are active in doing party activities.

The party's newsletter is distributed to the kebele at a cost of 0.50 birr for members. It is distributed to the community through the 1-5 teams. The newsletter is printed in Afaan Oromo. Those who can read Afaan Oromo, read it themselves and for the rest, the newspaper is read out loud by Development Teams and cells.

The party organisation is almost the same as the development structure. The leader of the development team is also a leader of a cell, the local political organisation. The main role of cell leaders is educating members about politics, getting the party magazine and newspaper, and discussing it with members. They meet each month. They also discuss the party's new ideas and rules issued at the top and which flow down to the community. They evaluate the party activities that they have undertaken, and they evaluate each other through *gimgema*. They are expected to build on their strengths and accept the weaknesses for improvement.

During the 2005 elections, different political parties were active and the community received some information about them through government media. Kinijit (the Coalition for Unity and Democracy - CUD) also distributed leaflets and brochures which explained their objectives. However, people in the community did not have a clear understanding of the different parties and the programmes that they proposed. The political parties posted their symbols and pictures of their nominees on the walls of the streets. They also called meetings, although there were few attendees.

Meanwhile, the members of the ruling EPRDF disseminated information through radio programmes, TV and a government newsletter to mobilise the community. There were general meetings and group meetings for members to elaborate the strategies and plans of the party. The competition between the political parties created tensions and some confusion among the community. Some people were not sure which party to vote for. Despite this, there was no conflict. In the end, the EPRDF was declared the winner of the election.

In 2010, the number of people who were interested and registered for the election increased compared to 2005. The kebele officials worked with the wereda to mobilise the community and to raise awareness about the need to participate in elections. Members of the ruling party worked intensively to increase membership of the party and its supporters, since there are some people who would like to vote for the party, but who do not want to be members.

The result was a peaceful election process with less tension than in 2005. The location of the polling centres was announced through the iddir and kebele officials some days before the election. Although there were opposition parties in other local towns and villages, there was no opposition party in Sirba. The community had insufficient information on the other parties.

The 2013 election was the most peaceful of the elections. The government mobilisations started a long time ago. The community were informed about the development progress of the ruling party in different parts of the country, and most people went along with the policies and programmes of the ruling party. During the 2013 election, there was no opposition party registered to participate in the election. The only party that participated was the OPDO (Oromo People's Democratic Organisation). The leaders of this party at the kebele level mobilised the community to participate in the election. They used the 1-5 team members, development team leaders, iddir and other social gatherings as tools to disseminate important information about the rules and regulations and about the locations and opening hours of the polling stations. People were reminded about the election a week before. On the day before, they were also reminded by cell leaders and one-to-five groups.

The two fieldworkers had hoped to observe the election itself. However, one of the guides, who is a relative of the kebele vice-chairman, advised them that the wereda would not be happy about their presence as they were not officially assigned as election observers. As such, all information about the election day is based on the reports of their guides. Observers with no kebele authority were selected from the community and they came on time, before 6am. Voters queued to vote and the voting process finished at 10 am. In the meantime, observers from the wereda came by car to observe the process and then went to the neighbouring kebele. With the exception of people who were sick or on maternity rest, almost everyone took an election card and voted at the right time. There was no disturbance.

#### *Kebele committees*

There are committees on: security, the political party, the social court and the main kebele committee. The main committee is most active. If any of these committee members are found to be reluctant to execute their responsibilities, they will be replaced by election.

#### *Kebele chair*

The current chair has worked for two years at the kebele office. The previous chairman was removed from office because he had problems with administration and he was suspected of corruption, in

particular selling land. The former chairman has now bought a house and a Bajaj in Debre Zeit. However he still lives in the kebele and ploughs land.

Last year supporters of the former chair were threatening the new kebele administrators and the current chairman claims that they beat him up one night. When the new administration mobilised people for public works like terracing, the former chair was telling people not to obey the new administration. He was also supporting the youth in 'gambling' around the villages and disturbing village security. The kebele chair said only 3 households that are closer to the earlier kebele chair are supporting him still but the rest are now in good communication with the current administration. Above all the vice is considered as innocent and it is mentioned he leaves his work for community issues at all times.

The current chairman suggests that the kebele administrators should not be able to work for more than five years. He believes that if any leader stays for more than one term he learns how to steal. The other problem he sees is that the wereda has the mandate to promote or demote any chair elected by the community. As a result, someone who steals can give some money to the Ada'a wereda leaders and they become chairman. Sometimes the wereda suddenly demotes somebody and appoints someone else without consulting the community.

The current chairman is a successful farmer involved in crop production and bull fattening. He is also an Agafari (speaker of the sorcery) for the Waka Efata (traditional religious leader) in a neighbouring kebele.

#### *Kebele cabinet*

The urban kebele cabinet has eight members and the rural kebele cabinet has seven members. The cabinet members are: chairman, vice-chairman, security head, women, youth and children's affairs office head, HEW, headteacher and the DA. The kebele manager is also a member of the urban cabinet, but not the rural cabinet. The rural and urban cabinets have the same positions but different members. Members of the cabinets have some difficulty in combining their kebele work and their own farming activities, because their kebele responsibilities take up a lot of their time.

The Kebele chair said that the kebele cabinet began to evaluate its own work every 2 weeks and there is discussion every month with the community and on the way government policies are disseminated to the community.

#### *Government employees*

The headteacher is 39 and from Delo/Denkaka kebele, a nearby kebele in the same wereda. All of the HEWs and DAs are from neighbouring kebele and wereda except one HEW who is from Harar. Their ages range between 22 and 42. Both HEWs interviewed for the research are female. The DA focusing on livestock is female, while the other two DAs and the vet are male. Although respondents reported that the HEWs have good relations with the community, several respondents complained that the HEWs are not working effectively and they have seen no activity in health extension in the last two years. One of the poor farmers said that he has received no assistance from the DAs, because they prefer to focus their activities on wealthy farmers.

#### *Government volunteers*

#### *Kebele council*

The kebele council has 315 members, of which 150 are women. The previous council had 300 members of which only 60 were women. According to the kebele manager the kebele council meets every month on the 19th. However, another respondent said that it only meets once every two months, while the successful farmer, a council member, said that there were only three meetings the previous year. The agendas of these meetings focus on the kebele work in general and evaluation of the administrators. According to the kebele manager, every member is actively

involved and no one misses these meetings. The members are courageous and evaluate any kebele leader and any mistake.

#### *Kebele manager*

The kebele manager is 26 and originally from Sirba. He has been in his position for the past two years. He plans to continue for one more year, and then start working on his own farm using irrigation from a water well and motor pump. He previously studied for a diploma in Human Resources in Debre Zeit private college. He enjoys working for his own community and he would like to continue to assist the kebele after he leaves office. He has the responsibility of coordinating the agricultural and health extension programmes, but he says that the extension workers do not cooperate with him when he tries to coordinate their work. As a result he is often in conflict with them. He says that the cabinet and committees are working well, they have meetings every week and they evaluate their work. They are committed and the work is done on time. He has a good working relationship with the cabinets and committees.

His relationship with the kebele chair is also very good. They have a division of authority in which the chairman signs any letter, and based on that signature, the kebele manager adds the stamps. On the whole, he enjoys very good relations with the community. The only challenge is that when people rent land, they bring the contract to him to get a stamp, but he has to tell them that he is not mandated to sign, only the kebele chairman. This makes them unhappy and frustrated and they demand him to do it for them.

The kebele manager was praised by one respondent for his efficiency. He is reported to be easily available and to have made the office work well. In the past people had to wait until Sunday to be able to get hold of the kebele chairman. Now they can get hold of the manager at any time.

There is also a kebele manager in the town Udie who has been changed in June 2013 with a new man taking the position.

#### *Women's Organisations*

According to the wereda respondent, there are women's leagues and federations in every kebele in the wereda. However, none of the respondents from the kebele was a member of any of the women's organisations. One respondent had been a member of the women's association but had left because she did not have the time to participate. Most respondents were not aware that such organisations even exist.

#### *Youth Organisations*

There is no youth association or any other formal kebele youth organisation. None of the respondents was a member of any youth organisation. Youth leagues and a youth federation have existed since 2011 (2004EC), but none of these is functioning because they have no leaders. The researcher found a youth club established by the youth themselves. This club currently has 42 members of whom 22 are girls. The leader of the club said that he is trying to act in areas such as rape, abduction, migration of young girls to Arab countries, and unemployment. They also try to provide information to the youth about the credit and saving services and other job opportunities in the kebele. The youth club has a centre constructed and equipped by an NGO called RATSON, which was opened two weeks previously. The members of the club have free access to computers, musical instruments, a tape recorder, TV and a stage where they perform their art. The club members write poems, stories and perform dramas.

The respondent said that 90 youths are registered to participate in volunteer activities in the kebele. For example, there was an event at wereda level to commemorate the Meles Zenawi. The youth from the kebele participated in a poetry competition and art performances. The youth leader wrote 20 pages of poems about Prime Minister Meles and he won the poetry competition. He was rewarded with 600birr. The youth also participate in different art performances organised by NGOs

such as RATSON. This NGO printed the respondent's poetry in a magazine of the NGO about harmful tradition practices against women and children.

Finally, the youth club leader said that they would benefit from skill trainings such as hairdressing, food preparation, business, woodwork and metalwork so that they could create job opportunities for themselves and other community members. If this happened, they would not spend their time in drinking houses and gambling. He would also like well-trained leaders at the youth centre, teaching materials and other incentives so that many young men and women would want to spend their time there.

### *Security and policing*

Respondents reported that common problems with security included: occasional livestock thefts, which are suspected to be the work of thieves from neighbouring communities; drunk men fighting after spending too long in local bars; pickpockets in Ude market; occasional burglaries; and sexual attacks, as previously discussed in section 5.

For the past few years, the militia (tataki) and more recently the 1-5 groups have been patrolling the community at night. Many respondents credit these patrols with a reduction in livestock theft and fighting. The militia now stops men from staying in local bars after 10pm.

Respondents mentioned that a beauty salon and a mobile phone shop in Ude had both been burgled, and the wife of the successful businessman said that she had lost 2,000 birr and 3,000 birr in two separate burglaries on her business.

While the researchers were conducting fieldwork a man was arrested for the murder of an Isuzu driver and the theft of the household furniture that he was transporting. The man brought the furniture to his house in Sirba. His house was searched by the wereda police and they held his wife, who was apparently unaware of his stealing, until he gave himself up.

There are now more militias in the kebele to keep the peace and security. Those serving before April were dismissed as they were evaluated by the community and kebele officials as ineffective in keeping the peace and security. Some were not found in their duty place and they were not effective in reporting cases and resolving security problems on time. Now 15 new militias have been assigned at kebele level.

There was a 2 day *gimgema* for the security committee for 2 days and the head of justice and administration was demoted due to low performance. The militia said that the leader was not co-ordinating them and there have been increasing rates of gambling, theft and burglary. A new head was chosen from the militia; the wereda justice office appointed him and there was no election or consultation with the community.

### *Justice*

When there are disputes, elders usually make the first attempt at dispute resolution. However one of the development team leaders said that he first tries to resolve disputes that occur within his team and only refers the case to elders if he is unable to solve the problem. If elders cannot resolve disputes or one of the parties is unwilling to accept their mediation, the case is referred to the social court. None of the respondents reported any cases heard by elders, the social court or the wereda court. However, each of these institutions has a good reputation in the community for acting fairly.

## **Community leaders**

### *Ethnic group leaders*

None.

*Clan leaders*

None.

*Elders*

The folea are the leaders drawn from the ruling age group in the Gadaa system. The kussa is the leader of the folea. The Etimeko or cultural police are given instructions by the folea to ensure that people respect the customs of the community. The folea are highly respected community leaders. Their main responsibilities include: resolving conflicts, giving blessings and punishing men who are found to have had an affair with a widow. After customary punishment, they approve such relationships, announcing the couple as husband and wife.

*Religious leaders*

The Orthodox Christian leader interviewed works at Emanuel church, where most of the community go to worship. He believes that the young nowadays are not obedient and are not educated in good behaviour.

## Annex 1: Seasonal work calendars

### Seasonality of activities 2005 EC (2012-13 GC): Sirba

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
Weather	Rainy and dry seasons	Rain							Dry	Dry		Rain	Rain
	Heat, frost, wind etc		Frost	Frost				Heat	Heat	Wind			
Income streams: high..hungry season		Hungry season			High season	High season	High season						
School/college terms		Opening									Closing		
Major holidays/festivals 2012/13		New year	Meskel and Erecha	Christmas		Epiphany			Easter				
Work on main cash crop	Land preparation								Ploughing	Ploughing			
	Planting										Planting	Planting	
	Weeding	Wedding											Weeding
	Harvesting			Harvesting	Harvesting								
	Selling				✓	✓	✓	✓					
Work on other rainfed crops	Land preparation												
	Planting												
	Weeding												

SIRBA Community Situation 2013

		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
	Harvesting												
	Selling												
Work on irrigated crops	Land preparation												
	Planting												
	Weeding												
	Harvesting												
	Selling												
Livestock-related work	Fattening cattle/shoats				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
	Milk production	This has no season											
	Other livestock products												
Other farm-related work e.g. fencing, terracing									✓	✓			
Community work mobilised by government										✓	✓		
Government meetings – officials, model farmers, community...		Unpredictable and has not specific time											
Non-farm work	Trade and related business	Has no season											
	Manufacturing	Has no season											

SIRBA Community Situation 2013

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		Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	June	July	Aug
	Services	Has no season											
Commuting for work													
Male migration	Seasonal			In migration of harvesters	In migration of harvesters								
	Not seasonal												
Female migration	Seasonal												
	Not seasonal												
Other?													