

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS
IN RURAL ETHIOPIA: WIDE3 STAGE 3**

STAGE 3 ANNEX 2
COMMUNITY STORIES 1991-2013

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Mokoro

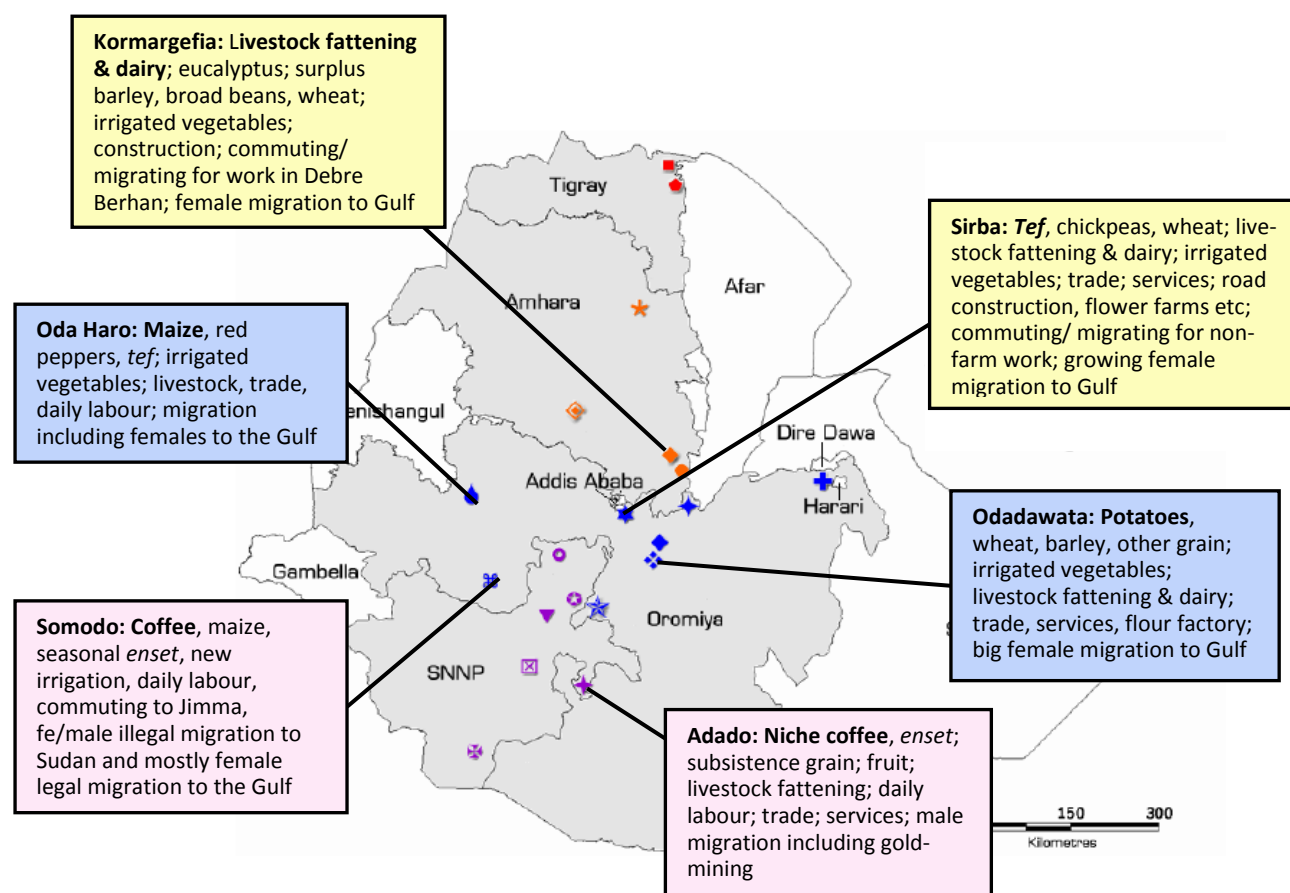

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1. Introduction.....	1
2. The story of Adado, Bule wereda, Gedeo zone, SNNP	2
2.1. Adado in imperial times	2
2.2. Adado during the Derg	3
2.3. Adado in the early 1990s.....	4
2.4. Adado 1995 - 2003	7
2.5. Adado 2003 - 2013	10
3. The story of Somodo, Mana wereda, Jimma zone, Oromia	21
3.1. Somodo in imperial times.....	21
3.2. Somodo during the Derg	21
3.3. Somodo in the early 1990s.....	21
3.4. Somodo 1995 - 2003	22
3.5. Somodo 2003 - 2013	27
4. The story of Oda Haro, Bako wereda, West Shewa zone, Oromia.....	39
4.1. Oda Haro in imperial times.....	39
4.2. Oda Haro during the Derg	39
4.3. Oda Haro in the early 1990s	39
4.4. Oda Haro 1995 - 2003	40
4.5. Oda Haro 2003 - 2013	44
5. The story of Oda Dawata, Tiyo wereda, Arssi zone, Oromia	56
5.1. Oda Dawata in imperial times	56
5.2. Oda Dawata during the Derg.....	56
5.3. Oda Dawata in the early 1990s	57
5.4. Oda Dawata 1995 - 2003	57
5.5. Oda Dawata 2003 - 2013	61
6. The story of Sirba, Ada'a wereda, East Shewa zone, Oromia	72
6.1. Sirba in imperial times.....	72
6.2. Sirba during the Derg.....	72
6.3. Sirba in the early 1990s	73
6.4. Sirba 1995 - 2003.....	77
6.5. Sirba 2003 - 2013.....	80
7. The story of Kormargefia, Basona Werana wereda, North Shewa zone, Amhara	89
7.1. Kormargefia in imperial times	89
7.2. Kormargefia during the Derg.....	90
7.3. Kormargefia in the early 1990s	90
7.4. Kormargefia 1995 - 2003	92
7.5. Kormargefia 2003 - 2013	94

1. Introduction

This Annex presents brief narratives of continuity and change in each community from as far back as we have data for each to 2013. The evidence base supporting it includes the Community Situation Reports 2013 (Evidence Base 2) and WIDE1 (1995 for Adado, Kormagefia, and Sirba) and WIDE2 (2013) which are both summarised in Evidence Base 3.

Map 1 The Six Stage 3 communities



Map 1 situates the six Stage 2 communities in Ethiopia; the colour-coding identifies similar livelihood systems. We present the stories of the communities in order of their remoteness (Table 1). The two coffee-producing communities are the most remote: Adado in Gedeo has poor road linkages to Dila on the main Addis-Kenya road and Somodo is 17 km from Jimma. Kormagefia is peri-urban on the current edge of Debre Berhan. Sirba is on the road between Debre Zeit and Mojo in the industrialising and urbanising corridor.

Table 1: The six stage three communities: location, livelihood, ethnicities and religions

REGION	PLACE	LOCATION	LIVELIHOOD	ETHNICITIES	RELIGIONS
SNNP	Adado	Remote, very small 'urban centre'	Niche coffee and <i>enset</i> ; male migration incl for gold-mining; daily labour; growing trade, services, livestock fattening	100% Gedeo	95% Protestants; 5% Muslims
Oromia	Som-odo	Peri-urban nr Jimma; roadside devt	Coffee , maize, seasonal <i>enset</i> ; trade; new irrigation; daily labour; commuting to Jimma; male and female migration to Sudan & (more female) Arab countries;	81% Oromo, 18% Yem, 1% Dawro	85% Muslims (<i>wehabi</i> and <i>sofia</i>); 10% Orthodox Christians; 5% Protestants
Oromia	Oda Haro	Remotish; adjacent to expanding small town	Cash crops: maize , red peppers, <i>tef</i> , irrigated vegetables (70 has); livestock; daily labour; trade; increasing female migration to Middle East (35 per annum) & and fe/male to Sudan	>99% Oromo	65% Protestants, 35% Orthodox Christians; 10% Muslims (<i>wehabi</i> and <i>sofia</i>); 1% traditional religion <i>kallu</i>
Oromia	Oda Dawata	Remotish; adjacent to expanding small town	Cash crops: potatoes , wheat, barley, other surplus grain; irrigated vegetables (60has); livestock; daily labour; trade; flour factory and other employment; 800 female migrants in M East; increasing illegal male migration to M East and Sudan	80% Oromo; 19% Amhara; 0.5% Gurage; rest from different places	Muslim Arssi Oromo 70%; Orthodox Christian Shewa Oromo 10%; Orthodox Amhara 19%; 1% Protestant
Oromia	Sirba	Industrialising & urbanising	Cash crop: tef , chickpeas, lentils, wheat; livestock; irrigation; daily labour; trade; road construction, flower farm, blocket factory etc employment incl commuting; 32 female migrants in M East	89% Oromo; 8% richer Amhara and Tigrayans; 2% poor Kembata & Welayta; 2 <i>ferenjes</i>	Almost all Orthodox Christians; a few Protestants and a very few Muslims recently rented houses
Amhara	Kormar-gefia	Peri-urban nr Debre Berhan + remotish	Cash sources: livestock fattening and products; eucalyptus; surplus barley, broad beans, wheat; irrigation (26% hhs); daily labour; construction; commuting/migrating to DB factories; 20 female migrants to M East 2013 – total 40	95% Amhara; 5% Oromo	100% Orthodox Christians

2. The story of Adado, Bule wereda, Gedeo zone, SNNP

Adado, in Gedeo zone, is 10km from Bule and 25km from Dila and located in a mountainous area at around 7,000 feet. Good rainfall and a cool environment make it suitable for *enset* and *the* slopes have been used to grow coffee for many years. The population is 100% Gedeo.

A very old woman said the imperial regime was a bad time: too much work and not enough to eat. The Italians forced them to work without payment. During the Derg they worked for themselves and children went to school. The TPLF was best since youth were not taken forcibly to the warfront.

2.1. Adado in imperial times

The Gedeo had a communal form of social and political organisation based on the seven Gedeo clans which each had a specific role. The organisation was headed by an Aba Gada, Aba Rogas or zone heads, justice bodies, and local elders' councils which were replaced every eight years. The neftegna-gebbar system was introduced in the Gedeo area though in areas that submitted

peacefully local chiefs were installed. During the 1920s Amhara landlords took over traditional lands and some Gedeo migrated to unoccupied forested lands. *Iddir* were introduced.

During the Italian occupation maize, planting in rows, iron hoes, seasonal trading of products and buying of manufactured products in towns, *equb* and *mehber* were introduced. People were exempted from taxes. Following the return of the Emperor in 1941 the settlers returned and evicted some Gedeo on the grounds they were traitors. Measures were taken to Christianise the Gedeo and some converted to Orthodox Christianity. Between 1944 and 1959 those evicted organised to retain their land through court action and people withheld taxes from the new landlords and finally retained their land. At the same time they were not allowed to work outside the community.

In the 1940s and 50s the Gedeo intensified the cultivation of coffee which brought them into conflict with settlers who were struggling to bring new lands under their control. From the early 1950s there were attacks on the settlers' houses and property. *Chat* and sugarcane were introduced in 1953. Protestant missionaries arrived in Gedeo in the early 1950s and established Bible and elementary schools. The Gedeo clashed with the Ethiopian army at Michile hill near Dila in 1960 killing 68 soldiers; *neftenya* passing through Adado on the way to the warfront killed a few people and looted property. The *neftenya* won the war and arrived again in Adado. Church leaders were accused of inciting people against the government, church gatherings banned, and some Gedeo forcibly re-settled in Guji Oromo territories.

The main Addis-Dila-Kenya road was completed in the 1970s. Coffee and *enset* were greatly damaged by frost in 1967 and crop diseases in 1968 and 1974. Soil fertility reportedly began to decline around 1973. There were conflicts with the Guji in 1974 leading some who had settled there to return to the PA. The Gedeo and Guji had a long-standing special relationship involving exchange of *enset* for livestock, but it was sometimes marked by violent conflicts over land and borders.

2.2. Adado during the Derg

The fall of Haile Selassie first led to improvements such as land reform. The small Muslim community founded a school in 1975. In 1976 the government started forced conscription and to mitigate this they started underage marriage. Some families hid in the forests to stop the husband from being taken for war. There was another outbreak of coffee disease in 1977. In 1983 there was a major famine including an *enset* scare.

In 1977 a Service Co-operative was organised. In 1980 people were forced to be members of a producer co-operative against their will. The farming and forest land of those who refused was given to those who had agreed. Co-operative members were highly favoured in the provision of credit, selected seeds, fertilisers and other inputs. The co-operative was abandoned in 1990.

People attended the literacy programme, the community built a school and the government provided teachers; in 1986 they built a Health Centre and the government supplied drugs and health workers. These services were not considered to be useful as the school provided a poor education, the health centre was expensive but had not cured people, the Service Co-operative did not provide the services which the community needed and the development agents did not help them increase production once bringing in very low production seeds. There was access to credit.

The *kebele* leadership committee represented the government at local level; it collected taxes, recruited conscripts and monitored the quota system. The traditional community leaders and elders had no political roles; they conducted ritual ceremonies and settled disputes. The political leadership tried to undermine them. In 1984 people were forbidden from worshipping in Protestant churches and the church was used as the PA office.

The quota system and price controls discouraged coffee growers from freely marketing their coffee and acted as a disincentive to development efforts. Wheat was introduced and more maize, sugarcane and *chat* were grown to circumvent the quotas and low price of coffee. The other

problem farmers faced was land tax of 40 *birr*. About 100 men were conscripted into the army and about 70 returned as did two EPRDF fighters. There was no villagisation or re-settlement in Adado. Migration to Shakiso for gold-mining began in 1988.

2.3. Adado in the early 1990s

After the EPRDF came to power they set up the Gedeo Peoples' Democratic Organisation but the rich people who led it did not follow EPRDF rules. The GPD Movement was then established and there was a big conflict involving deaths. The GPDO went to the bush and started a Front and more people died.

Gedeo zone in SNNP was created in 1995. Initial boundary lines between Oromia and SNNPR located much Guji Oromo territory in SNNPR. When the local Guji's appeal against this failed there were violent clashes between Guji and Gedeo in which about 100 people were killed including 12 from Adado. Gedeo zone was one of the most highly populated areas in the country. In Adado the population was 100% Gedeo. In 1992 there 365 households, 20 female-headed and about 100 without land. There had been no land re-distribution under the TGE.

The soil was fertile and the altitude *weyna dega*. The PA covered 800 hectares: 300 has of *enset*; 200 has of coffee; 120 has of forested land; 60 has for housing; 20 has of grazing land; 100 has for various crops. Tree cover which was 90% in the past was down to 10%. Erosion was prevented by the perennial crops; terracing had been introduced as a communal activity but was seen as imposed. There was a health clinic, two schools, a *kebele* office, SC office and shop, a coffee washing plant and 25 tin-roofed houses. A marketplace had been built with the help of the elders and *kebele* and there were two market days a week.

Dila had become the centre of trade activities and people used the health centre, high school, and junior agri-technical institute. Dila had electricity, piped water and hotels. Adado did not have electricity. Adado was 5 km from Sokitcha and 13 km from Bule on the same road; there was no transport. There was transport to Dila in private cars and the feeder road network in the zone had been expanded to cope with the coffee trade. The community worked on roads every year.

There were no clearly defined *belg* and *meher* seasons and the *meher* was not at the same time as in other places. Rain was not so severe as to cut places off from each other. The economy was based on the production of two main crops: *enset* and coffee. Women harvested *enset* throughout the year and the coffee harvest was between November and January. The areas above 8,000 feet were suitable for growing barley, *tef* and wheat. Other crops were sorghum, maize, *chat*, beans and peas. Prices had been rising.

Average landholdings were very small (0.3 has for annual crops and 0.37 for permanent production) and there were 100 landless households. Land was a crucial factor in wealth. People could access land through inheritance, renting, purchasing and share-cropping. The rich had many land plots, sufficient coffee and *enset*, cash savings, tin-roofed houses, produced a wide range of products, engaged in trade, and could afford daily labourers. Middle-wealth farmers worked day and night to compete with the rich. Poor households had many children, small plots and some did daily labour. Very poor men had no land, very poor shelter, did daily labour, would steal, and had to migrate to goldmines. Internal differentiation had started in the second half of the 20th century as agriculture became commercialised. There was an emerging divide between rich farmers and the daily labourers they employed and between subsistence farmers (still the majority) and those involved in coffee trading.

Coffee recently increased from 2 *birr* to 17 *birr* a kg due to the government's free market policy and a *kocho* load from 10 *birr* to 80 *birr*. 90% of coffee and 10% of *enset* were sold. Coffee was sold to the Service Co-operative; they washed it and prepared it for sale to the international market. Dried

coffee for local consumption was sold to rich coffee businessmen in Dila who had coffee processing machines. Fruit was sometimes sold.

Local technology was dominated by hoe and digging-stick cultivation with ploughing only appropriate for grain production; 92% of farmers had no ox. Farmers used manure to increase soil fertility. People wanted new coffee production technology and improved seeds. Some people watered *enset* using canals and privately-owned ponds. Most crops were carried to market on men's back though a few households had mules or horses.

Livestock constituted an important economic asset although numbers were limited; some household heads fattened livestock at home mainly sheep. There was share-rearing. Vaccination and cross-breeding were not common.

The agricultural extension package was introduced in 1993. There was an Agricultural Development Centre and Extension Agent for 9 PAs including Adado. Ten innovative contact farmers had been selected based on inclination and ability to adopt improved techniques and were taught by the agent. Each had a group of 46 follower farmers who were visited with technical advice once every two weeks. A young man from the community had been trained for a month and assisted the agent. Extension services did not address the problems of coffee berry disease, two *enset* diseases and diseases affecting wheat, barley and maize.

Share-cropping was practised for the cultivation of *enset* and cereals but people preferred family or hired labour for coffee. Daily labourers collecting coffee between 8am and 1pm and weeding were paid 2 *birr*. There were large work groups with food and drink and smaller reciprocal groups for clearing land and grain cultivation. However, the role of groups had decreased. It was taboo for males to take part in *enset*-based food production.

There had been seasonal trading since 1935. Men sold cattle, sheep, grain, coffee, *areke*, and *tella*. Recently women had begun to sell *enset*, green coffee, cabbage, food, *areke*, and *tella*. A few blacksmiths selling knives and hoes had started operating.

Men migrated to look for land in neighbouring areas returning after long intervals to visit and take care of coffee and *enset* plants left behind. After the coffee harvest and trading season landless men migrated to work on government goldmines or prospect for themselves. Migrating to Gujiland for support was a crisis-survival strategy.

Saving of cash for handling crises was more common in Adado than elsewhere in rural Ethiopia. There were *equb* among retail traders and a group called *edigret* (development) which only happened once a year.

Men were of prime importance and the sole authority in households although women were responsible for *enset*. Women, girls and sometimes small boys fetched wood and water. Fathers helped with domestic chores during late pregnancy and after birth. The SC sold blankets, sugar, salt, umbrellas, sickles and stationery. People from the richest households wore conspicuous clothes.

The local elite included traditional leaders, PA leaders and wealthy people. They were linked with elites in neighbouring PAs in coffee trading and also politically. Blacksmiths, tanners and potters lived with others but there was no inter-marriage. Traditionally they could not own land but some now did.

The clinic provided family planning but the uptake was very small. There was a Grade1-6 school in the *kebele* and G7-8 in Bule. An estimated 20% of boys and 8% of girls were enrolled but attendance was irregular. Total cost was 64 *birr*. The education was poor so most pupils could not attend higher education; in the previous year 3 boys and 1 girl had attended secondary school in Dila. Only one man from Adado had graduated; he had a health diploma and worked in a wereda health office.

Marriages were arranged by parents or through abduction or elopement only recognised as official when 90 *birr* bridewealth was paid and elders had mediated. Couples lived with the husband's parents for a year and then his father built a house and gave him some land. Polygyny was still significant though decreasing under the influence of Christianity and economic pressure.

Women could earn small incomes selling *enset* and *kocho* in the local market. They had no land rights; the 21 female-headed households were headed by widows using land inherited by their children. Widows could re-marry and lose all property and children, live with their children, or marry their husband's brother. Widowers might marry their wife's sister. Divorce was not desirable but easily accepted; the wife left empty-handed and the children stayed with the father. In 1991 the rights of women to be organised and attend meetings were announced.

People ate *enset* and cabbage all year and barley, maize, beans and meat between October and April. The hungry season was in September. Two rivers and five springs provided abundant water but none of it was safe. There were no latrines. Typhoid and TB were problems. There were 15 traditional doctors, 10 bone-setters and 10 TBAs and local injectors and illegal health workers about 3 km from the village. The clinic was said to provide public health services, first aid and drugs, though there were shortages. It was open 24 hours a day and cost 3 *birr* a visit. There was no doctor or nurse. There was a private doctor, pharmacy and hospital in Dila.

Traditional beliefs in the Sky God, natural objects and geographic features with superhuman powers revolved around a desire for protection against calamities and misfortune. There was a great respect for ancestors. All religious and ritual performances were carried out by the Aba Gada and Aba Roga assisted by the elders of the clans depending on the roles they were assigned. Elders prayed to their gods if rain was delayed. After the fall of the Derg people had the right to participate in any religion. 90% of people belonged to Protestant churches: Kale Hiwot, Mulu Wengel and Mekane Yesus. Only 2% were Orthodox Christians and 5% were Muslims. All groups peacefully co-existed.

There were important social and economic obligations associated with clans and lineages. The once-strong Gada tradition had been increasingly eroded although there had been a change since the fall of the Derg as government sometimes consulted traditional community leaders about the community's welfare and interests. There were different hierarchical levels of elders' councils including one at PA level. The good coffee prices had enabled people to establish self-help associations such as *equb*, *iddir*, and associations for house building. *Iddir* supported people in illnesses, death, fire losses and marriage and were important in dispute resolution.

The TGE Peace and Stability Committee was elected in 1992. In 1993 there was recruitment for the police force and local militia and in 1994 for a local political cadre of farmers. In 1995 there was discussion about the Constitution, election of the local *kebele* administration, recruitment for the militia and for the national army. PA leaders were getting wealthier; it was claimed not because they were elite but because they worked hard.

Environmental public works were regarded as imposed rather than self-initiated and motivated. The quota system had been removed and forest areas returned; farmers were given seedlings to plant. Land tax had been reduced to 25 *birr* but was still thought to be high and people resented the fact it was applied to plots rather than area. A farmer with no harvest bought soil wrapped in an *enset* leaf as his tax contribution. Some people said regionalisation heightened risks of conflict and hindered mobility. The land shortage was not being addressed and people said the government needed to provide policies to counteract poverty including off-farm unskilled jobs.

Thieves stole ripe coffee beans and processed *enset*. Elders could curse deviant people. The PA had local police, a prison and a court. Elders used to be key in dispute resolution but now people could choose for cases to be seen by the PA hierarchy. In 2003 there was recruitment of federal police officers and a national reserve police force was recruited. There was a lack of optimism about the

future expressed by one respondent as follows: 'When we think about the future it is difficult to see a solution'.

2.4. Adado 1995 - 2003

In 2003 there were 800 households though only 394 paid tax. Population was growing rapidly which was attributed to polygyny. Women might have 12 children or more; in 1991 there were fewer children in each household. Land pressure had led to a decrease in size of plots and increased land conflicts. There was share-cropping, often by rich farmers with more plots than labour.

There were markets every 2 days in Adado and nearby Basuro. There was a dryweather road from Dila to Bule and a dryweather road had been constructed to join Adado to this road which was maintained annually by community public work. Some land taken had not been compensated for and some people were unwilling to participate in the work arguing that the government did not 'co-operate with the people'. An all-weather road would have led to an increase in transport services. In 2003 the electricity line from the Dila-Bule road to Adado was under construction paid for by people's taxes.

The economic status of the community was deteriorating considerably, particularly since 2000. This was partly due to the fall in the price of coffee since 1996, partly to land shortages, and partly to the weather. There had been less rainfall since 2000. Average household incomes were considerably lower than they had been in 1995 as measured by the ERHS. The number of taxpayers went down from 500 to 394 in 2000. In good years 10-20% of people might be affected by food shortages for one month; in 2003 60-70% were affected for 6 months.

There were big differences between wealthy, poor and destitute people. Rich households had large coffee, *enset*, and maize plots, good/tin-roofed houses, modern furniture, good diets including milk and meat, gold watches and were involved in trade. Some had houses in Dila. They were healthy, employed labourers, helped and supported other people including lending them money. Destitute households had shabby huts and clothes (secondhand 1 set), no shoes, no bed, only garden land; both parents did labour work or begged for food and children did not go to school. Household members looked unhealthy and dirty. An estimated 70+% lived a hand-to-mouth life and about 2% lived well. The number of poor had been rising. Share-cropping and rearing allowed people to benefit from what they could offer: land and animals by rich and labour by poor. It stopped the poor from staying idle. Rich people benefited when people were asked to pay taxes and contributions at the same time as many had to sell many things; the rich bought them at low prices and sold them later at higher ones.

Enset took four years to mature. Avocadoes and bananas had been introduced. The Service Co-operative and huller were no longer operative and people carried their coffee a long way to private traders. There was no communal grazing land and most people did not breed livestock. Rich farmers practised fattening making 50-100 *birr* profit.

The agricultural DA co-ordinated the provision of improved maize and fertiliser. Farmers should pay 25% deposit and 75% after the harvest. Very few farmers participated and the numbers were not rising. Participants got a better yield but some said their land was spoiled. One of the package activities was fattening bulls. Farmers paid 200 *birr* and the government 520 and the after fattening for a few weeks the bull was sold and the government repaid.

Debo had declined as result greater emphasis being given to individual efforts including a preference for wage labour. Women's workgroups for preparing *enset* consisted of 3-8 women; food, preferably meat, was served at the end.

Men and boys were involved in trading coffee, kerosene etc. There was at least one tea-room and a brick-producing factory. In the early 1990s few women engaged in petty trade but by 2003 women were very busy augmenting household income including the sale of *kocho*. In 1998 and 99 there was

army recruitment related to the war against Eritrea. Male migration had increased. For many years land pressure had forced people to migrate in search of land, mainly to Shakiso in Guji and in slack times young men flocked there to work in the Government goldmine. There was no female migration.

Omo Credit started in 2000 providing micro-credit services from Bule town. Credit was used by rich farmers to fatten bulls, trade manufactured goods and for seasonal coffee trading and by others to fund hide tanning and retail trade. People mostly set up *equb* in the rainy season when money was short. There was no culture of saving and people spent their coffee income on weddings, food etc. There were annual *equb* for house construction: 6 members contributed annually and the total was given to one member each year.

Men were involved in farming and other out-door activities and led the household making the decisions on important issues like land and coffee. Wives were meant to raise children, fetch water and fuel, process *enset*, prepare food and obey the husband. They were not involved in sowing, planting or harvesting. In the past their only duties outside the home were processing *kocho* and collecting and chopping wood but in 2003 they collected coffee and did petty trade to augment the household's income. Poor women did domestic work for richer households.

The powerful people were kebele administrators, church leaders, elders and wealthy people. Notable people included large rich landowners, the kebele chair, merchants, church leaders and educated people. Respect was due to wise people, those who treated their family well and educated their daughters, those obedient to church rules and who spoke the truth. Hard-working poor farmers were respected. Craftworkers should live together and marry within their group; they were insulted and undermined but could share in any community activity and the benefits.

People did not approve of family planning and there were many children; some spent much of their time outside the home. The way children were raised depended on the economic status of the family. Well-to-do families fed and educated their children well.

The community had contributed labour and resources for school construction in 1996 and 2001 with NGO involvement. More children went to school than in 1993. However, education was expensive with one rich farmer saying he could only afford to send 2 of his 9 children. Children were sent at later ages and were often absent or dropped out in the harvest season or for petty trade; those who continued mostly dropped out after Grade 6, especially poor children whose parents could not afford to send them to Basura. Education was in Gedeofa and there was an agitation campaign for parents every August. Those who continued almost all failed Grade 8 but there was at least one Grade 10 female completer with no job.

Every son had the right to get land from his father on marriage; some men were also sharing land with their daughters. There was a Youth Association at *wereda* level and one person from Adado served there. There was no female circumcision among the Gedeo. A woman who killed her baby born out of wedlock had been sentenced to 7 years in prison.

Marriage was by parents' agreement, abduction or elopement; abduction used to be the most prevalent but had decreased since its banning in 1998 and rare cases of imprisonment. The usual age of marriage for men was 20 and women 16-18; due to education it had increased. Brideprices ranged from 200-700 *birr* and was increasing every year so the poor could not afford marriage and those with many daughters got good incomes. *Gada* had tried to limit it to 80 *birr* but this had failed. Church marriage forbidding dowry had been introduced. Polygyny was still common. Pregnant women should not carry heavy loads but there was no special food.

Respected women were married, had large landholdings, educated and/or rich son(s), helped poor people, worked at the church, kept themselves and their houses clean, and prepared good quality *kocho*. There were no interventions aimed specifically at women. Women's rights were beginning to

be respected. A woman had reported her violent husband to the kebele who made him pay some money for the children and share property. Divorce was common and easily accepted. There was one case of a woman who had divorced at *wereda* level. Widows reared their children using their husband's land but if there were no children the husband's relatives took the land. In the past women did not eat anything outside the home but now were eating at the market and in tea-rooms. Local women did not participate in any decision-making.

The main diet was *kocho* and cabbage; people had started to eat incompletely fermented *kocho* in bad times and pieces of meat like lungs and spleen usually considered inedible. Three water wells were dug in 2002 through community labour and funding from an NGO. Those living near them benefited as river water was dirty and springs unprotected. Those whose land had been taken had not been compensated. Some water sources were drying up in the dry seasons which could have been solved if there had been a shift system.

Health workers gave vaccinations and lessons about hygiene and sanitation. Due to the high price of clothes and increased population personal and environmental hygiene were deteriorating. In 2000, 2001, 2002 and 2003 there were polio vaccination campaigns but some mothers resisted them. Ten people had die of typhoid in 2003 and TB and HIV were also killing people. HIV/AIDS had arrived in the last five years and anti-AIDS lessons started in 2000. There was no testing centre in the *wereda*.

Rich people were using modern health services and poor people Traditional Health Practitioners. Several people noted the need for subsidies for poor people to get health services or fee rates to be fixed at a level which took account of the living standards of most people. The Adado health clinic was still not providing a good service; the health professionals were not usually available, sold medicine to private drug vendors and charged people more money than on the receipt. There was no supervision from the *wereda*.

There were several religions: Kale Hiwot, Mekane Yesus, Bahula, Alem Keranso, Muluwengel, Orthodox, Catholic and Muslim. The Kalehiwot church was founded in 1960 by elderly people from Dila church and other Protestant sects had followed. Over 95% were Protestant; services were held every Sunday, Wednesday and Friday and there were conferences outside Adado. Drinking alcohol, polygyny and adultery were forbidden and those breaking the marriage rules could be ostracised, though there were deviants. There were rarely religious tensions between Muslims and Christians. Church associations, established 15 years or so earlier, were like *iddir*; they co-operated during mourning, helped the sick and taught the bible. Clan *iddir* which had been established more than 50 years earlier had become less important with the establishment of church *iddir*. Clan members attended monthly meetings, made bi-monthly contributions and respected clan leaders' orders. Clan leaders were important and clans were involved in solving disputes about land and inheritance. Elders solved disputes over land and inheritance and between husbands and wives, fathers and children, religious groups, poor and rich, and employer and employee. The Gada system was the main source of socio-political and ritual leadership. It was neglected during the Derg but revived in 2002; a general meeting was called to establish the rules and regulations. In 2003 Gada administrators were assigned and the traditional rules made known to the community at large.

People in authoritative positions acted as bridges between the community and government. They collected taxes, co-ordinated development activities and managed village security. They needed to be invited for a drink in the pub by others. They tried to act in all matters and gave decisions expecting their orders to be obeyed.

Land tax at each of the three levels was increased in 2000 to 55, 42.50 and 32.50 *birr*; several people had sold assets to pay since the *kebele* asked for payment any time they wanted. Non-payment led to imprisonment. Only 394 of the 800 households paid tax. The community worked on school construction in 1996 and 2002 and built a house for the Development Agent in 2000. They

contributed labour and materials for the road and school and cash for the kebele and school construction.

The Gedeo People's Democratic Organisation was active before and during in the 2000 election; members were said to be harassed by police and government officials. There were rallies at kebele and district levels in support of the victory of the Gedeo Peoples' Democratic Movement. The two parties quarrelled during the kebele election and wereda representatives came and said that people could follow their political tendency without pressurising other people's rights. Harassment and illegal imprisonment had reportedly declined since 2000 though there were still problems. Even so one opposition party member was imprisoned and had his house dismantled and shop given to someone else; he was unable to lease land for farming and was afraid to go out in case something happened to him. Another member of the opposition party said he did whatever good deeds were ordered by the government and another that poor people and opposition party members were not allowed to participate in kebele decision-making meetings.

The war with Eritrea had led to a decline in economic activities. Local people sent representatives to the warfront and some died; they also contributed financially. There was a security problem and people could not move freely.

Militia kept the community's security night and day and thieves' activities were disrupted. If elders failed to solve any dispute the kebele took the problem. This role had been increasing and while there was suggestion this benefitted rich people as the judges took bribes and imprisoned people without court orders this corruption was said to have reduced recently.

In 2002 Gada leaders ordered the community to protect their traditions, values, norms, and traditional clothes and musical instruments. Returned migrants from Shakiso and other urban areas came back with new clothing and hairstyles and introduced dancing.

Interventions mentioned in order of frequency and benefits: road construction (9), vaccination and potable water (8), campaign for education (7), HIV/AIDS awareness (4), microcredit (2), agricultural extension (1). People requested potable water, electricity and allweather roads knowing the contribution these would make to overall development.

2.5. Adado 2003 - 2013

In 2013 the smallest landholding was less than 0.25 has and the largest 17. There were 1150 official households, 100 female-headed and 170 were said to be 'landless'; of these 50 had ½ ha and were registered to pay tax. There were an unknown number of landowners who lived elsewhere. Migrants could sell their land if they decided not to return. Share-cropping had been increasing and coffee plots could be rented for a year. Widows and older people mainly gave the land and mainly landless people provided the labour and inputs, though sometimes richer households did. Land measurement started in 2006 but there had been problems registering women especially if the husband had two wives. The Agricultural Growth Programme had started new mapping and measuring. There were 123 orphans with no parents. There was no communal grazing land.

On flat areas houses were organised in compact neighbourhoods while they were spread out on the mountainsides. All residents were Gedeo; 95% were Protestant and 5% Muslim many of whom lived near the mosque. There were a few areas with less access to government services. Linkages between rural and urban areas had increased. In the urban centre there were 36 houses, and 5 kiosks, 4 tea-houses, and 2 restaurants with more in other parts of the *kebele*. The marketplace was bigger. The only modern building was the health centre; the school (G1-8), Farmers' Union office and kebele office were old. The only way to get land in Adado town or along the road was to rent or buy clandestinely.

People went to Bule (10kms) to market, school to Grade 12, and for medical treatment and to Dila for prep school, TVET, coffee trading and to buy consumption goods. There were strong links with Shakiso in Guji (6 hours).

70% of households were connected to electricity though only 120 households had their own meters. Those not connected were in remoter areas or poor. Supply was not reliable in dry seasons. It was used for light, cooking and electronics in town and in the rural area for light, radios and mobile charging (those with meters). Markets were held in the evening and electricity was important. Mobile phones came in 2008 and by 2013 there were more than 200 used for calling and listening to radio and music. Only certain points in the school compound, union office and market had mobile network access.

The mountainous landscape made travel difficult; the road from Bule to Dila was gravel and often steep. The feeder road to Adado, which went from one end of the *kebele* to the other, was impassable at times in the rainy season. Most places did not have roads. Wereda people came to organise work on improving the road to Basuro and Sokicho in September; people were told they would be paid but finally nothing was given (people had been paid 30 *birr* a day for work in 2011). Wood and bamboo were contributed by the community. There were irregular car services from Bule to Dila. Four private motorbikes had recently been introduced (150 *birr* from Adado to Dila); they were used by richer farmers and businesspeople. Sick people used mules. All maintenance of the internal and feeder roads was done solely by the community. The narrowness and poor state of the internal roads seriously affected the community.

People were busy harvesting, trading and providing services during the coffee harvest between November and February. From February to April new *enset* and coffee seedlings were planted, existing *enset* and coffee plants were cultivated, and young men migrated to Shakiso for gold mining. Business people were less active as farmers' incomes were lower. By June most people had used up their savings and consumed their maize and were looking for credit.

Belg usually occurred between February and April while the main *meher* season was from June to mid-September. Fluctuations in rainfall season affecting coffee production were mentioned though others said seasons in the last 5 years had been better. No impacts of climate change were perceived except for one report of unusual malaria in 2012. In 2013 rain which usually stopped in September continued into November and it was heavier. This was good for *enset* but delayed coffee ripening making *cholera* more likely, barley and wheat grow less well, and weeds flourish.

Perennial plants conserved the soil and there had been no problems due to erosion or floods until September when heavy rain led to a landslide which destroyed coffee, *enset* and trees on about 7 hectares and the water pipe carrying potable water from the reservoir. Trees protected coffee from damage by heavy rain, wind or sun. Public work related to the mass watershed management initiative had been used to reduce erosion of roadsides. Canals and terraces had been made in some areas and elephant grass (which had died in the dry season) planted to prevent erosion. As part of the Sustainable Land Management Programme which started in 2012 free tree seedlings from the nursery were distributed in July.

An estimated 80% of household income came from farming, 8% from trade, 6% from migration, 3% from agricultural labour and 3% from non-farm business and employment. More than half of the households made their living only from farming. Those from richer and poorer families were most likely to be involved in non-farm activities. The local economy had grown during the period of improved coffee prices (from 2003 but particularly 2005-2011) which was evidenced by increasing expenditure. Since 2003 the proportions of very rich, rich and middle households had increased. Smallholder farming had improved in quantity and quality of production and the proportion of poor had decreased 'due to improved attention to work'. There were fewer destitute due to urban migration. Diversification into trade, services and livestock activities by richer farmers had increased.

However remaining poor and destitute households had not experienced significant livelihood change. The whole community was vulnerable to poverty if *enset* and coffee were to be damaged and community annual income was highly dependent on fluctuating international coffee prices. The price had fallen from 70 *birr* in 2010 to 37.5 in 2012. Food prices rose between April and October 2013; some prices stayed the same but the size of the item decreased.

95% of land was used for mixed farming of coffee and *enset*. On some of the remaining land farmers grew sorghum, vegetables and *tef* in the mountain area and mainly maize in the lower catchment area. Some of these products were sold in Adado market. There was no ploughing and cattle were kept mainly for fattening; sheep were also fattened and beehives hung in trees. People were growing less maize every year and covering their land with coffee and *enset* because those with empty land were forced to take problematic 'improved' seeds.

The amount of *enset* a farmer had was one indicator of wealth. Estimates of wealth distribution were that 5% were very rich, 10% rich, 44% middle, 35% poor, 5% very poor and 1% destitute. Very rich households had large land, better housing, large numbers of coffee and *enset* plants, livestock, TVs, and modern beds; their diets, clothes and shoes were better. Destitute people had no land and lived in huts made of *enset* leaves and survived mainly by begging. Roughly 6% of households employed agricultural labourers. A person without land was considered 'sub-human'.

There were nearly 100 disabled adults and children, 9 mentally ill people, nearly 150 orphans and 250 women heading households. The numbers of orphans and FHHs had been increasing. The number of PLWHAs was not known.

Enset was an extraordinarily important subsistence crop; its quality had improved. Households produced seedlings on their land easily replacing those affected by disease which had started in 2006. The other mainly subsistence crops were maize and small amounts of barley, sorghum, *boye*, sweet potatoes, cabbage, carrots, tomatoes, green peppers and onions. The wereda agriculture office had recently provided seeds of beetroot, cabbage cauliflower, salad leaves, and *boyna*. Avocados, guava and custard apples were common fruits and some grew bananas, peaches and mangos.

Maize production had decreased; in 2008 and 2012 the seeds were bad and there was no production. Farmers could not use inorganic fertiliser on land where coffee grew though they were forced to use improved maize seeds. When these seeds were planted among the coffee without fertiliser they did not yield much output and some secretly used the best seeds from their own production instead. Those with separate maize plots used fertiliser, though in 2012 it had burned the maize seeds due to lack of rain.

Coffee for the specialist international market was the main cash crop; new seeds and better harvesting procedures had improved production and productivity. Provision of coffee seedlings and the use of compost started in 2008 but the use of coffee seedlings from other areas had led to a new coffee disease and lower production. Recently people were produced seedlings of Adado origin which resisted the disease. An innovative farmer had started planting haricot beans with his seedlings to provide the necessary shade. There were new coffee seeds which gave a yield in three years; they produced more if not mixed with *enset* and only a few people had planted them. Coffee beans on the bushes in November 2013 had been affected by cholera related to heavy and prolonged rain and a very low output was expected.

The Adado Farmers' Union, re-established since 2008, had a coffee-processing site and bought fresh coffee; it was used by neighbouring PAs. Dry coffee was sold in Dila EXC. One estimate was that about 45% was sold fresh. In 2012 the Union had the co-operative had not bought a lot of fresh coffee as growers to sell on credit as they had little cash; also a nearby private investor had a better price. A recent audit report of the Union showed a loss of 2 million *birr* caused by 'inappropriate expenditure of money' though people said this statement covered up embezzlement by the previous

leaders. The new leaders had received management training through the AGP, and a *kebele* meeting in October had decided that in the upcoming harvesting season farmers should be banned from selling fresh coffee to anyone other than the Union. At the same time, six model farmers with large farmland and good work interest are to be the beneficiaries of a new arrangement to sell their coffee for a better price to foreigners.

Small amounts of maize, *enset*, spices, chat, vegetables and fruit were sold in Adado or Bule to fund the purchase of basic consumables like salt. Occasionally *tef* was sold in Dila. Production of *boyna* had increased as people were using compost on it and more was being sold. Bean production had improved and beans were becoming a good source of income. About 40 people sold *chat* and prices had increased. The quantity of fruit sold had increased and more fruit trees were being planted. Eucalyptus was sold.

Farming technology was still totally manual. Hoeing was necessary for a coffee plant to grow well. In 2013 34 households planted maize in lines but the poor improved seeds had produced small plants and harvests. River catchments were unsuitable for irrigation without the use of pumps. People near rivers fetched water in jerry cans to water vegetables in the dry season and in April twelve people had dug water wells for this purpose. By November 150 households were involved in homestead watering.

There were about 1500 cattle, 3000 sheep, 50 goats, chickens and 120 traditional beehives. There was no grazing land and only a few had small individual plots so the animal population was said to be declining. Mostly cattle ate *enset* leaves and trunk, sugarcane, cut grass, and fodder prepared from crop byproducts. Some people bought *firshka*. Shoats ate residues from household consumption. Since April the SLM had distributed fodder seeds and seedlings. People reared traditional and breed cattle; they bought Borena cattle from other places and there was natural insemination from a local breed bull. Short-term fattening of oxen, bulls and sheep was common; the rich fattened bulls, middle income fattened sheep and poor farmers share-reared. Fattened cattle were sold to traders in local markets who sold them on, some to Addis Ababa. Local consumption of shoats increased during the coffee harvest season and at festivals. Prices of skins and hides had risen. There were few dairy cattle and only smallscale sale of butter and milk; most milk was brought to local markets by Oromo.

The price of eggs had increased as there was more demand from small traders. Bee-keeping had expanded since 2003 and there was more untapped potential. The price of honey had increased 6-fold in the last 5 years. Since April 15 households had been organised for bee-keeping and AGP had given them four modern hives. There was a new idea to launch fishery from artificial ponds.

Extension advice, which was aimed at men and women heading households, came through various routes. The most effective was farmer experience-sharing followed in order of effectiveness by demonstrations on farmers' land, DTs and 1-5s, model farmers, training, general meetings and talks by wereda officials. There was no FTC. When new technologies and free resources came to the community model farmers were given priority.

DAs advised farmers to grow maize, beans and barley (in rows) in places not used for coffee and *enset*. They advised inter-cropping of beans and haricot beans and sowing less seeds to produce more. They taught how to produce vegetables and seedlings and mix suitable crops with coffee and *enset*. Their solutions for *enset* and coffee diseases were to uproot the plants and plant new ones. Most people ignored the DA advice on distance and depth of holes for coffee planting using their own ways. The wereda regularly supported the DAs to arrange awareness creation workshops on preparing coffee seedling nursery sites and how to harvest and transport coffee cherries without damaging them. *Enset* was not included in the agricultural extension programme.

Government provided free coffee seeds, coffee seedlings for payment, and fertiliser and improved maize seeds which were stored at the kebele and given for cash. Credit had stopped in 2012. Only

5% of farmers bought the inputs in 2012. The rest used cheaper local seeds and produced less; a few farmers tried to buy cheaper illegal fertiliser without expiry dates on the market. Fertiliser prices had increased from 200 *birr* in 2008 to 1,500 in 2012. In 2013 people who did not want to take improved maize seeds (on credit) and/or fertiliser were forced to; they were distributed in house-to-house visits. One DA did a germination test on the three types of maize seed; one did not grow at all; the second flowered but did not fruit and the third produced a small amount of yield. This was the fifth time there had been problems with the improved seeds. Even so he said he had to give the seeds to farmers and they would have to pay their debts during the coffee harvest or go to prison. The price of the inputs was more than the value of the outputs. He said the land was not fertile even with the use of fertiliser. DAs advised weeding rather than pesticides to avoid dependency. The farmers' Union had a shop and had distributed subsidised oil and sugar but did not sell inputs.

The main focus of livestock and veterinary programmes was advice on fattening bulls and sheep, vaccination, spraying for sheep. The nearest vet was in Bule. Sometimes the wereda office provided fattening medicine and it supported AI. In April the AGP was said to be introducing new ideas such as ox-fattening in groups of 13 people with loans of 13,000 *birr* but many people 'hated the proposal' because the money was not enough to buy 1 big ox. In November the DA said this credit would not be available in Adado. The provision of fodder seeds which did not take a lot of space was popular.

The DAs provided information on new breeds of chicken for meat and eggs but farmers said they could not cope with the area. The DAs said they were giving improved hives but farmers said the cold climate was not suitable and they only used traditional ones. Advice on livestock was reportedly only given to those living on the roadside. The vet visited Adado twice a week.

DAs said the annual top-down wereda agriculture extension plans did not always take the local environment into account and were too ambitious; they could not be practically implemented in one year. Planning should follow an assessment on the ground. The price of maize seeds was very high and it would be better to provide 50% on credit. Management problems at wereda level should be solved.

The amount of labour needed for coffee farms had increased due to improvements in quality and work hours on the farm had increased generally. Youth were busy with education and spent less time on household labour. Mostly family labour was used for coffee harvesting and all family members might be involved in different ways in cattle and shoat management. Richer families mainly hired local or external daily labour during coffee cherry harvesting (some had more than 3000 coffee trees) and peak farming seasons. Women participated in the weeding, cultivating and harvesting of maize and coffee. Hiring labour had increased since 2003; there was an estimate of 100 agricultural servants and 150 regularly doing daily labour. Wage rates were better; for example daily labour had increased from 5-10 *birr* a day in 2008 to 30-50 *birr*. Women could earn 20 *birr* a day processing one *enset* which took at least 3 days. An estimated 500-1000 daily labourers commuted into Adado for the coffee harvest. Traditional customary work exchanges were less frequent but 1-5s and small groups of neighbours exchanged work. Neighbours/1-5s worked together during the rainy season and in preparing land for annual crops. Labour exchange in the 1-5s was meant to be done according to a weekly schedule with members working for 3 hours a day for a week until the farming activities of all group members were completed. This was said to be compulsory with *gimgema* and punishments.

Business activities were continuing to increase and in urban Adado more than 200 people were involved. People traded in coffee, livestock, vegetables and fruit. There were shops (5), tea-houses (8), mini-restaurants (2), 20 places to watch TV 2 of which showed films, 2 local drinking houses, 4 bakery houses made of bricks, and 3 biscuit shops, blacksmiths (6), tanners (10 part-time), carpenters (7 part-time), small masons and people making furniture etc from bamboo. One man made beehives similar to those provided by the agricultural office with local wood and sold them for 50-80 *birr*. There were over 50 people involved in repairing shoes, watches, mobiles and torches,

charging mobiles, selling secondhand shoes or clothes, or shoe-shining. Women produced and sold *areke* and *kocho*; prices had increased a lot. Children sold sugarcane. There were 11 traditional medical practitioners. Two barbers worked during market days. There were small shops, bakeries, restaurants, and other services in broader Adado which were particularly active during the coffee harvest serving daily labourers. 80 people provided transport using donkey, 10 using bicycles, and 10 using motorbikes. A man with an Isuzu came during coffee harvesting.

One problem was that households lacked income once the coffee harvest ended. Some services were only open during the coffee harvest and some others closed for the rainy season. Coffee traders transported cherries by mule from the farmgate or smaller traders to the Coffee Union or private investor's coffee-washing plant. Lack of finance and fluctuating prices were the main problems. A skins and hides trader wanted credit and for some of his competitors to be forced to have licences.

Two savings and credit co-operatives formed in 2006 had closed in 2010; one had lost its money after being asked, along with 16 others, to transfer their savings to the zonal account so the zonal co-operative desk could organise a co-operative union which never transpired. When the other heard about this it dis-integrated and shared the savings among members.

Up to April there had been no special government support for non-farm business; the government's main activity was making people take business and driving licences. AGP was said to be approaching to introduce some non-farm business. By October the wereda Rural Youths' Job Opportunity Sector had given credit of 231,000 *birr* to 41 Grade 10 completers (1 female) who had saved 46,200 *birr* (20% of the loan). They were organised in 13 teams of 2-5 members to fatten bulls (6) and sheep (2) grain trading (1) and tea-houses/restaurants (4). The HEW said females had not yet been able to save the requisite amount.

Roughly 200 people were public workers most working as experts in Bule wereda office. About 250 were employed further away. The coffee union employed 8 permanent workers and up to 120 daily labourers working day and night shifts during the harvest sites. 10 people were employed as guards and nursery site workers. Some people commuted for daily labour and some were involved in daily manual labour.

Due to lack of land a significant number of males, mostly young and a few as young as 10, had been migrating to Shakiso for gold-mining. Men also migrated to Bule and Dila, and to Taro and other places where there was enough fertile land to accommodate newcomers who made contracting agreements. Those who went without *kebele* support letters had problems. After a time they could buy land clandestinely. Some young married men migrated soon after their weddings. Ten years ago it was rare for school age children to migrate but many were dropping out of school to migrate to Shakiso. About 15 men had settled there. Some went regularly to earn money to invest in land, houses and businesses in Adado. Two men who migrated to South Africa in 2008 had returned with capital to invest. Roughly 15 young women were annually migrating to towns for domestic work which had not been common in the past. Recently 2 females and 3 females got jobs for 4 months in Afar Region collecting sugarcane; one came back after a few days as the climate was hard and the payment low. Without migration there would have been food shortage and serious land shortage in the community.

June to September was the peak borrowing time. Relatives and neighbours were an important source; guarantors and witnesses were required and some charged interest which could be up to 70%. *Equb* and *iddir* had savings they lent to members with interest. Shops provided credit for a week with no interest. Shopkeepers and traders provided longer-term credit. Poor people could not borrow easily as lenders feared they would not repay.

Saving mechanisms included livestock fattening, storing dried coffee and *equb*. There were longer-term non-formal rotating savings and credit schemes with fixed times, usually a year. People saved

as much as they could each week and borrowed as need arose; the money was shared at the end of the year. Some groups also had schemes where big money (e.g. 1000 *birr* per person) was saved every year and given to one member each year by drawing a turn.

OMO MFI used to provide group loans 1000-4000 *birr* for men and women but they had stopped lending in Adado because some kebele officials had been bribed to lend OMO credit to people who then could not repay. The overall community debt was 21,300 *birr* and OMO MFI was expecting everyone to repay debts accumulated up to October 2012 after selling coffee.

A new initiative by OMO to promote savings involving savings boxes in every house was described in April (they expected 3000 *birr* savings a year). In October 53 men and 25 women were saving very small amounts with OMO; the interest rate was 5% and they could take their savings whenever they wanted.

Family sizes ranged from 1 to 20. Almost all households had plastic and metal utensils and many had thermoses to keep coffee hot. Many households had wooden kitchen cupboards. People had better more and better clothes than five years ago and clothing and hair styles for women and young men had changed. Men were doing some domestic work which five years ago was done only by women; e.g. preparing coffee, buying grain from the market and splitting wood. In the past husband and wife did not go out together but they now went shopping and drank tea together in marketplaces. Beer had arrived in the *kebele* since 2008.

There was better care for children in terms of diet, hygiene and sending them to school; expenditure on them had increased. About 5% of children were not enrolled in school. The fee was 20 *birr*. Those who could not try to speak Amharic at school were teased. Illiterate people with less education were socially excluded.

Some households would send children to Kindergarten if there were one. The coffee union had decided to build two primary school classrooms using cement blocks. The school generated income from farming activities which funded equipment. In the primary school nearly 5% were not in the Grade for their age. Most passed Grade 8 but many failed Grade 10. Children had increasingly started working from the age of 10; work and school demands clashed in the coffee season and on market days and seasonal male migration to Shakiso led to drop-out. Grade 10 completers had problems getting jobs but there was unmet demand in the wereda for people with college and university qualifications. Richer parents sent children who failed Grade 10 to private colleges. One woman had passed the entrance exam for a health extension diploma.

Young people worried about education, modern clothes, love, moving to town, joining university or becoming richer through trade and business. They were also interested in older people's stories and liked to celebrate cultural festivals. Unlike in 2005 girls were allowed out of the house for longer periods and could be seen with boys. Aspirations had changed and young people wanted to work to improve their lives. However, while more than half of young men migrated seasonally or for longer periods for work, most young women stayed at home after completing their schooling. Those from richer families had the funds to start trading in or beyond the community.

Young people faced problems establishing independent livelihoods in Adado due to scarcity of land and lack of capital to start businesses. There was an adult opinion that they had no initiative or commitment; those who were organised and had an action plan had recently got government credit after saving or they could borrow from relatives and neighbours. Young women said they faced shortage of money to get loans and were still strongly controlled by fathers and husbands: 'they did not have the right to do whatever they wanted to do'. If young men could get land from their family they could marry but many could not; this had delayed the age of marriage for young women. Also most young couples did not marry without having money or income as they had done in the recent past when most marriages were arranged by the family and the couple could live with the groom's

parents. Most girls were 18 or over when they married; there was no official follow-up of those that were not.

Youth association, league and federation were considered as one; around 100 young men were registered as members but there was no activity. Young people had participated in improvements to springs and road, tree planting and teaching children.

Polygyny was still widespread; men could have up to 3 wives at a time though legally only one. It was difficult to enforce the law as many had been married for a long time and it was deeply rooted in the culture. Widows had the legal right to take the property; according to customary practice she could use the land only so long as she stayed in the house to raise her children. Divorce was not common; since 2008 women legally should share land and property equally though they could be given compensation estimated to be worth half the land. In practice her legal rights depended on who proposed the divorce; the proposer had to pay compensation. Women could only share the property accumulated after marriage and what she got depended on the number of children who were going to grow up with her and her ex-husband. The customary practice was that she got nothing and went to another husband. Husbands bribed the court and witnesses.

Women did not inherit land though sometimes fathers gave it voluntarily when they were alive either to reward exceptional behaviour or because they thought a son-in-law did not have enough land. Daughters did not have the confidence to ask for inherited land after parents' death as it was not acceptable to the community.

Vulnerable women included those homeless women, those doing daily labour and/or those with no or small land, low incomes, disabilities, shabby houses, many children. Alcohol-drinking had reduced as it was banned by Protestants contributing to a reduction in male violence.

There had been various wereda structures to mainstream women's issues since 2006 without much success. The establishment of Development Teams in February 2013 looked more promising in April according to one official. Women in DT groups had started saving and one had accumulated 6,000 *birr* by selling stones and another with 22 members had collected 7,142 *birr* in a month and reportedly bought an ox. However, the woman who was the leader of the Women's Association (which had not met for more than a year) said nothing had been done for women's empowerment but AGP planned to make women beneficiaries. Wereda officials said at least 40% of beneficiaries of the AGP should be women. In the wereda there was affirmative action related to educational opportunities and government jobs. There were said to be some negative attitudes to the five women in leadership positions in the wereda among male employees as they were not involved in the corruption that went on.

Most people ate *kocho* made from *enset* (a low protein plant) three times a day with cabbage or other vegetables. Bread had become a common food. Since 2011 richer households had been eating pasta and *injera* had become common for holidays and weddings. HEWs had been trained on nourishing diets for 15 days and it was included in one of the health packages. A screening for malnutrition in pregnant, lactating mothers and under-5s had found ten malnourished children.

The main source of water was mountain springs; people also used rivers and roof catchment in the rainy season. In April people near the kebele centre started using water piped from springs to 6 new waterpoints. The community worked over six months carrying sandstone and wire to construct the reservoir on the hill which served the new pipes; three women reportedly had miscarriages as a result of the intensive work. In September the pipe was destroyed by a landslide and there was no safe water in the community.

The wereda health extensions policy since 2011 had been to build a development army through Health Extension Worker training on the packages to development team leaders who would each be responsible for 1-5 groups led by 1 woman; the role of the HEWs was to implement the packages by

going house-to-house and communicating with the 1-5 leaders who she should train and meet once a week. There was only 1 Health Extension Worker serving more than 1000 households as the other was on maternity leave but she was not working with 1-5s. In October she was pregnant. She said the health extension focus had shifted since last year from hygiene and environmental sanitation to Ante-Natal Care, delivery at the Health Centre, post-natal care and infant care. Since April there had been polio and measles vaccination campaigns and de-worming and Vitamin A for young children.

The HEW used church, shengo, equb and iddir leaders to pass information; the main problem was that people did not easily accept and implement the packages apart from family planning, vaccination, ANC and latrines. Community members with money could apply the lessons but, for example, poor people did not pay much attention to advice about balanced diets. Most people had built latrines except those without money to buy the materials though they did not wash their hands after use. The most unpopular package was delivery at the Health Centre though young women were more willing. People did not think HC delivery had been made more friendly and women only went if the delivery was too long. HC delivery was said to be decreasing due to good ANC. The government had not told TBAs to stop practising. Health workers from the health centre had trained 10 women on family planning, follow-up during pregnancy, infant care, hygiene and delivery in two 2-hour sessions a week over a month. One did not know why she had been chosen. The HEW said about 55% of mothers were taking good care of their infants.

There was conflicting information on malaria; there was none in the wereda or it had started due to climate change and maize in 2012. Some people got it in other places. The HEW said it was endemic in Dila. People continued to practice uvula cutting and milk teeth pulling. Since April the Health Centre lab had been provided with materials and manpower and four health workers added.

95% of the community were Protestants (6 sects), 5% Muslims and there were ten customary religion members. People of different religions belonged to the same *iddir*, *equb*, etc and were found in about 5% of households. Islam had come to Adado before Protestantism. Adado Muslims had relations with a network of Muslims outside the kebele. There were two mosques. There was not much difference between the Protestant sects and people could move between them. There had been a quarrel within the Kalehiwot church in 2011 and some left to form the Mulu Wengel church. In the two newest churches people spoke with tongues to heal people and this had attracted followers. There had been a conflict between Muslims and Tsega in August after Tsega followers were removing the evil spirit in the name of Jesus which Muslims said insulted them. The police intervened and the case was solved peacefully.

There was a small family of craftworkers who mostly married within their group; they had very little farmland and were very poor. Rich craftworkers elsewhere sometimes married outside their clan. Other community members did not know who was from which clan. The Aba Gada died in 2012. He had been highly appreciated by the government as many social problems were resolved through the system. One report was that elections by elders to replace him were being facilitated by the social Tourism office, though his son said the position stayed with the family as five of the 8 years remained and they were planning to appoint one of the family members..

There were many male and female *iddirs*, some traditional and some religious. They provided burial and wedding services and helped members who were seriously ill, or suffered fire or theft, or were not managing their lives well. They did not interact with the government.

The cabinet consisted of four community volunteers (1 woman) and three government employees; the kebele manager was accountable to the chair. He was a successful farmer who had been in place since 2008. His predecessor left following poor evaluation from the party and community and the one before him had been promoted to the *wereda*. He faced a problem of work burden. House-to-house meetings and meetings with cells, 1-5s and DTs prevented private work. The plan had been to work two days a week with the manager doing most of the kebele activities but the chair was now so

busy he had to work on Sundays and had no time for lunch. Cabinet members often had to buy their own stationery. The vice-chair only came to the *kebele* once or twice a month. There were officially ten committees but in practice they did not meet regularly. The *kebele* council had 200 members including fifty women.

Three zones, Choyito, Wa'esa/Lejemo and Kisha/Hago, were established in 2010 and from 2011 they organised development (but not party) work through the Development Teams. There were 13 of these with 25-40 members and from 2012 below them were 1-5s. According to *kebele* officials household head DTs were used to deliver development interventions and women's DTs to deliver the health extension programme and the new agricultural interventions for women. The male 1-5s mainly did agricultural activities initiated by the DAs. The DTs mobilised people for public work and were also used to select new model farmers every year. HEWs taught in both male and female DTs. DT members hated participating in public works in farming seasons and since there were no incentives one leader said he spent much time mobilising the team and controlling absenteeism. Community latrines and meeting huts had recently been built by community labour in the zones.

Very few community respondents could describe how the various sub-*kebele* structures were supposed to work. Being a 1-5 members was said to be voluntary. Some men were said to use them voluntarily for farmwork, house-building, taking the sick to health centres etc. These things had happened among neighbours before the 1-5s. Widows were said to like the structure as they could get support from men. Other people said 1-5s were not functional.

The party chair was supported by a vice-chair and cashier and supervised a secretary who linked with 13 cells with 7-40 members; each had 4 leaders. Both development and party structures discussed development; there was no link but DT leaders could also be cell leaders. Cells mixed men and women. Party members paid 20 *birr*. DAs also used the cells to deliver agricultural extension messages.

The *kebele* manager, two DAs and one HEW were from Adado. Main problems for the manager were that community members did not attend meetings and *kebele* leaders often came late. One elder regularly participated in big decisions made by *kebele* leaders. The *kebele* office asked religious leaders to disseminate information.

Land tax ranged from 20 to 400 *birr* and officially there were regular contributions of 22 *birr* (poor exempted). The coffee union paid 65 *birr* for 2.5 hectares. The amounts of tax and contributions reportedly paid by different households did not follow consistent rules. Those with children at school paid 20 *birr*. One businessman had a licence and paid income tax. The *kebele* did not collect market tax in Adado. All the school classrooms had been built over the years with no outside help. Public works by men and women were arranged according to the task, for example road maintenance and the reservoir. Those opposing the EPRDF were absent; theoretically there were no punishments but a DT leader said the *kebele* had sent militia to bring absentees to prison. *Kebele* leaders said that 91 youths voluntarily participated in repairing access roads and cleaning springs helped by other community members saving about 200,000 *birr*.

The EPRDF won the 2005 election by a narrow margin and subsequently people were promised changes in roads, health etc which had not happened. The government decided that the *kebele* should be led by rich farmers as they would not need to be corrupt. In 2010 about ten people supported the Gedeo opposition party but there was no candidate and the election was a formality.

Community members appreciated the HEW's door-to-door approach, electricity, improved drinking water, and the coffee-processing machine. There were complaints about roads, that the school was not well-constructed and the 2012 fertiliser intervention had burned the maize seeds. The 1-5 groups were not well-accepted by young people and the *kebele* leadership did little for youth. Some community members wanted credit without having to save. There was a feeling that elected officials

had not contributed what was expected of them. The kebele cabinet complained that sometimes community members did not implement what they were told.

There were no changes following the 2013 kebele elections. People were unwilling to talk openly about corruption but there was gossip that the chairman and head of the justice committee were corrupt as they were poor when they took the positions and now they are richer than the richest coffee traders in Adado. The vice-chair, secretary and manager were also said to be corrupt. But no action had been taken.

Budget allocation at wereda level was allegedly made in a hurry as the decision makers spent their time in campaigns, meetings and other party activities. The SLMP gave gabions to the community which were not used as there was no training. They also gave a water tanker which was not used as the tree seedling site was near the river. As there was high tree coverage in Adado the SLMP plan to provide tree seedlings had changed to coffee seedlings. They paid 30 *birr* a day to 150 people for 2 months for road improvement work in 2012 but people said they should have paid more as it was an NGO with money. There was no road programme in 2013.

Adado joined the AGP in 2013 and in April there were stories that it would provide group credit for oxen and for non-farm activities and that 40% of the programme would be for women. In November reports were confusing. The kebele chair said that Adado was not included in the AGP and a good informant said that nothing had been done since April. Elsewhere there were mentions of AGP support for fisheries and beehives and training on management to the Coffee Union and coffee quality to six model farmers. A group of journalists, wereda experts and councillors had visited the landslide area after it happened in August but nothing had been done about the water by November.

There were almost 50 elders who could be chosen by customers seeking services during disagreements. For referred cases they reported outcomes to the social or wereda courts. There was a conflict in Bule in 2006 which involved some Adado members in the market. Amhara and Gedeo students had quarrelled and the conflict spread in the town; the Federal police intervened and about 10 people from Adado were injured. Stealing had reduced considerably due to action by community police and the militia with community participation. There had been a border problem with a neighbouring *kebele*.

Looking back new things in the community included government workers, teaching about savings, HIV/AIDS, sanitation, elections etc. People were more politically aware and preference for work over leisure had grown particularly among young people. Urban lifestyles were perceived as desirable and aspirations for better lives were informed by the cultures of richer people in rural and urban areas. Rural people visiting towns saw electricity, smokeless houses, toilets, different diets, leisure and lives more independent of families. The message from returning migrants in better condition was that hard work in urban areas was a good way to change one's life. Young people were active in bringing new things like motorbikes and modern clothes and hairstyles. The first TV had arrived in 2008; in 2013 there were thirty TVs and six households had satellite dishes. People learned from soaps, quizzes, and the foreign news and the national coffee market was on ETV. Forty people had DVDs, 200 had tape recorders and young people listened to FM radio on mobile phones.

Regional programmes for investment which were emerging included road improvement and water supply funded through SLMP and ox fattening and improving productivity funded by AGP. There were a number of suggestions for diversification in the future. The agro-forest had enough carbon sequestration capacity to make it a potential area for smallholder carbon trade. If crops were to be diversified the soil was suitable for apples, bananas, mangos, bamboo and eucalyptus. Ginger could be planted under coffee trees and would be a good source of income but it was not included in extension advice. To rear cattle better the community should have the means to prepare nutrition artificially. Youth could do many non-farm business activities like renting table tennis, play stations

and videos, and wood and metal work with more initiation. There were three big rivers and considerable scope for pump irrigation.

3. The story of Somodo, Mana wereda, Jimma zone, Oromia

Somodo PA was created through the merging of three smaller PAs in 1996; there are 3 zones, Nano Mene Berumsa, Abujedi and Kosha, and 11 villages. It is 5 km from the main road from Jimma to Gambella; the centre is 17 km from Jimma centre and 20 km from the *wereda* centre Yebu. The climate is *weyna dega* and very favourable for crop production and animal and human health. Rain is expected from March to May and July to September. Traditionally the main crops had been coffee, maize and *tef* though little *tef* was produced in 2013. It is not a tight-knit community due to religious factions and ethnic heterogeneity; social interactions are mostly in small circles though not confined within villages. In 2013 81% were Oromo, 18% Yem and 1% Dawro. The number of Yem had increased since 2003 as a few visitors had stayed. 85% were Muslims, 10% Orthodox Christians and 5% Protestants.

3.1. Somodo in imperial times

The kingdom of Jimma Abba Jiffar was established in the 1830s. Abba Jiffar II submitted voluntarily to Menelik in the 1880s agreeing to pay tribute. Coffee became a major cash crop during his reign and the road to Addis Ababa improved. When the king died in 1932 Haile Selassie annexed the kingdom. Later in the 1930s the current Jimma town was developed by the Italians who intended to make the town an important centre of Islamic learning with the aim of weakening the Orthodox Church. In the imperial era the land belonged to local landlords. Some Yem people came to Somodo in 1955 to work for an Amharic landlord; they were joined by other Yem who formed a village and farmed on the landlord's land. There were grainmills and cars in the area. A Grade 1-8 school was founded in 1963.

3.2. Somodo during the Derg

There were violent conflicts between *zemecha* students and their peasant followers and local small landowners, rich peasants and the police; a special Derg delegation supported the local police and students were killed and arrested and the *zemecha* camps closed. Land was distributed according to household size. The Yem's landlord died in 1963 and when the Derg declared land for the tenant his wife left and the land was given to the Yem tenants. A producer co-operative received the more fertile farm and grazing land. There were tractors, a maize threshing machine, biogas, crossbred cows, a small-scale soap-processing plant, and flour mills all of which were abandoned when the regime fell. 11 settlements were established through the villagisation programme; most households had latrines. The social exclusion of craftworkers decreased as they were included in village *iddir*, churches and labour-sharing arrangements. Marriage with others in the community was still impossible.

Derg soldiers forcibly recruited and poor young men were made to replace rich ones. Culturally women were generally confined to the home and Muslim women were not allowed to meet men although they were forced to join and work for the Women's Association and work on men's farms. No-one could farm and trade simultaneously and traders faced considerable bureaucracy. A multi-purpose service co-operative was launched in 1975. All work was for the motherland and there was no encouragement of self-improvement. A woman who had passed Grade 11 could not get a job as she did not have a relative who could get her one.

Jimma was taken by the EPRDF in May 1991. There was fighting among the different ethnic groups (Oromo Muslim, Oromo Shewa Christian, Amhara, Yem) when politicians pushed Oromo Muslims to expel other groups and plunder their property; this stopped when EPRDF Yem soldiers intervened.

3.3. Somodo in the early 1990s

(Somodo was not researched in 1994/5 and the story comes from 2003 recollections).

In 1991 there was great violence in the area and a fight between OPDO and OLF. A lot of people were harassed and killed after their property was taken until the government interfered and took control. The Yem community was considering leaving the area. Fighting continued in 1992 and even though a peace and security committee was established men spent their nights outside to protect their families. In 1993 some people were burgled and killed.

A very few people left the villages and returned to their former homesteads. The free market policy was introduced in 1992. The activities of *iddir* were expanded to include school construction and the maintenance of internal roads and there were elections for the assembly on the Constitution. In 1993 Government started to advocate the culture of respecting people's rights and this continued in 1994.

A house for DAs was built in 1994. In 1995 the 2000 Global Sasakaw extension package was introduced. Selected people were trained in woodwork at Yebu training centre in 1994. The fight against forced marriage began in 1994 and the incidence of marriage increased. In 1994 political cadres were selected and trained and there was conflict among students.

3.4. Somodo 1995 - 2003

In 2003 an allweather road connected Somodo to Bilida which was 4 km and Lema Genet which was 59 km. There were 1,200 households including 315 landless who did not pay tax; they included longer-term landless, ex-soldiers, widows and newly married couples. 100 households were female headed. The majority were Oromo Muslims, followed by Yem who were mostly Orthodox Christians. There were some Kembata, Kulo, Amhara and Shewa Oromo Christians. The heterogeneous community was divided; religion, ethnicity and caste were major status differentiators. Oromo Muslims were 1st class citizens, Oromo non-Muslims 2nd class, and non-Oromo and Christians, including Shewa Orthodox Christians, 3rd class. Craftworkers carried out taboo activities and were linked to sorcery.

While there had been no re-distribution the size and mode of land use had changed considerably since the early 1990s through renting, selling, gifts, inheritance and informal land exchange agreements. In 2003 farming and house land was given to ex-soldiers. Most people lived in the 11 settlements established during the Derg; in one only the Yem lived. People went to nearby towns for medical treatment, schooling, market and court services. A local market opened in the *kebele*. Farmers appreciated the free market system which enabled them to sell their products at market prices. In 1997 one communally-owned grainmill went out of business and in 2001 the other which worked through the Service Co-operative stopped working. The Service Co-operative was re-organised and registered legally in 2002. In 2003 three households had electricity. There was no telephone service.

Soil quality was good and there were no serious erosion problems; tree cutting for charcoal, house construction, fencing and big trees sold for wooden crafts was a problem and there were only ten hectares of forest left. Government had allegedly tried to control the smugglers of big trees but failed. In 1997 there was significant maintenance of the main road; by 2003 it was being maintained every year.

During the coffee harvests people had money and consumer preferences changed. 1994/5 was a coffee boom year. This led to greater respect for the poor, many tin-roofed houses were built, and modern household assets bought. The good prices continued and 1996 was considered a year of plenty. Outsiders came to the *kebele* with goods which were bartered with coffee. People continued to be well-fed and have plenty in 1997 but by 1999 there was food scarcity in many households. Even lower coffee prices in 2001 and 2002 caused deterioration in people and life. The 2002 harvest was very poor and the community was 'in poverty' in 2003. Production of everything including

vegetables had decreased. People were hungry from April. In 2003 poor weather caused *cholera* which killed the coffee fruits; this was new to the area.

In 2003 572 of the 4018 hectares were planted with coffee; 50% of the farmland was devoted to maize and 35% to *tef*. Farmers also grew sorghum, barley, wheat, beans, peas and *enset*. There had been no serious crop disaster in the last 11 years. Land area, especially the amount planted with perennials was the major determinant of wealth; ability to pay for inputs and accumulate land play a big role. Poor households had 5-25 coffee trees in their gardens while the richest had as much as 4 hectares. Renting land was the most common way in which landless people accessed land; contracts could extend for three years. Poor farmers often rented out because they were not able to afford inputs; the rent covered immediate needs. Rich farmers used the land for *chat* and coffee. There were different share-cropping contracts though people preferred renting. Wealthy farmers would have 3-4 separate houses in a well-fenced compound, modern furniture, separate kitchen, well-tended garden, and a separate house for animals. One farmer had a generator and TV. Most poor people have no farmland or animals. Derg soldiers were poor and landless while recent ex-soldiers had received de-mobilisation funds and pension security, and land from the PA. They served in the militia and had political leadership positions. Wealthy people should give *zeka* and money at times of need and respect others; poor should work as wage labourers, do marginalised work, know their social position, and receive aid while minor norm violations should be tolerated.

The cost of fertiliser increased in 1998 and again in 1999. The price went up again in 2000 and the supply also reduced. In 2003 lack of access and the high price of fertiliser had affected outputs. Coffee was the most important cash crop followed by *chat* and fruit. Growing cash crops in home gardens had increased. Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Research Centre agents had introduced fruit trees and people were increasingly planting avocado, papaya, oranges, mangoes, gisha and zeitun as cash crops. Improved coffee was widely planted; the PA had a nursery for improved seedlings. The price of coffee had fallen drastically and that of *chat* risen. Traditional technologies were used for ploughing, harvesting, threshing, transporting and storing and there was no irrigation system.

Animal husbandry was insignificant due to shortage of grazing land and sale to buy fertiliser. The maximum number of cattle owned by one household was 18. There was share-rearing. There were no crossbreed cows and no crossbreed service. People kept sheep, goats, horses, mules, donkeys and chickens. Milk cows and chickens were new sources of cash; milk was sold to make butter and cheese sold in local markets. The vet visited the *kebele* every 15 days providing vaccination, treatment and drug provision. In 2003 due to lack of rain many animals died from foot and mouth disease and shortage of grass.

Two DAs, who were a married couple, were stationed in the *kebele*. They said they provided training on chemical spray handling, coffee beans, grain store making and the application of fertiliser. They visited the farmers selected for the extension programme who got privileged access to fertiliser and improved seeds. Rich farmers could buy improved *tef* and maize but middle-wealth farmers' output was not enough to cover the input prices. Poor farmers were not the government's concern because of their inability to pay.

Among Muslims most agricultural tasks were done by men; women tended garden crops and vegetables and both milked cows. Yem women did weeding, harvesting, and levelling land for *tef* planting. Some people employed agricultural labour increasingly paid in cash rather than crops. In the rainy season people came from other areas to work on farms. *Debo* had reduced but reciprocal labour, labour co-operation among *iddir* members and rotating herding had not declined. *Chat*, which was attached to the Muslim religion, was said to be affecting working practices, especially those of youth. People's interest in work was said to be low though this was not attributed to religious differences. *Wehabi* and Protestants were against many holidays unlike *Sofia* and Orthodox Christians.

Off-farm activities had become a means to supplement farm incomes especially for better-off farmers. Traders had higher status than farmers. Youth were involved as coffee and *chat* traders. More than ten young traders daily collected and bought *chat* to sell in Bilida town. Local traders bought fruit on a wholesale basis. A few people had bought grain mills when incomes were good in the 1990s. Landless households depended on trade, share-cropping, and daily labour, especially coffee collecting. There was one beggar. There was a great demand for craftworkers' products but low desire to do the work. A number of people were trained to be weavers but no-one had engaged in the occupation. The number of contrabandists, particularly those selling charcoal, was increasing. Employment opportunities were low; either a man was a farmer or a *chat* trader even if he had a high school education.

Most women traded on market day to get income to buy basics such as salt and kerosene. They sold butter, cheese, *chat*, coffee, chickens, eggs and fruit. Fifteen farmers and their children had small shops selling commodities; four of them were in the kebele centre. The problem was that if one person opened a shop everyone copied and most had to be shut down. There were tea-houses. A few people plastered new tin-roofed houses.

When the war with Eritrea broke out people joined the army willingly partly because coffee prices were low and there was an unemployment problem. There were many ex-soldiers fifteen of whom had recently de-mobilised. Men did not migrate much for work except for the Yem. The son of a wealthy farmer went to Saudi Arabia in 1999 and helped his family financially. Yem men and women migrated seasonally to work as daily labourers on construction projects towns; in 2003 there were many opportunities due to construction for Jimma University. Rarely women went to Jimma to work as housemaids. Three daughters of a 'famous man' lived in Saudi Arabia and helped the family financially and to visit Saudi Arabia. Five daughters of another man lived in the US and helped the family financially.

A private share company introduced credit in 2000 resulting in a bad experience leading some people to fear credit. Farmers complained about the short-term credit for inputs which forced them to sell their products at low prices during the harvest season. In 2003 the MoA provided credit for inputs to farmers selected for the extension programme with an interest rate of 10%. The SC provided credit for inputs for members with a 25% down payment. Men and women were involved in small *equb* during the harvesting season. The number of usurers had declined due to poverty. There was no micro-credit for women.

In the mid-1990s men started wearing trousers and all wearing shoes. There were improvements in household tools and utensils. In 1996 a wealthy man bought a TV. By 2003 women were wearing trousers.

The number and power of elders had decreased. They were completely excluded from PA leadership and complained that young officials ignored religious and traditional values. Wealth was emerging as a status differentiator; incipient class formation began in the 1994/5 record coffee year. The prestige given to political leaders had reduced. A respectable person was involved in conflict resolution, gave advice, represented the community, and had great access to officials.

Two local women had been trained to provide contraceptives (tablets and injections) through teaching in meetings and house-to-house visits. They focused on young newly-married women. There were 113 regular users. Baby boys were preferred to girls. Children were becoming more ambitious.

In 1997 the school was upgraded to Grade 7 and the following year to Grade 8. The children less able to work physically hard were more likely to be sent to school. The number enrolled had increased especially the number of girls but the quality of education was said to have deteriorated. A girl who was 16 in 2003 had become confident through the encouragement of a woman teacher. There was high absenteeism between October and January during the coffee harvest. Most pupils earned

money by selling or collecting coffee beans and *chat* and were self-financing in clothes and school expenses. Uniforms and other expenses were more costly. There were many unemployed school leavers and dropouts most living with parents. Two college graduates were employed by government.

Land size was decreasing as fathers had to share it with their sons as there were no employment opportunities other than farming; most were not keen to give scarce land to their children on marriage. There was a high unemployment problem for high school graduates and dropouts who had no desire to be farmers and ex-soldiers. Youth had become highly dependent on their families and government was blamed for not creating job opportunities. The idea of job creation rather than job-seeking was not fully accepted.

There was an awareness campaign against HTPs like female circumcision (which was not practised by the Yem). Though women were allowed to go to school their main chance was marriage. The protection of young unmarried girls had increased and they could go freely to school and markets. Young people were increasingly choosing their partners; consensus marriages without feasts were the most common. The age of marriage had reportedly reached eighteen and above. A man abducting an under-age girl had recently been imprisoned for three years.

Handball and football teams were set up and a Youth Association established in 2000.

Gender relations, which varied among religious sects and ethnic groups, were described as unhealthy; women worked a double shift, were regarded as inferior to men, and were under their control. They should not go out of the house often; they should cover their hair, wear long dresses and walk behind their husbands. For *wehabi* women the norms were increasingly more strictly applied but for the others things were getting better. Women had more rights over cash crops than men except in the case of coffee. There was no micro-credit for women.

In 1996 women were selected for the *kebele* Council. In 2000 Women's Affairs at *kebele* level was established followed by the establishment of a Women's Association; in 2003 there was unsatisfactory participation. In 2002 women started being elected and electing; 30% of the council were women but they did not attend meetings even if their husbands allowed it.

Fighting against HTPs expanded in 1996. There was a high rate of marriage. In 1999 food scarcity led to a lower marriage rate. Despite no improvement in coffee prices there were high rates of marriage in 2001 based on consensus. The government began to advocate for equal sharing of property after divorce in 1998 and against child marriage in 1999 and again in 2001. In 2002 the *kebele* prevented two arranged early marriages. There was evidence that HTPs had reduced by 2003 though the community reportedly did not want outsiders to define and identify HTPs. Widows mostly married widowers; around ten men had more than one wife; divorce was said to be rare. Daughters inherited $\frac{1}{3}$ rd and sons $\frac{2}{3}$ rd; if there was a dispute the court decided.

The main food consumed was maize and *enset* which was a very important emergency food. It was common to eat 3 meals a day. There were 8 well-developed wells and a water pump was established in 2002 and most people used clean water. In 1999 the Jimma Institute of Health Science started to study the health problems of the *kebele*. They had influenced food and personal hygiene. Almost every household had had a latrine since the Derg villagisation. Family planning was introduced in 2000 and polio vaccinations provided.

In 2000 an anti-AIDS club was established with 70 male members and 10 females; they raised awareness through drama. Condoms were available in local shops. In 2003 a number of people said their greatest fear was contracting HIV/AIDS. People still believed that God sent diseases and nothing could be done; traditional herbalists, bonesetters and a well-known wizard were highly used though the *wehabi* discouraged consulting traditional practitioners. Chewing *chat* and praying were means to overcome health problems; not chewing *chat* was said to lead to mental disturbance. The

nearest clinic and drug shop were in Bilida at 4 km. There was a pharmacy, hospital and modern midwife services in Jimma at 17 km. Five women had died in childbirth in Jimma hospital and women preferred traditional TBAs.

Ritual beliefs had reduced especially due to the new religions *wehabi* Islam and Protestantism. There were 11 mosques, 7 of which were *wehabi*, one Orthodox Christian church and one Protestant church with forty followers. Men had been arrested in the mid-1990s for promoting the *wehabi* religion. A woman whose grandson had been taken by Muslims to teach him about Islam feared religious and ethnic conflict. The *wehabi* had condemned elements of both modernity and tradition as un-Islamic. They had banned alcohol and dancing, and tried to impose *sharia* and women's veils which were rejected. In 1999 the Government intervened in a fight between Orthodox Christians and Protestants which continued in 2000. In 2000 the culture of covering the whole body of *wehabi* women started and strong rules controlling women were introduced. There was great emphasis on constructing mosques and *wehabi* Muslims started to refuse food during mourning. The Government intervened in a fight between *wehabi* and *sofia* Muslims. Fighting between the two groups continued in 2001 and there were also conflicts among Christians. The *wehabi* gave greater attention to fasting and praying. Government intervened in the religious fights and stressed that people's ideas about religion were individual matters. There was a reluctance to accept this and religion was still a potential source of conflict.

Three *kebele* were merged into one in 1996. The social court was also re-organised. Important decisions were made by PA leaders. In 2000 there were changes to *kebele* structure; the government started to promote and expand the roles of *iddir* and development teams were formed. In 2003 public administration at *kebele* and sub-*kebele* levels was changed again; the executive committee was re-organised and people were organised in *got* and *gare*; the number of members in development teams changed. There were sub-committees responsible for administration, justice and development. There was a *kebele* election.

There were no clan, lineage or *gada* systems. Kinship obligations had reduced through time with the promotion of self-help. The most important social organisations were the eleven *iddir*; one in each settlement.

PA leaders were responsible for assigning and collecting taxes. Tax had increased. Taxing of private grainmill owners started. Bigger traders were expected to have a licence but government was blamed for not making all of them pay tax.

The TGE ended in 1995 and in 1996 there were elections for the *kebele*, *wereda*, and Council. In 1997 there was a discussion about famine, poverty and education. In 2001 there was re-assessment of the political party and discussion about corruption. In 2002 government initiated discussions with the people on good governance, democracy, de-centralisation, religious and ethnic equality, and government development policy. In 2003 there was an intervention to mobilise people to support the programmes of the EPRDF and OPDO in particular. All positions were occupied by Oromo Muslims and other groups felt discriminated against. Some Oromo Muslims complained that leaders were all inexperienced youth handpicked for their loyalty to the ruling party; they complained about the exclusion of elders and sheikhs.

Corruption used to be widespread, especially in relation to land. It had been creating problems and there was an effort to teach people about it. The problem had decreased due to regular evaluation and adherence to Islamic principles. Nevertheless people suspected that some officials were sharing the benefits of tree smuggling with guards. There was reportedly a tendency to speak openly to defend one's right and give advice to the leaders.

In 1995 there was selection and training of militia and there was peace in the community. Wereda de-centralisation had brought justice to the *kebele* level. Family disputes, especially divorces, were not left to the elders or *sharia*. People known to have committed crimes were being released if there

were no eyewitnesses.

In 2003 the ideology of individual rights reportedly meant that some collective norms were less important; for example religion was more of an individual matter and people mostly accepted the idea that one should not fight for one's religion. Exposure to nearby towns had enabled diffusion of new technologies. The main road enabled community members to interact with outsiders and immigrants coming to work and live had influenced the culture.

3.5. Somodo 2003 - 2013

There were 1209 official households; 2% (24) were estimated to be landless and 7.5% (90) female-headed. Only 41 has of communal grazing land remained. Between 2006 and 2012 467 young men had been given grazing land for farming, business, and co-operatives though none had a land certificate. Many of those targeted were not using the land in 2013; for example a good number had migrated. Some of the unused land was given to Meles park and some reverted to common grazing land which was then theoretically distributed to 'landless poor households' although observers said it was shared among the kebele administrators in the names of their children or other relatives (more below). Since 2011 government instructions were that land should not be given to individuals but to organised youth. Land certification begun in 2010 had not finished in 2013; wives' names were on the certificates. About 30% of land was share-cropped in 2013 mostly worked by people from the community. Five people living elsewhere share-cropped their land out; leases ranged from 1-5 years. Land leasers were not allowed to plant permanent crops. Sharecroppers had to apply fertiliser and cover the cost.

Between April and November 2013 Jimma city had expanded and taken some land and households from the *kebele*. The households could use their land for the time being but eventually would lose it.

The kebele had 11 villages; one was mainly occupied by Yem Christians, three totally or mainly by Sofia Muslims, five had large majorities of Wehabi Muslims, and two had roughly equal proportions of both Muslim sects. House settlement was dense along the road and fairly scattered in other parts of the *kebele*. There were 8 tea-houses, 25 *areke* bars and 1 *tej* house, 32 shops and a minimarket every Friday. There were 3 primary schools, a *kebele* office, FTC, Health Post and a government seedling centre. Many people in the rural areas wanted to build houses in the urban part or elsewhere along the road but land was very expensive. There was a health centre, market and secondary school in Bilida (4 kms). People went to Jimma for health care, TVET, wage work, and marketing.

About a third of households had electricity. Mobile phones were introduced in 2006 and expanded in 2008; the signal was good and most households had at least 1 phone. Information on coffee prices was exchanged.

The main allweather road was affected by rain and repaired annually. There were minibuses and city buses from Jimma. Transport to the nearby town on market days was difficult. A new external all-weather road, built through the URRAP with both cash contributions from community members and labour contribution through public works branches off the main road, crosses Somodo and connects the two remote kebeles; it also provides better access to people from Somodo living in the areas that the road is crossing improving their market-access. Internal roads were not well-maintained and there had not been much change; some had become narrower as farmers expanded their farmland. There was no internal transport; most farmers used mules to transport crops. There had been two days a week public works for two months from July to September in 2013 all eleven villages to clean the internal roads organised by DTs and 1-5s; the work would continue after the coffee harvesting.

There were 3 rivers and 49 communal springs; some households had underground water in their gardens which they used for watering and washing. There were 4 has of natural forest and 12 has of

mainly eucalyptus planted forest. There had been watershed public work in January in which not everyone participated. Tree-cutting was restricted. There were no flooding problems. The number of trees was increasing as the community was planting them as shade for coffee trees and eucalyptus sale. Although DAs discouraged the planting of eucalyptus it was easily planted and grown on any land without much effort; it did not need fertiliser, management activity or water in the dry season. Since April two parks had been established (total 0.75 has) in the memory of Meles; about 2,500 tree seedlings of different kinds had been planted and fenced through public works of 1 day each.

Men were busy from May preparing the land for cereals until they had finished sowing. Women were busy during the rainy season preparing *enset* which filled the food gap. The coffee harvest took place between October and January when all household members were busy picking and marketing coffee; many also employed labourers. Other seasonal agricultural work included digging holes and planting coffee and pruning the bushes. Coffee cherries were traded between October and January and dry coffee from December to June. Demand for non-farm business outputs was high during the coffee harvest. Domestic violence by drunk men, polygynous marriages and voluntary abductions mostly took place between October and March when men had money. *Chat* was traded when it rained. The harvesting of the last irrigated crops was in February.

Expectations were that rain would start in early April and end in September; *belg* and *meher* rain was regularly good though it had started in May in 2011 and 2012. In 2011 crop production was low and cattle skinny or sold due to lack of fodder.

The community was better off than in 2003 and lives had improved; the shift to tin-roofed houses in the last six years was a good indicator. People were buying more household furniture and equipment mostly with remittances from children in Sudan. Those with electricity had bought TVs and a few satellite dishes and electric bakers. There were higher proportions of households considered very rich, rich and middle-wealth. People were growing more coffee and *chat* and less maize. They were planting coffee in a better way, using improved seeds and fertiliser more effectively and growing more vegetables. There would be more growth if farmers used irrigation. The number of people engaged in trading had increased to an estimated 10%.

However in the last two years inflation and the fall in the price of coffee by more than half had reduced the incomes of farmers and traders. In the 2013 rainy season many farmers had not been able to buy agricultural inputs and household necessities because the coffee investors had not given the traders the advance money for coffee which they usually lent to the farmers. This was due to last year's low harvest and prices which meant many investors did not make a profit; they had not even given the money in early November just as the coffee harvest was about to start. Many farmers faced a problem though some had got credit from WALKO with the help of the SC.

In order of importance the crops grown were coffee (574 has), maize (517 has), avocado, barley, sorghum, and horse beans. People grew potatoes, carrots and cabbages using the *belg* rain; and *enset*, tomatoes, and beetroot mainly in their gardens. Irrigation was only used for vegetables.

One estimate was that 17% of households were rich, 17% poor, and 66% of middle-wealth. Three households were said to be very rich through trading coffee and owning grainmills and shops. They had cars, villa houses, sofas, fridges, more than 2 TVs and employees. Rich households had a separate house for cattle, a TV satellite dish and a separate house for cattle. Those of middle-wealth had a tin roof, radio, and bed. Poor households had a table made of mud and no bed. 51 of the poor households were very poor; they had a grass roof and no table. Ten were destitute depending on daily labour. A poor landless man said wealthy farmers could get additional land by bribing kebele and wereda officials. Many people could not afford fertiliser so got credit from WALKO, applied less than recommended, or sharecropped their land out. Rich people lent to poor ones without interest and people who could not borrow as they could not repay were given donations, for example nails and money to build houses and clothes and equipment for weddings.

The Service Co-operative provided fertiliser and improved maize seeds but no credit; this was available from WALKO for those who qualified. The fertilisers were available on time. In one part of the *kebele* the maize seeds were suited to the soil and they got a good harvest but in the other farmers wanted the seed changed as the one provided had been less productive on their land. The DAs said people were not getting good maize production due to poor soil quality, insufficient fertiliser, and management problems but the farmers blamed seed quality saying in future they would not buy and use improved maize seeds. In 2013 both improved and local maize seeds had been sown in rows and the harvest was expected to be a little better than in 2012.

Jimma ARC demonstrated the good productivity of wheat and barley on small plots of land in 2012 and in 2013 many farmers grew them on good sizes of land.

Coffee, *chat*, avocado and *enset* and were the main cash crops; only a few sold cereals if they got a surplus. There was a shortage of improved coffee seeds in 2013 and the price of seedlings had risen to 150 *birr* a kilo. Most coffee was sold to local traders who sold to investors with processing plants who exported to national and international markets. In 2008 the SC bought dry coffee from many members and non-members and stored it to sell when the price rose; but the profit was low and sometimes negative so it was not repeated. Much more coffee was expected in 2013 as the coffee plants flowered three times compared with once in 2012. Some farmers had started growing *chat* in their fields not just their gardens due to the cash income and good harvest. Prices of eucalyptus had risen due to the construction boom in Jimma.

Farming equipment was traditional; they usually ploughed against the slopes, planted improved maize in rows and broadcast local maize seeds. The new plough provided to six farmers by the ARC in 2011 was too heavy for the oxen. About half the coffee plants were improved. Compost not fertiliser was used on coffee and *chat*. Many inter-cropped *chat* with maize.

There were three types of irrigation: from water wells (rare), cultivating wetlands (very common) and irrigation with furrows (3 people). Furrow irrigation using pumps in the Abayi river had started; since it was large there was no water shortage. 85 farmers had harvested irrigated crops in February 2013. They bought vegetable seeds from shops in Jimma and rarely used fertiliser; access to pesticides was difficult.

Starting in 2012 3 investors from outside were growing tomatoes, cabbages, onions, peppers etc twice a year on 3.125 irrigated has. This communal land had been given to an ex-wereda official who after failing to produce a good output had rented the land out for three years at 10,000 *birr* to the three investors who owned 2 pumps. They hired local people to plough and as daily labour, taught local people how to irrigate their land and sold vegetables cheaply to the community. A youth co-operative had been given land for vegetable farming; there was a story they had failed to work on it properly due to lack of capital and it had been given to investors.

A few farmers had started to use well water. Recently the wereda had supplied 8 free handpumps for hand-dug wells to the school, mosque and four households on condition that a group of 7-12 households contributed to buy cement, metal and skilled labour and shared the water. Water was not available all the time and sometimes it was not clean.

In the past people were said to have less interest in irrigation as it required hard work in the hot season. However, the example of the external investors who produced in large quantities and sold their output in Jimma and Addis Ababa, had led to a new interest. Farmers said there was no support for furrow irrigation from the river from the government; it required pumps which were difficult for farmers to buy. There were also marketing problems; for example for farmers using water wells to grow avocados. However, in November 2013 the new Crops DA said that the community should get involved in irrigation since most farmers 'sat idle the whole of the dry season'. Many things needed to be done for example sprinkler and drip irrigation technologies used elsewhere should be introduced. He planned to do some research and introduce it in the near

future.

The number of cattle had declined since 2003 due to the shortage of grazing land. 41 hectares were used for common grazing, mainly for cows, and 88 hectares had been enclosed to use as private grazing, mainly for oxen. However, the quality of care had improved and many fed livestock at home. Recently introduced Artificial Insemination had not been accepted in April since improved breeds needed good fodder and the wombs of local cows were thought to be too small. However, by November sixteen farmers had used AI and one had bought a Borena breed. The DAs said they intended to introduce scientific means of feeding cows for milk production for sale in Jimma.

Share-rearing had declined. Some had started fattening local shoats and since April many farmers had been involved in fattening oxen. Farmers could buy fattening and other medicine from the *kebele* vet office or a drug shop in Jimma.

Jimma ARC provided improved chickens and some bought them from other farmers. In November they were waiting for more from the ARC. Eggs were mostly consumed at home. Milk was not commonly sold and only a few sold extra butter. More of these products were being sold than in 2008. The number of bees had increased and some were using modern hives (cost 1000 *birr*) which improved honey quality and others had registered and were waiting; transitional and traditional hives were also used. The *wereda* provided smokers, safety cloths and knobs. There was the need for a honey extractor and moulder in the *kebele*. Most sold honey at the farmgate though a few sold to shopkeepers in Jimma.

The focus of extension was improved coffee varieties and techniques and the use of fertiliser, improved seeds, planting in line etc. particularly for maize. Jimma ARC demonstrated new varieties of *tef*, wheat, maize, barley and soya beans on selected farmers land in 2012 and harvests were good. In 2013 the DAs were given funds for the first time to buy seeds and fertiliser to demonstrate at the FTC.

Soil fertility had been steadily declining and farmers had to use more fertiliser. Jimma ARC provided lime and improved *tef*, wheat, potato, soya bean, banana, horse bean, maize and avocado seeds to about 200 farmers as part of an experiment to compare production on limed and unlimed land. They interacted directly with farmers using their own extension workers. The farmers liked the way the ARC worked as they demonstrated each activity practically for each farmer and had good follow-up on the progress of the different crops. They held a field seminar and invited all the DAs and farmers to see the differences in production on the limed and unlimed land; the crops on the limed land were better quality and farmers wanted all their land to be limed.

DAs supported farmers to plan what to produce and how much inputs they would need and informed the SC. In 2012 DAs reported around 85% of farmers used fertiliser and improved maize seeds either willingly (35%), as a result of frequent negotiation by the DAs (25%), or 'forcefully'. Due to rising prices of fertiliser, seeds and pesticides, farmers interest in buying them had declined but DAs threatened them with imprisonment if they did not take the inputs. Even so in 2012 they had failed to take over 90 quintals which had been ordered causing a loss for the SC; in 2013 the amount ordered but not taken was 153 quintals.

In 2013 DAs said they regularly provided training on planting techniques and supervised seed sowing. There was a claim that since April *kebele* officials, party members, DT and 1-5 leaders had been continually following up the progress of farmers' plans in detail at the household level but also DA reports that farmers were not willing to use fertiliser according to their advice. A female model farmer said she had used the improved maize seeds knowing the production would be low and the maize seeds produced very small as otherwise she would be forced to leave her land.

Maize production in the last two years had not been good which was attributed to the poor quality of seeds from the Service Co-operative. Farmers attributed this to the government allowing private

farmers to reproduce the improved seeds; some farmers were secretly planting local seeds. The SC had 550 male members and 30 female members and no dividend had been paid by 2013. All farmers used it for fertiliser and improved seed which the SC bought from the Union but it provided no other services as it lacked money. There was a suggestion that the SC should copy nearby successful SCs and build a coffee-washing plant and dry coffee mill. Others said it would not be able to compete with the four private plants whose owners collected through a network of local traders which held many farmers with advanced credit.

Jimma ARC gave training on coffee quality which would improve the price it could be sold for. Investors, traders and farmers all received training about what they must do to get high quality coffee including not using plastic bags or contaminated containers, and only supplying red cherries. The process of transfer of coffee cherries to the traders and investors would be supervised; after the coffee reached the merchants it was the responsibility of the *wereda*. The DAs also produced more than 1 million improved coffee plants which would be distributed to farmers in 2014.

The focus of livestock extension was the expansion of modern honey production and improved cattle through AI. DAs and the vet helped farmers to select good traditional cattle for breeding and encouraged fattening in response to market demand. They advised enclosure of private grazing land and a zero-grazing system.

In 2005 model farmers were recruited from party supporters; recent new criteria had been using modern inputs properly, excellent product, and applying good practice learned in experience-sharing sessions. There were three levels of model farmer based on performance effectiveness and two champions who had won prizes at *wereda* and zone levels. Not all model farmers were DT leaders. DAs used DTs and 1-5s, model farmers, experience-sharing and general meetings to relate to farmers. In 2012 there was a 15-day meeting covering all aspects of growing coffee and maize: zone officials met *kebele* leaders and selected community members then it was extended to *got* level by *wereda* officials and DAs. DAs and the vet could not visit throughout the community as it was too large for four people. A DA said there had been improvements in the service since 2008 as DAs frequently got refreshment training and as they were the leaders of the zones they could frequently communicate with farmers via the DT/1-5 system. The HEWs also helped to deliver messages to farmers. Limitations to the system included no DA Crops for the months up to April, no budget for FTC demonstrations and exclusion of *chat* and lentils from the package. In November there was a new energetic Crops DA.

Some farmers said the service was not that beneficial due to lack of efficiency; farmers did their best through their own efforts based on information and education from other areas and the mass media. However, some model farmers said the service was good and DAs did what they could. The DAs had no pesticide solutions for coffee and maize 'cholera'. DAs did not provide advice and resources for women household heads or wives growing their own crops unless specifically requested.

About 90% of farm labour was provided by family members. Large working parties had declined but reciprocal labour was unchanged. Apart from the coffee harvest (15 *birr* a day) only a few young people engaged in agricultural labour preparing coffee land and cultivating *chat* as construction wages in Jimma were high and increasing (25-30 *birr*).

There were four large coffee traders with direct contact with investors. Two also traded grain for community consumption and eucalyptus which was bought at the farmgate and sold in Jimma. Competition was high and they attracted clients by giving tips to collectors and lending to farmers before the harvest. Many other men and women were involved in middle and small -level trade of coffee, grain, *enset* and vegetables and some in part-time cattle and shoat trade. *Chat* was bought at the farmgate and traders took or sent it to Limu Genet and Keniteri.

A successful but uneducated businessman maintained coffee washing machines, established and

maintained grainmills, designed and built houses and mended engines. There were eight grainmills, 32 shops, a few at medium-level, and more in the remotest areas, six tea-houses, two restaurants, two part-time shoe-shiners, three barbers, two drink houses open in the coffee harvest and repairers of phones and radios. There were ten full-time and 20 part-time carpenters working on house-building (most) and furniture; two had recently bought a machine for 10,000 *birr* to prepare wood for furniture making and had made 15 chairs for the *kebele* costing 300 *birr* each. There were women hairdressers and five traditional medical practitioners. In the Orthodox Christian area about 20 women produced and sold *areke*. Two people provided horse-and-cart transport on market day and another had minibus. Fifty people provided donkey transport during harvests. There had been three youth stone co-operatives but none seemed to be operational in November. A few poor farmers made charcoal illegally; some had been punished at sub-kebele level.

Three youth groups had been given 0.25 has each for stone production. Over time some founding members had migrated to Sudan or found other jobs with strong negative consequences for the co-operatives. Earlier on some men had changed their lives by building their own houses, one had saved 10,000 *birr* in a bank, and another had bought a motorbike. One successful co-operative had recently stopped working because the private company with a stone-crusher which they worked with went bankrupt and the members fell out over the renting-out of their truck.

The government provided no training, land or other inputs for non-farm activities. There were 38 formal employees in the *kebele* and 29 men and five women with diplomas or above employed further away. Three guards were paid by the *kebele*, ten people were employed in grainmills and two in tea-houses. 26 did daily manual labour when it was available. Due to the expansion of Jimma town and the University many people commuted to Jimma for work. There was a city bus.

Urban migration was more likely to be male. In April wereda officials said that migrating to Sudan and Arab countries was becoming one of the local Harmful Traditional Practices. Young females from rich and a few middle-wealth households usually went legally to Saudi Arabia with no problems but middle-wealth and poor females migrated illegally to Sudan where the income was very low. Young men mostly migrated illegally to Sudan though a few had gone legally to Saudi and Kuwait. The cost of migration to Sudan was around 2000 *birr* and to Arab countries around 6000. It was possible to save to migrate to Arab countries by working in Sudan for 3 years. Returnees from Sudan and Saudi Arabia kept links with those still there.

The downsides of international migration were challenges during the journey, especially for women travelling illegally to the Sudan, lack of skills to use modern domestic technologies, overwork, bad employers, parents left without labour assistance, migrants returning empty-handed; the upsides were remittances to families, the acquiring of new skills, and nest-eggs to invest on return. However people said that many families did not save remittances from females for their return as they did with males but spent it all on themselves. Negative consequences for the community included loss of working age people and those most likely to be productive, a burden of disability and illness on the families of unsuccessful returning migrants, and cultural disharmony. On the positive side migration brought an injection of cash into the community, provided an outlet for landless, jobless young people and introduced new skills and a culture of hard work to the community.

In October HEWs said that in April both legal and illegal migration had been common but wereda and kebele officials had worked aggressively to make community members aware they should stop it. The new policy of banning migration had ended both kinds of migration. At a recent meeting young people had asked kebele officials either to provide job opportunities or unban legal international migration.

The only formal credit available in the *kebele* was from WALKO. The interest rate was 15% and borrowers had to join a group ranging in size from 25-64 members. The group had to save 10% of the loan and was liable for defaults. *Wehabi* followers did not want credit with interest as the Quran

does not allow it. An estimated sixty people had taken the credit. Most farmers got credit from traders which would be repaid in coffee with no interest; the traders usually got the cash as advances from the investors, though that did not happen in 2013. People also borrowed from relatives and neighbours and shops with no interest. Moneylenders were not mentioned. Most saving was in the form of dried coffee, maize and livestock. Only those with credit saved in WALKO. Women saved in *equb* and there was a savings programme for women organised in Development Teams designed to enable them to register with MSE to borrow money as a group though it was not clear how successful it was. Though the programme was new, by November one group registered as an SME was about to get credit.

There were nuclear and polygamous families. The largest household had 13 members. Government had been teaching males to share women's work burdens but it was not accepted. To stabilise prices in 2012 the government started to supply subsidised cooking oil, soap, sugar etc through the SC but it lacked enough capital to buy and sell the goods so the mandate was given to one of the richest traders who was delegated to sell the goods at a lower price though making a profit decided by the wereda. The supply was unreliable and local shopkeepers sold the products in the gap between supplies which was some months. There were also many people without enough money to buy the minimum allowed amounts.

There were overlaps and connections between successful farmers, party members/kebele officials, elders and *iddir* leaders. Most officials at *kebele* level were model farmers. Many elders and religious leaders had over-lapping roles. The leader of the Kalehiwot church was a party member and vice-chair of an *iddir*, a mosque *Imam* was a DT and 1-5 leader, and the Orthodox Christian leader networked with the wereda chair. Leading traders tended to have no other elite positions and network mainly with other traders.

There was still no Kindergarten and people had not valued the attempt to start Grade 0 education but very few children were not enrolled at primary school and two additional primary schools had been built and expanded mainly through community initiative, labour and material contributions. There were community teachers paid from community contributions. About 5% of pupils were not in the Grade for their age.

The Grade 8 results had not been very good due to classes of around 100 students, the distance to walk to school, teachers living in Jimma coming late and not interested to teach, insufficient equipment, books etc, and absenteeism during the coffee harvest. Teachers had proposed re-organising the school calendar but some teachers attended upgrading education in the conventional rainy season break. USAID had provided textbooks and in-service training. The 1-5s in place since 2011 were mostly unsuccessful as students quarrelled; those that performed well had good homeroom teachers.

Pupils had to travel for an average total of two hours to secondary school. Youngsters started trading alongside education and were absent on market day and did not give enough attention to school. Girls were burdened with domestic work and did not have enough time to study. Most pupils failed to join preparatory school and as Grade 10 students were jobless parents and students were getting discouraged from pursuing education. Only a few children from rich families attended TVET or private colleges.

Most youth did not manage to get the basic necessities to establish independent livelihoods and married late. 70% were said to be dependent with some Grade 10 completers sitting idle and engaging in *chat* chewing. Opportunities for both educated and less educated included trading coffee, crops and commodities and planting and caring for coffee properly on the family land. Many assisted their parents in different ways.

Despite a lot of awareness raising and legal measures against circumcisers and parents female circumcision still took place secretly when girls were about 7. A mandate had been given to *iddir* to

punish circumcisers and parents and some had been fined 200 *birr*. When people reported cases the girl was taken to the Health Centre and if she was circumcised the cases were sent for punishment. Some parents took their daughters to other areas to be circumcised.

Young women said that marriage had stopped in the last few years as both males and females had been migrating. Officials said that while marriage of girls aged 15-17 had reduced it was still an issue. Parental influence on marriage choice had greatly reduced and forced abduction was said not be an issue. There were problems in enforcing the law since interactions between young men and women were starting earlier and parents feared unwanted pregnancies. There was no access to safe abortion for young women pregnant outside marriage.

There were no women youth leaders and no youth co-operative had ever had a female member.

Bridewealth and the marriage ceremony depended on the economic status of the partners and despite inflation expenses had usually declined. Almost all women were under the control of their husbands; there were no independent women traders in the area and female migration had not changed women's status or economic activity. Domestic violence was a big issue; in 2012 there were 7 convictions in the *wereda* with prison sentences of 6 months to 2 years. Polygyny was widespread in the *wereda* though slightly reduced. It was allowed by *sharia*. If a man wanted to marry another wife he indirectly mistreated her hoping she would leave. Divorce was rare and conducted by the court and elders; in most cases women did not get their proper share. Widow inheritance was highly reduced though some women agreed when they feared the dead husband's relatives.

The Women Affairs cabinet member had advised women to form groups and save money to use for income-generation. The *wereda* planned to train them to rear chickens and sheep and business skills for trading. There had been efforts to increase women's participation in *kebele* structures but 'rural women were not culturally ready to participate'; targets had been better achieved at *wereda* level. Culturally women had been expected to work at home and not contribute to decision-making; this was partially changing.

Pregnant and lactating women were said to be affected by malnutrition more than their children. There was three-month screening for malnutrition in the *wereda* with small numbers found to be malnourished. There was training by HEWs on the need to feed children nourishing diets. In April it was reported that every household had access to safe water throughout the year although in October a DA said there were problems with waterborne diseases and the Yem living in Gerdi village had to walk for an hour to fetch water.

The health extension programme began in 2007 and the Health Post was completed in 2009. There had been two HEWs until sometime in 2012 when one left who had not been replaced in April. The remaining one provided services at the HP one or two days a week and went house-to-house on other days. She said she worked with women leaders of the DTs and 1-5s. Health volunteers were not so supportive maybe because they no longer got pocket money. Almost all households had latrines but they were not long-lasting and people forgot to wash their hands. Kebele officials, teachers and DAs educated people about the health packages in meetings organised for other purposes.

Two more HEWs had been assigned by October and the *kebele* cabinet and officers had started working on package activities with the HEWs. Many women were using the contraceptive service and many pregnant women going for check-ups, and there had been vaccination except for infants as there had been a shortage. There had been house-to-house training on latrines and at the beginning many resisted; after great efforts they were reported to the *kebele* and the officials warned them they would take action if they did not build latrines in a short period of time. HEWs had participated in teaching adolescents to read and write and helped the DAs deliver messages.

In April women had been educated on the importance of delivering in health institutions but most

gave birth at home except for cases of severe labour. The HEW was not involved with deliveries. One of the three Health centres in the *wereda* did not have a midwife. In October a HEW said that for each birth an ambulance was assigned and mothers should be made to deliver at the HC or hospital. However of the fifteen deliveries since July eleven took place at home with no professional assistance, one at home with the help of the HEW, one while the mother was working outside her house, and one in the HC. Women did not want to deliver at the Health Centre since it was shameful to uncover their sexual organs and the health workers were unfriendly and mistreated the women and their relatives. Hospital workers were even more unfriendly. HEWs had warned TBAs that if there was any problem they must take responsibility.

There were very bad epidemics of malaria in 2008 and 2009 with about half of the community affected. Plan International had trained HEWs on the Rapid Diagnostic Test and infant treatment in 2012; in the past year 68 people had been tested. There were private clinics in nearby towns but the fees had increased and only rich families used them.

There were 13 disabled adults and children, 6 with mental illness mostly youth, 17 old people needing support, 5 orphans, and 3 PLWHAs. There was no official help for these vulnerable people. Chewing *chat* was day-to-day activity for all men, women, boys and girls.

Oromo and Yem inter-married and shared *iddir*. There were no clans or lineages.

85% were Muslims, 10% Orthodox Christians and 5% Protestants. There were more Protestants than in 2003 as some Orthodox Christians had converted. There was some inter-marriage among religions and shared *iddir*. Most Orthodox Christians were Yem and lived in Gardi village where the church was. Relations between Orthodox Christians and Protestants were generally good though there had been disagreements in the past. The Orthodox Christian leader said most Muslims regarded Orthodox Christians as incomers and wanted local resources to be used by Muslims. A Muslim farmer started cultivating church land saying it belonged to him and when the church took the case to the social court they lost.

The *wehabi* sect started to expand in 2002 when a Muslim sheikh came and preached that the community should be stricter and live by Quran law. Since then many younger people gradually became followers in Somodo and a nearby *kebele*. There were 15 mosques in the area, eleven of them *wehabi*. In the same household father and children may follow different sects. Since April there had been an election for religious representatives from the *kebele*. The *Wehabis* requested the government to release *Wehabis* in prison in Addis Ababa and wanted the election to be held at the mosque not the *kebele* office and *wereda* police were called in. Subsequently *Wehabis* did not vote so five *Sofias* were elected at *kebele* level to work on religious issues. *Wehabi* followers lived by the sharia doctrine and usually treated *Sofias* as if they were not Muslims. When a *wehabi* died the *Sofias* refused to pray at the burial ceremony. An informant predicted that once the older *Sofia* followers have died all Muslims will be *wehabi*.

The *wereda* had held a meeting to inform that in another *kebele* new ideas had come from a new sect; the community suspected that the government wanted these new ideas to become widespread. One *iddir* leader said his major worry was religious differences in the community, especially those between different sects in the same religion. People were afraid to talk about religion which 'roughened the social interaction of the community'.

The *wereda* had combined six adjacent *kebele*, including Somodo, into a zone which shared services, including a mobile court, and meetings. One *wereda* official was assigned to the *kebele*; he conveyed messages about the needs of the community to the *wereda*.

There were seven cabinet members; the voluntary members were the chair, vice-chair, peace and security and Women Affairs. In April the chair had been in office since 2005. He served the community three days a week but failed to meet with cabinet members once a week as prescribed

as those who were unpaid preferred to focus on their own work. The vice-chair was removed just before the April election as he was imprisoned for drunken quarrelling in Jimma. Following the April election the chair became vice-chair as he had become a member of the wereda council which was not permitted for kebele chairs; he was a rich farmer and coffee trader, hardworking and a good leader and still did the lion's share of the kebele work. Since the April election the new vice-chair had been transferred to the social court as chairman reportedly because the government suspected he had contact with people who tried to create disagreements in the community during the election of the Muslim religious representatives. There were four committees: peace and security (the most effective), education, health and agriculture.

There were three zones, Abujedi, NMB, and Kosha, each with an administrative body with seven members including a DA who was secretary for the zone and reported to the *kebele* cabinet. The zones played an important role in disseminating messages. Under the zones were 45 DTs (*gere*) with 25-40 members and a committee of five or six and beneath them 248 1-5 networks. 1-5s were introduced in 2010 with the aim of making people work closely in co-operation, monitor each other's farming and other activities, and protect themselves from theft and other problems. They should meet every three days, 1-5 leaders every week and the whole DT every 14 days to monitor work in relation to the plan and discuss development issues and what was going on in the village. Some leaders said they liked the 1-5s as they could solve problems, discuss and co-operate on development activities and shape and control deviant individuals. Some members were said to hate them because 1-5s had been given a quota of fertiliser to share and the leaders had tried to force reluctant members with lack of money to take a certain amount.

Recently female 1-5s of neighbours had been organised to implement the health extension package but had done nothing since April. A wereda official said that it was difficult to say that the structures were working on the ground; some *kebele* had tried but they were not fully implemented. Somodo was among the better-performing *kebele*. The manager said it worked in conveying messages. Monthly *kebele* meetings were not well attended so they were then held at zone level.

Cell leaders served as party organisers; party and government were assumed to work independently. There were 20 party organisers from all 3 zones and beneath them 45 cells with 1-5 networks. Cell leaders informed people about the party vision and its importance in keeping the neighbourhood peaceful and its contribution to farmers' livelihoods. There were meetings every two weeks and a free newsletter. There were 300 male and 59 female party members and 36/21 pre-selects who could possibly become members. The party had an additional 100 male and 50 female supporters.

The leader of the women's federation was a party member and participated in meetings at the *wereda*. She arranged meetings at *kebele* level to discuss the overall mission of the party. The Youth Association had five leaders; the League and Federation were not active.

The *kebele* manager, who was over-burdened with diverse responsibilities, had been in office for five years and planned to stay until he found a better job; he was secretly and illicitly following an evening degree programme in civic education at Jimma university. Planned activities were not done on time by the Cabinet and Committees which meant he could not deliver reports to the *wereda* on time for which he was criticised. He thought the chair and vice-chair should be paid to serve full-time as in urban areas.

In April 2013 there had been no Crops DA for eight months but a new one was in place by October. In April the only HEW complained she could not reach all households, the health office did not pay the salary increment she had earned on time, and she was not allowed to pursue her education in a private college. A wereda official said there was high turnover because the duties were hard and the salaries too small. In October since the Health Post had come under the *kebele* structure and two new HEWs had been appointed the HEW was working with interest. HEWs and DAs both said that before April they thought that issues relating to health/agriculture only concerned them but since

then kebele officials, party members, DT leaders and 1-5s had been collaborating with them to give awareness training and monitor the progress of plan and package implementation.

The Orthodox Christian church participated in road construction connecting Somodo to nearby *kebele*. Muslim leaders encouraged followers to participate in development activities and delivered message from kebele officials. Protestant followers participated in cleaning the environment and were encouraged to participate in development activities. The leaders passed messages from the government. *Iddir* leaders passed development messages to members and mobilised them for conservation development work.

There were eleven male *iddir*, one in each village; a person only belonged to one. All *iddir* leaders were also DT leaders; they took and received ideas from and to the village, mobilised the community for development activities and informed the government about the village's problems. Most Muslim female *iddir* were closed when the *wehabi* ruled that there was no need to stay in a mourning house for more than three days and it was not necessary to prepare food. There were still female *iddir* where all members were Christian. In addition to burial services *iddir* members worked together and helped poor people. Sometimes the *kebele* sent cases to the *iddir* elders who interacted directly with the social court and indirectly with the *wereda* court. The wereda police and court trained the elders once a year during coffee harvest to help them deal with issues related to coffee selling and the sharing of money.

Land tax ranged from 15 to 265 *birr*; 40% needed reminding. There were 91 taxpayers who had private land while living with their family in a household which paid tax on its land separately. Every household paid an annual cash contribution of 67 *birr* for guards, sports, water, Red Cross (which was a national contribution) etc. There were 3 main levels of cash contribution for the new road linking Somodo to neighbouring *kebele*: 150, 300 and 500 *birr*; a few wealthy households contributed 1000-3000. Landless and 300 poor landowners and households in crisis were exempted. Community members also contributed labour.

Over the last six years community members had contributed wood and labour for the construction of the Health Post, two new schools and school expansion. Recently new kebele, DA and vet offices had been constructed through public work. Since April there had been wealth-related contributions of materials to construct new school classrooms and money for benches and PWs for planting trees, fencing the Meles parks, building two classrooms, repairing school fences, drying of stagnant water, and internal road maintenance. There was enough public work to cover all community needs; the kebele prioritised the work and the number of days depended on need. The regular time for soil and water conservation was about seven weeks. One member per household should participate.

Those with formal government jobs paid income tax and market taxes were collected from livestock and petty traders. Most shopowners had licences and the tax depended on its size; they complained that the estimates of their income were higher than the reality so did not pay on time. Some youth with shops had faced taxes higher than their annual incomes; many shops were closed and their owners migrated overseas. Tax collectors usually came in June when many teashops were closed due to lack of customers in the rainy season but recently wereda revenue officers had told teashops they had to have licences. Some mill owners without licences were getting them. Licences cost 220 *birr*.

Wereda officials said relations with the *kebele* were good. In the 2010 elections there were no problems and everyone voted for the EPRDF. One view was that since opposition party members would be arrested and treated badly if they tried to participate in elections in the wereda that elections were unjust. 'If there is no opposing party what is the meaning of elections?' All community members knew that different development activities were started before elections to attract people and stopped immediately after.

In 2005 many Yem voted for Kinijit and afterwards the officials discriminated against them for voting

for Amhara. In 2010 they all voted for EPRDF and things became better. The highest *kebele* positions were filled by Oromo but the Yem held positions in their village and had a few council representatives. Gerdi village where the Yem lived had no electricity and the walk for water was an hour. Landless youth from Gerdi were only allowed to have land from their own village while landless youth from the Oromo group could get land anywhere, including Gerdi.

Local people were said to fear the chairman (before April) as one brother was a director of the secondary school and another used to be vice-administrator in the *wereda* and was elected as representative of Jimma Zone in the Addis Ababa House of Representatives in 2010.

Officials were said to want to deal with wealthy people rather than poor. Good informants said there had been corruption problems with justice at *kebele* level but were unwilling to say more. Since the April election the militia had started to act more appropriately and the justice system had become stricter. Most informants said that though it was not so exaggerated as media reports at country level there were many instances of corruption and it was increasing. For example, to get any decision from officials you had to give them something and in the allocation of resources such as coffee washing plants *wereda* officials favoured their home *kebeles*.

There were allegations that land was being given illegally to those in *kebele* officials' networks. In 2012 a group of youth cleared some land and started farming it without *kebele* permission but were stopped by *wereda* officials. They learned that *kebele* officials had taken bribes to give land to individual investors, prepared five hectares for an MP who was related, and sold some land secretly to community members who already had land. The *wereda* ordered the *kebele* not to give any more land to anyone but subsequently some of the land denied to the youth was given to relatives of the MP.

There had been 10 days meeting for party members and political leaders and 3 days for youth, females and farmers with the agenda of widening rural development and income-generating strategies such as fattening animals for the whole society and especially young men. People did not organise themselves into co-operatives due to shortages of land and capital; non-farming co-operatives could not compete with individual traders due to shortage of capital. The *kebele* manager and chair said there was no problem of employment for youth; it was lack of awareness that prevented them from engaging in private activities and made them idle and chew *chat*.

USAID had provided textbooks twice and Plan International trained HEWs from Somodo and other *kebele* in 2010 about preventive child care. They helped with the construction of communal latrines.

Every *iddir* chose 6 male and 1 female militia who reported negative acts to the *kebele* administration. Youth stole *chat*. Prevention of theft involved advice by local militia and elders and community policing at *kebele* and sub-*kebele* levels. If a known thief did not stop stealing he was fined 200-300 *birr* through his *iddir*; if the case was serious the court decided the punishment. The *wereda* had assigned a policeman to Somodo who worked with the militia and peace and security committee. A boundary conflict with a neighbouring *kebele* was settled by the *wereda* using GPS.

Students, youth and some educated model farmers liked modern technologies, road expansion, and mobile phones and disliked frequent government meetings as they were time-consuming and an obstacle to their work. Youngsters were trying to introduce modern systems of planting. Younger women were more open to delivery in health centres and stopping female circumcision. Older people were usually conservative and resisted new technologies including fertiliser and pesticides and modern medicine. However they liked transport, grainmills, electricity and mobile phones as they made life easier. Copying urban people more locals had started to engage in trade. Houses were looking more like urban houses inside and out. Some youth did not want to engage in agriculture so migration for work had increased. The younger generation followed urban styles in clothing and environmental and personal hygiene.

While all wereda programmes were suffering from lack of budget the MDG Fund had provided education, health, agricultural development and other programmes with better budgets than before. The wereda had a plan to finish the inter-kebele road construction, work on education quality and the expansion of drinking water and increase diverse forms of farm and non-farm activities including chicken production, animal fattening, craftwork, trading etc through organising people and providing them with credit. Key informants said Somodo needed economic diversification: oxen fattening, AI and milk production; irrigation; and woodwork and metalwork for youth.

4. The story of Oda Haro, Bako wereda, West Shewa zone, Oromia

Most of the land is flat and suitable for farming. There are highlands to the North, NW and NE. Abicho and Alemgena zones have flat sloped areas and are good for agriculture but vulnerable to flood damage. Some of Botto is flat with slopes and some mountainous. The place is 17 km from Bako, and 108 km from Ambo.

In 1994 according to the census 45% of the wereda population said they were Orthodox Christian, 22% Protestant, 19% practised traditional beliefs, 9% were Muslim and 1% was Catholic (3% NA). The 2007 census showed a considerable shift: 29% Orthodox Christian; 61% Protestant; 8% Muslim (2% NA).

4.1. Oda Haro in imperial times

Bako Tibe *wereda* is situated on the western edge of West Shoa zone bordering the East Wellega zone. It was incorporated into the modern Ethiopian state as part of the extension of Menelik's kingdom of Shewa in the 1880s. Community members had memories of 'father's fighting Menelik. During the emperor's time land was in the hands of landlords or *bale rist*. Girls were forced to marry from age 7 and did not go to school; many died of abduction. There were also many deaths from malaria and cholera. People were growing red pepper for sale in the 1960s.

4.2. Oda Haro during the Derg

Land to the tiller gave the the land to the tenants. There were droughts and famine in 1977 and 1984/5. There was villagisation during the Derg and an attempt to introduce latrines. A school was built. Young couples got land from vacant land. Widows were under pressure from the husband's relatives to leave the area but the Derg had started creating awareness that men and women were equal. The Women's Association was strong.

4.3. Oda Haro in the early 1990s

(Oda Haro was not researched in 1994/5 and the story comes from 2003 recollections).

The EPRDF took control of the area in May 1991; as the government changed there was looting and de-villagisation. Agricultural activity was disrupted, the PA was ineffective, and tax was not paid. In 1992 the OLF disseminated propaganda about brutal treatment of the Oromo by the Emperor and the Derg and gained many supporters. Both OLF and OPDO operated in the village for a while; there were two flags. Then the OLF was expelled but there was sporadic fighting and about 100 people died during this. Land re-distribution was stopped and tax paid. Wereda administrators were elected in 1993 but replaced in 1994 accused of being allies of the OLF. In 1993 the OLF left the area and by 1994 the EPRDF fully controlled the area peace and reigned. Many soldiers and those armed by the OLF were disarmed

In 1993 pests seriously affected *berbere* and many cattle died due to *gandi*. Agricultural extension started and many people registered for it in 1994. There was drought and famine in 1994/5.

In 1993 Protestants started converting people, mostly young men; there was Orthodox opposition.

4.4. Oda Haro 1995 - 2003

Since the EPRDF came to power many things had changed: children were going to school and learning in Oromiffa; they could take legal cases in their own language to Bako and Ambo minimising the cost; restrictions on trade and movement had gone; when imprisoned they could be released with a guarantor; citizenship rights were respected and there was no inferiority; the rich were less powerful and there was equality before the law; people could join any religion; three elections had been held without incident; applications written in Oromiffa could be taken to the council of Oromia; many decisions were made at zone level.

In 1995 there was rain failure and food aid was distributed. In 1996 some people were imprisoned for unfair distribution of food aid. In 1997 some people died in floods. In 2002 there was drought when the rain stopped early and in 2003 it started late. Drought, famine and malaria badly affected the community in 2003. There was food aid. The community was aware of environmental programmes due to decreasing tree cover. Erosion was causing a decline in soil fertility; fertiliser saved its life. Everyone was entitled to take their share of common property trees and grass and could sell it.

Oda Haro *kebele* was formed through a merger of three PAs in 1999. In 2003 there were three villages, Ebich, Botto and Alemgena and 951 households 58 of which were female-headed (6%). 587 paid tax including 32 headed by women. The average size of land was 1.5 hectares. An estimated 70 people had land for a house but no farmland. There were many landless. Oromos dominated the community; there were a few Amhara including those providing Orthodox Church services. In 1999 a shop opened in the village; by 2003 there were two. There was no electricity. People were building houses by the main road. The nearest market was in Tibe. In the past few people went to market but in 2003 all household members marched to town and enjoy drinks.

There was an asphalt road cutting through the PA; none of the other roads were allweather. Horses, mules, and donkeys were the local means of transport and donkey carts had been introduced. There were minibuses on the road which charged 1.5 *birr* to Tibe.

Until recently the whole wereda was known for its high agricultural productivity. Before the drought everybody was strong but they had lost their courage and strength. There were few government development activities mainly agricultural.

Maize was the major food crop; other food crops in order of importance were *tef*, sorghum and chickpeas. Sugarcane (becoming more important), niger seed and *berbere* were the main cashcrops. There were high profits from the sale of *berbere* in 1998 which people used to build houses and buy oxen but in 2003 it was becoming less productive due to *kolera*. The *tef* price was good due to urban demand but yield was very low and sometimes it was damaged by unexpected rain. In 1999 maize and *berbere* harvests were good. Production of tomatoes, potatoes and *chat* using irrigation started. Husbands started to attend school so yields declined. By 2003 many people were using irrigation; some growing sugarcane, tomatoes and potatoes and some growing maize. *Chat* was becoming popular

The 2000 and 2001 harvests were also good. Productivity of maize had increased dramatically which was attributed to the extension service but when they had a lot of maize the price of maize was very low; in 2000 it sold for 17 *birr* a quintal and 2001 12 *birr*; many people had to sell oxen to pay their fertiliser debt. In 2002 rain stopped early and the drought made the maize harvest very low; there was no *berbere* harvest. In 2003 the rain came late and maize prices rose to 130 *birr* per quintal. By 2003 farmers lacked capital/credit to buy inputs; otherwise cash crops could play an important part in increasing their income.

Economic differences between rich and poor were considerable. Some landless contracted (180 *birr* a year) or share-cropped land in. Well-off farmers share-cropped their land out and made money

from trade and livestock. Leasing could lead to a cycle of debt and borrowing and to destitution. There were landless men working as daily labourers for those with land. Houses of poor and rich could easily be identified. Rich households had tin roofs, modern furniture, radios, tape recorders, blankets and modern utensils. Poor households had no chairs but used the curved root of a plant. Wealthy people should give advice, cash, seeds, and oxen to the needy, share-rear cattle and act as a source of security. Poor people should contribute labour, know their position well and could claim help. The relation between rich and poor was said to be loosening as poor people could borrow money from savings associations. Conflicts were common between rich employers and dependent labourers especially when payments were not made.

Input supply was insufficient and the level of adaptation of the soil to fertilisers was a source of frustration.

There were two technologies for growing crops: animal manure and home-produced seeds and fertilisers and seeds on credit from the government. A maize threshing machine was introduced in 1998 by Bako Rural Technology Centre; they held meetings after meetings but in the end the machine was only given to one person. It was felt that the rich and talkative got the chance to use the technologies which should be there for the whole community. There was no inter-cropping as farmers believed that it led to competition for fertiliser between crops damaging the main crop. Farmers had started buying new varieties of selected maize seed. People used traditional irrigation technologies on land adjacent to rivers and streams; government had tried to intervene. They were keen to get modern technologies.

Cattle prices were very low; they were not fed well. In 2002 a vet clinic opened; there was only vaccination during epidemics. One farmer had crossbred cattle and got a larger amount of milk. Milk production declined during the drought. Share-rearing was common.

Government started creating awareness about increasing working days in 1993 and by 1996 many people had started working on some saints' days. At a conference in 2000 it was decided that there should be no saints' days and in 2003 Orthodox Christians had only one

In 1995 one farmer was awarded modern crop storage for his hard work and use of the extension service. Many people dropped out of extension in 2000 after falling into debt due to low maize prices. In 2003 the extension worker said that de-centralisation had empowered the wereda which meant he did not have to go to Ambo for everything, he knew the wereda plan and budget, and grievances could more easily be solved. Communities could decide on their budget and immediate solutions to their problems which encouraged members to participate actively in development. A wealthy farmer got a government prize for his good performance in extension. Bako ARI was involved in research on selected land in Oda Haro.

Debo was becoming less common and *wenfel* more so. Wage labour was common; it brought low status as it implied landlessness and wages were poor (10-15 *birr* a day). Wage labourers were the poorest section of the community. Labourers living in the household were paid or given land. Women were more involved in agriculture: weeding, harvesting maize, planting *berbere*, taking livestock to market with company. There were serious weeds associated with new maize varieties planted in line.

People traded *berbere*, cattle, and maize. Muslim women sold salt and other sauce ingredients. Women made things from local materials and alcoholic drinks controlling the income they made. One man made doors. There was local employment for about ten people. During the dry season a few worked on buildings in Tibe. Male seasonal migrants went to Jimma to pick coffee and some went to Bako and Ambo; a few had left permanently. There were no reports of female migrants.

Borrowing from friends and relatives was the most common source of credit. There were local moneylenders. In 2000 the Mitike credit association provided by the regional government office

became active; the interest rate was 10%. Some had done well using the credit but others been forced to contract land to pay the debt. There had been conflict with group member collaterals and divorces due to debt. Some people had started borrowing from banks. In 1999 *iddir* started lending up to 400 *birr* for contingencies. Young men were more likely to waste the money.

A typical house had two rooms. There were about 100 tin-roof houses. Male heads made decisions concerning major economic and social matters but in some areas wives were consulted. Women controlled some important resources in the domestic arena. Except for a few cases where husband and wife participated in the same task the gender division of labour was maintained through taboos. Many married couples lived with their parents as they had no land.

People used to wear low quality cultural clothes but in 2003 many wore modern clothes especially jeans. Hairstyles no longer changed with the age of the girl. Drinking and chewing *chat* had become more and more common

Elders were respected and accepted as moral authorities; they reconciled conflicts, reprimanded wrongdoers, spoke well and had good reputations. Residents of Botto were seen as lazy outsiders and felt alienated; they had to walk for three hours to reach the PA centre in Alemgena.

Women were having at least 7 children and only a few used family planning; infant mortality was high. There were two TBAs; for complicated deliveries health centres outside the PA were used.

Role differentiation began at age 5-7 when boys started helping their fathers in the field and with livestock and girls helped their mothers. Girls were circumcised at age four and there was a big feast. Children were no longer punished severely as in the past although corporal punishment was still used. Children learned by observation and many went to school. Farmers decided who should go depending on what they could afford; they favoured boys. Seventy married men were attending wishing to become literate. The school in the PA was recently upgraded to Grade 8 and enrolment had increased but there were complaints about the quality of education; teachers were unmotivated and sometimes absent and were not qualified to teach Grade 8. Classes had 120 or so pupils. There were contributions to build the school and buy school materials and fees. There was a desire for some teaching to be in Amharic. Many young people tried to be independent working hard in the field to finance their education. They were better dressed and had more freedom to go to town.

Standards were said to have fallen; a degree in 2003 was equivalent to Grade 12 in the old days. Free promotion was a problem. Most high school graduates were not employed. Some were continuing higher education in and beyond Ethiopia. There were many landless young men though few were unemployed; some share-cropped land in and some did daily labour. People with large tracts of land contracted or sharecropped with young men and benefited from the labour of the young. Young women were expected to do housework, be virgins, wear conservative clothes, and get married and have children.

There was no respect between the generations; this started in the Derg period and worsened during EPRDF as there was no more land re-distribution. Young men wanting to marry had to find a plot of land. Fathers wanted sons to stay unmarried for as long as possible as they needed their labour and could not afford to give them land. In 2003 young men were more conscious, sensitive and educated; they were the source of wisdom and did not accept advice.

There were three types of marriage: forced abduction, arranged by the families with the knowledge of both parties, and marriage by desire - eloping/lobbying. The last had become common due to economic status and the prohibition of abduction. The usual age of marriage was 15-18 for girls and 20 for men. *Iddir* had passed a ruling reducing marriage costs to 1,500 *birr* and the Oromia council had ruled costs should be kept low. Polygyny was common in the area made possible by the small size of bridewealth and Islamic doctrine. The maximum number of wives in the kebele was three.

Customarily the brother of a dead man had the right to inherit his widow though this was being challenged and some said widows stayed at the husband's residence, owned the land and paid tax; they could marry men from elsewhere. Divorce was uncommon; when it happened the woman asked the council of elders to give her an equal share of the property. If this failed she could go to legal courts. She could stay in her husband's community and marry again. If a man beat his wife he apologised immediately.

Fresh maize and vegetables were commonly eaten in the rainy season and dried maize, *tef*, sorghum and other cereals in the dry season. Cabbage had been introduced to the diet. Meat was consumed three times a year during festivals. The water was not potable and there was typhoid. There were no latrines. Soap had replaced wood ash. The government sometimes sent health workers who provided information on environmental hygiene. There had been one lecture on family planning, circumcision etc in 2001.

In 2001 HIV/AIDS was found in the community but in 2003 interventions to prevent it were negligible. In 1999 the malaria epidemic reached a peak but it had become more common in 2003; during the fieldwork people including many children were dying. People used onion and ginger before going to formal health services; the nearest place for treatment was in Bako 15 kms distant. There was a mission health centre in Tibe. For most health problems people first tried to treat themselves or went to traditional practitioners. Rich people used private clinics; the service was much better but expensive. Medical examination at private pharmacies was poor. Disabled people were registered with the government and no longer hidden away as in the past.

Protestant conversions had continued including of older people and a church was built in Tibe. Rituals were slowly weakening. There were also Orthodox Christians and Muslims and some followers of official religions also practised Waqefita, the one traditional religion, in their homes. Relations between Mekane Yesus and Orthodox Christians were not good; only the government stopped them from fighting. In 2001 a mosque was built in Oda Haro with external assistance. There were verbal tensions between Protestants and Muslims. Some households contained people of different religions.

There was also a strong belief encouraging people to do good things called *Saffu*. People also believed in spirits including that of their father. Until 1998 when he died most people believed in the *Kallu*; the number of public followers declined and by 2000 Protestantism had become the dominant religion. However, people still secretly believed in the *kallu* system.

De-centralisation was saving society's energy, money and time. The merging of three kebeles into one in this had caused problems as one chair could not handle all the issues. Kebele officials said they could not call meetings as the houses were so far apart and this also made it difficult for them to collect taxes. People in the two villages where the chair did not live thought they were ill-treated. There were other problems between the three former PAs. Botto was highly criticised for being dependent on the sale of charcoal, lazy at farming, quarrelsome, and not having anyone effectively representing them in the PA. Many were eligible for food aid according to the means test and others thought it was because they were lazy. Botto residents felt alienated and thought the PA restructuring unjust.

Whenever government interventions were mentioned farmers complained about the high cost of agricultural inputs. The major activities in the area were agricultural inputs, basic health services, education, family planning and HIV/AIDS projects but many informants knew little about government policies.

Clan linkages remained strong overcoming incipient class distinctions. Lineage-oriented ritual obligations were declining due to religious disparities. There were *equb*, and *iddir* and *mehber* for Orthodox Christians. *Ollaa* were groups of neighbours who drank coffee together. There were *meskel iddir*.

A new tax system had been introduced with different amounts for different land size; rates ranged from 50 to 180 *birr*. People estimated the size of their land themselves. Some very poor people had failed to pay tax for 5 years and arrears and accumulated interest amounted to 500 *birr* in some cases. Some were imprisoned. In 2003 twenty women heading households were unable to pay land tax.

In 1996 there was political education for people in the PA. In 1999 there was vigorous preparation for the election. Some people were disarmed and a few were armed. In 2000 the election was held and the federal government moved the capital of Oromia from Addis Ababa to Adama. Students opposed this and there was also opposition in the village; wereda politicians came to try to explain. In 2001 there were student protests about the low price of grain and soaring cost of fertiliser; Bale forest was burned. In 2002 there were conferences on corruption and opposition groups. Politicians from Bako organised a meeting and told them about good governance and that they should expose officials who took bribes as they were salaried. In 2003 there were evaluations of PA activity and corruption.

Community decisions were largely made through both *iddir* and the kebele and on some issues elders were important. People said they would not stop female circumcision. Kebele meetings were common, OPDO was active in the area, people actively participated in elections and had a strong sense of nationalism.

When the OLF was around ethnic tensions were tense and during the war with Eritrea they were planning to expel Amhara and Tigrayans due to the view that only Oromo should live in the area. This was a misunderstanding and only Eritreans were expelled. There was conscription but mostly dependent on the will of individuals.

The court and police station at Tibe had moved to Bako 15 kms away but the PA was more empowered to give decisions. When cases were taken to the PA it took weeks to get a verdict because there were so many appeals. There was a feeling among women that they were starting to get justice. There were frequent disputes with a neighbouring PA over borders and monthly meetings of the PAs in the wereda to discuss security matters of common concern.

4.5. Oda Haro 2003 - 2013

The three sub-kebeles were Abicho, Alemgena and Boto. Most of Boto was in the *dega* zone and was the remotest part of the kebele; it had natural forest and highland crops. The zones were organised in three major villages and about 16 scattered hamlets. In May 2013 Mts Gona and Mimite were fenced and declared forest land and farmers living there were given residential places in other areas.

85% of the land was used for smallholder farming; this had increased in the last 5 years due to population increase, more intense and active farming, expansion of irrigation (5% of land) and DA training and advice. Forest land was less than 5% of total land and 5% (183 hectares) was grazing land. There was a plan to incorporate the Ebicho grazing land into Tibe town within the next ten years which would hugely affect livestock breeding. There was resistance to a proposal from the kebele to distribute communal grazing land among landless young people. 75% of farmland was privately farmed and the rest share-cropped or rented.

The largest land size was 7 hectares and the smallest 1 hectare; the average size had been declining as parents distributed land to sons on marriage. Most of the young generation were landless. Most land was registered; husbands and wives were on the certificate. There were 719 households: 450 official and 269 landless and unofficial (37.4%). 18% (129) of households were headed by women; 124 were paying tax. Most of the landless survived by renting (more) or share-cropping (less). In the past they could rent for up to 12 years but it had recently reduced to 3 (1 hectare 1,500 *birr*) though people signed informal contracts for 15 years. Both landless and rich farmers sharecropped from poor farmers with extra land and those with oxen or labour. About 25 absentee landowners lived in

Tibe and around 30 non-residents rented or share-cropped land. In 2013 people from Addis Ababa and Tibe had rented irrigated land to produce vegetables employing migrant farm labourers.

There was no town in the community but it bordered Tibe town. In 2003 there was no important urban centre near the *kebele* and the nearest (Bako) was 16 km but by 2013 Tibe and Sheboka (8 km) had become important market centres. The *kebele* had 2 *kebele* offices, 1 Health Post, 1 FTC, and 4 full-cycle primary schools. There were four retail shops and six crop shops and in Boto zone some small local tea rooms. A new Health Centre had recently been established in Tibe. Though the electricity line passed through the community in different places they had not had the chance to get it. There were a few solar batteries. It was estimated that there were 200 mobile phones; most males, young people, rich traders and farmers had them to communicate with relatives and friends, traders and brokers, wereda officials and migrants. It cost up to 3 *birr* to charge a mobile in Tibe.

Wereda officials complained of problems with implementing infrastructure projects financed by the MDG fund due to the low capacity of the contractors. The *kebele* was divided in two by the recently constructed road from Addis Ababa to Nekemte to the Beneshangul region which took 5 years to complete. The road gave good access to Bako, the zone town Ambo, and Addis Ababa (5-7 hours by bus). Local transport costs had fallen since the new road opened though there was a shortage and drivers exceeded the wereda tariffs. There was a lack of transportation connecting farmers growing irrigated crops with good markets.

Since 2010 most areas had been covered by narrow and wider internal roads and paths, though there were still shortages particularly in the remoter areas. Feeder roads were improved but dryweather; most were constructed by Public Works. 50% of the cost was covered by the MDG fund. Some were affected by flooding in the rainy season and some were too narrow for vehicles. There were more than 160 mule carts which were introduced in 2010 when the feeder road programme began and used mainly for crops. People also used donkeys (200); there were 2 bicycles.

Alemgena was highly exposed to flooding. Starting in 2012 Government and people had worked together on watershed activities which were expected to reduce erosion and flooding; however after the first 3-month programme there was no follow-up of the check-dams and plants; 53 kms of the 80 kms of watershed activities were destroyed by floods and cattle. Those that survived provided some protection from floods. The rain 2011 was good and farmers produced 35 quintals of maize per hectare; it was not so good in 2012 (28 quintals). It was very good in 2013 which the DA NRM attributed to the watershed activities. There was agreement that the *belg* rains had been poor in the previous three years though views on the *meher* rains varied; it had declined annually or it had been good in three of the last four years and too much in the other. All years since 2008 were said to be very hot with 2012/13 the hottest.

Farming was the main activity with maize the dominant crop whose cultivation had increased in the last ten years; livestock rearing was the second most important activity. Irrigation, non-farm business especially trading and employment were important; an estimated 5% of the community's income came from remittances from female migrants to Arab countries. Involvement in non-farm activities had been increasing over the last five years. Peak working seasons were from May to November. Livestock prices rose in March to May when people were buying bulls for fattening during the rainy season. The main trading season was from November to April; farmers sold crops to pay debt, land tax, education costs etc. Major changes in household fortunes were attributed mostly to trading, irrigation farming and international migration. The prices of public services had increased and people were not getting proper services; the prices of medicines were rising at an alarming rate. Rising prices of food crops had helped model farmers to get a good income but harmed those who had to buy food.

Maize, sorghum, *tef*, *nug*, and red peppers were grown in the *weyna dega* areas; in Boto barley, wheat, maize, *tef*, beans and chickpeas were grown. The annual production of maize in the same soil

had contributed to a decline in soil fertility. On irrigated land people grew sugarcane, papaya, tomatoes, potatoes, onions, green peppers, beetroots, carrots, bananas, cabbage, avocado, maize, lemons, and oranges.

The people in Ebicho zone were the first to accept new agricultural technologies; most people in Ebich and Alemgene zones were model farmers. Boto zone had the largest population but its inhabitants were relatively poorer. The richest people in Alemgena were Muslims who were involved in farming and trading. 5% of households were estimated to be very rich through rainfed and irrigation cash crops, livestock, trade, mule carts, grainmills, and rented-out town houses. 15% were rich %, 20% middlewealth, 25% poor, 25% very poor and 10% destitute. Very rich households had big tin-roofed modern painted houses and wooden furniture. Destitute households had poor small thatched houses with only basic cooking utensils and no labour. Poor households could not afford the cost of mule carts and their children did more paid labour. Rich girls ate very good meals, wore good clothes and shoes, had better personal hygiene, were more relaxed, and had less household responsibility. Poor girls had poor personal hygiene, more responsibility in the house, ate the leftovers of young siblings or slept without food, had poor diets, may not have worn shoes, and combined education with work. They had worse opportunities in all spheres including education, work, livelihood, marriage and setting up an independent household.

The number of very rich farmers had increased due to use of modern inputs, trading and livestock, and the gap between them and the rich, whose numbers had also increased, had widened. The number of middle-wealth farmers had also increased, particularly after the launching of the GTP which persuaded them to follow in the footsteps of the model farmers. The poor and destitute were moving out of poverty. In the past they were not included in development initiatives but in 2013 they were. However, while some people were doing well the majority were still struggling to get daily food and many landless suffering from hunger.

About 50% of maize was consumed at home. People also consumed *tef* and sorghum and some cash-crops. Soil fertility was declining so farmers had to use more and more fertiliser. The actual demand for fertiliser was 70 quintals more than had been ordered from the DA so there was insufficient at the SC. In some places the maize 'burned' which Bako ARC said was because the soil needed lime, which was not available. Crop rotation and compost were suggested. There was a problem with the quality and on-time supply of improved maize seeds by the Service Co-operative in Tibe and there was a plan to establish one at *kebele* level. Different seeds were used for different soils and altitudes. Maize was usually planted in line but not wheat or barley. Use of improved *tef* seeds started last year and they produced higher yields. A few had benefited from line-sowing and many copied in 2013; one farmer expected 3 times as much production. Pesticides provided in the *kebele* did not work on many diseases and weeds.

Four BBM ploughs donated by government were not used as they were too heavy. The Service Co-operative thresher which worked for 30 years had broken and the wereda union had not responded to a request for maintenance. There was a private thresher. Most did not plough the ideal number of times. Some farmers had started to intercrop haricot beans with maize to improve the nitrogen content.

Improved maize seeds had led to a surplus which was sold; some had built houses with tin roofs, built houses in town, and/or sent children to Arab countries. People also sold *tef*, sorghum, red-pepper, *nug*, and mangoes. The amount of land planted with *tef* had increased. Despite government discouragement eucalyptus production had increased; one man had recently sold trees for 47,000 *birr*. Individuals and the youth co-operative produced seedlings.

Irrigation from the rivers and streams had expanded in recent years starting from 2005. There were many private wells which were used for garden vegetables among other things. In early 2013 irrigation covered about 70 hectares and 160 beneficiaries (36% of landed households) and this had

increased to 200 households by late 2013. In order of importance the irrigated vegetables sold were tomatoes (introduced in 2008), potatoes, sugarcane, green peppers and cabbages. Big traders came from Addis Ababa to buy tomatoes and sugarcane. Mangoes were also sold to distant markets. People also sold bananas, onions, beetroots, carrots, coffee and *chat* (mostly Muslims). New seeds of banana, avocado, tomatoes, and onions had been introduced.

Irrigation was set up, maintained and controlled by the owners. The government had provided nothing but training. A co-operative was established in 2005, a second one in 2012, and after that four more. Most used traditional technologies but there were seven private pumps. There were two harvests a year; one of them usually maize. In 2013 some farmers produced tomatoes and onions using rainwater or a mix of rainwater and irrigation in new places; they copied the new land renter from Addis Ababa who had done it elsewhere. More tree seedlings, sugarcane and cabbages were grown. The main problem was price fluctuation; for example the price of tomatoes was very low in October probably because they were being produced in bulk. Rich farmers sold directly to traders in Addis Ababa but poor farmers got lower prices from brokers.

Shortages of water had led to conflicts and constrained expansion. An irrigation office was set up in the wereda in July 2013. The kebele had a plan to plant a big pump on the Sama river to expand the amount of land irrigated using AGP funds but this had not been implemented. The SC had refused to sell fertiliser to farmers irrigating tomatoes saying they were under inventory; some rich farmers bought it in Ambo but others had to wait. Farmers had to go to Addis Ababa to buy seeds and, until recently, pesticides.

Until 2013 livestock-rearing practices were still mostly traditional and both quantity and quality of cattle were said to be declining due to the shortage of grazing land. Everyone could use the grazing land and had to look after the cattle every fifteen days. Some had pockets of private grazing land. There was a shortage of drinking water for cattle in some areas. Shortage of grazing land, lack of fodder and regular vet services had discouraged fattening in the past but in 2013 interest in fattening using improved fodder had increased considerably and some people 'were changing their livelihoods'.

There were 3 highbreed cows and one bull and there was said to be demand for more but no supply. Selling milk was rare though some had started. About 200 kg of butter was exported annually. There had been a reduction in labour for herding, milking and cleaning the yard due to education and competition with construction and seasonal migration opportunities; wives had been taking the burden. The quantity and quality of shoats was better than in 2003; there was fattening vaccination if people paid. If there was a solution to the chicken disease problem most would be involved in chicken production. Bees had recently been affected by weedkillers. Selling honey was not an important source of income generally although a few farmers produced large amounts of honey traditionally and sold to big traders; one with 30 hives had sold honey for 60,000 *birr*.

The DAs worked with the *kebele* leaders, Development Teams, wereda agriculture office and model farmers whose numbers had increased since 2008. In 2010 200 model farmers were selected when the government provided intensive training on the GTP; most had improved their lives and some new ones had emerged. The 10 leading models competed to become champions; one who got a medal from Meles in 2008, a modern grain store and land for a house in Addis. Model farmers produced crops using improved seeds, fertiliser, pesticides and weedkiller; fattened cattle; grew irrigation crops; and kept bees. They were the fore-runners in using extension services and taught other farmers. Improved *tef* had been planted in line by model farmers in all three zones and the upcoming harvest looked very good. They had been given special advice and training. Those also involved in non-farm business were improving faster. Using model farmers was even more effective than using the government structures.

Training and advice from DAs were said by the DAs to have contributed to the expansion of farming. Sometimes they advised on seasonal activities and sometimes they demonstrated planting techniques on the farm. Since 2012 they advised the inter-cropping of legumes with maize; they advise crop rotation though most farmers want to grow lots of maize. In mid-2013 the kebele gave 2 hectares to the FTC and the DAs tried out some new crops and techniques. The administration of Bako ARC had moved to the Agricultural Transformation Agency and links with the kebele had reduced. The ATA had given two new types of maize seed to four farmers as a trial; production was very good and many farmers wanted them in the following year. Melkasa ARC had started research on mixed tree and crop production with 30 farmers. A recent meeting of experts on the red pepper disease recommended protecting the farm from flooding, using the best improved seeds, different kinds of fertiliser and properly managing the land fertility.

DAs provided some advice on cattle management though it was not regular; they went to people's homes to give training to men and women together on fattening, milk production and fodder with the focus on quality rather than quantity. Farmers were reluctant to follow the advice and there was no continuous follow-up by the kebele and lack of improved breed provision. The vaccination service in Tibe did not cover the whole kebele. DAs advised farmers to make and store hay and helped them plant improved fodder varieties as part of the watershed activities. There was training on how to improve traditional honey production and five farmers got modern hives which they did not use.

A view from the community was that the DAs did not give proper support working mainly to push farmers to buy fertilisers, pesticides and improved seeds; they gave special treatment to rich model farmers and many farmers did not accept their advice. The DAs said most did but some did not. After Meles' death in August 2012 DA support in the community had declined; they lived in town and only visited the community for half a day, if that. The role of the wereda agricultural office had declined, they no longer came once a week, and no-one controlled the DAs. Farmers complained at big wereda meetings but the DAs tried to retaliate and the wereda took no action. Farmers wanted the DAs, SC and wereda officials to help them get improved vegetable and fruit seeds.

Family labour is mostly used for maize and tomato production, coffee and keeping cattle. Sometimes maize was produced using *debo* and people helped each other through *wenfel* and the 1-5 structure. There were 100 agricultural servants. Paid daily labour had become more common due to irrigation and the emergence of model farmers. The use of daily labour for maize started very recently. In the past it was associated with low status but it was becoming a source of income for poor people, children and women (up to 30 *birr* a day). There was seasonal in-migrant labour mostly from Gonder, Wollo and Gojjam; some worked on irrigation sharing the profits.

Orthodox Christian followers did not work on Sundays, annual holidays and five saints' days during the month. People were working longer and harder and in April there had been no huge recent meetings affecting working days. In October there were meetings at kebele and zone levels to assess development performance in the last year and agree targets for the next one.

There were no outside investment activities in the *kebele*. Karaturi and Jakaranda Agro industries sited on land leased by the wereda in the Oda Gibe area had little impact on the community except that they sold vegetable in Tibe market which lowered prices for irrigation farmers.

In April 179 people were engaged in non-farm business and more were added by October. There were six larger grain traders in the community all trading more than one crop in competition with others. Almost all traded maize, *tef* and sorghum getting information about market prices from large traders in Addis Ababa. Sometimes they sold to the SC in Tibe and the Union in Bako. Two of them bought trucks in 2013 and rented them out to other traders for 40,000+ *birr* a month.

Less than 25% of maize was sold to the Service Co-operative in Tibe and the rest to traders in the kebele or in the market in Tibe who sent most of it to Addis Ababa. The SC price was higher than the market price at harvest time but there were transport costs to consider. Recently in the rainy season

traders based in the community were paying a better price than the SC and they also provided credit. The local price might be lower than the national price in the rainy season when farmers were selling in bulk to buy seeds and fertiliser. Red peppers were mostly sold to local traders who exported to Ambo and Addis Ababa. The involvement of young men in trade had increased since 2008. Many women were involved in petty trading of vegetables and crops in the market. There were men and women trading in different kinds of livestock; not much had changed since 2008 except that prices were higher. A few women collected and sold butter for export to cities.

About ten people were involved in part-time carpentry making furniture and house construction. There were ten weavers mostly in Boto; most were trained in Ambo prison and used improved looms to make clothes. There were four part-time spinners and people in Boto making *gotera* part-time. About 90 produced and sold *areke* and *tella*. There were three small roadside shops up from one in 2008 and smaller tea-houses. About 20 women sold firewood and there was widespread production of charcoal with about 40 for whom it was the main source of livelihood; some sold grass in Tibe. An *iddir* in Ebicho sold pure water to people from Tibe. There was a private threshing machine and a few irrigations pumps for rent. Mule cart services started in 2008 and in April 2013 there were about 45. There were nine traditional medical practitioners and repairers of watches, shoes and umbrellas. Some Oda Haro residents had opened grain mills, a clinic, a private school, a men's beauty salon and shops in Tibe.

Credit was available through WALKO but the wereda and kebele administrations only focused on farming activities so there was no training or advice and no land available for enterprise or service activities and no electricity.

Some educated people were employed in the wereda administration and as teachers and HEWs outside the wereda. The kebele manager was from the community. Four primary school guards were employed. One person was employed part-time in the primary school through community contributions. A very few young men migrated to Metemma, Nekeam, Humera and Jimma for seasonal agricultural labour. About 30 people were contract workers for the China road construction company building the road from Benishangul to Addis Ababa. There were about 30 urban migrants working in sugar and flour factories in Fincha and Addis Ababa, or as construction workers, waiters etc; some men had migrated illegally to Sudan.

Some women migrated for factory work, especially to one glass factory in Addis Ababa. Some worked in bars, cafés, shops or as domestic workers; they sometimes returned with children. Young women were increasingly migrating legally to Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Kuwait, Qatar and illegally to Sudan, recently including Christians. In the year to April 2013 more than 35 went and the number continued to rise. A broker who had grown up in Oda Haro came from Addis Ababa to recruit migrants; they worked in Addis acquiring new skills while the visa process was done. The estimated recent annual income contribution to the community was more than 100,000 *birr*. Some migrants had good experiences and returned with money to invest in urban businesses while some suffered a lot due to language limitations, poor labour skill and/or bad employers. There was some disagreement with the government's recent ban on international migration. Five members of one family had recently migrated to the US to join relatives who had migrated earlier.

WALKO provided group credit (interest rate 15%) to people in small groups; 70 people were organised into 14 groups with five members each. Liability for an unpaid debt was first with the five and then the 70. People saved 20 *birr* a month and 10% of this was kept to cover the loans of those who died naturally. Loans for farm and non-farm activities were available theoretically up to 10,000 *birr* though the association only provided what it thought people could repay. Many young people could not save the requisite amount. Model farmers wanted to borrow more than 10,000 *birr* and some had left the association. Poorer households borrowed to buy fertiliser and improved seeds. Payback was three times a year and failure to pay led to punishments. The loans had helped many people move out of poverty though five people had left the community when they could not repay

their debts. In the past experts from the association visited farmers and advised them on how to spend the money, but as it became richer the leaders were 'focusing on their money'.

People borrowed from relatives and neighbours, and those with land or livestock and a guarantor borrowed from private moneylenders at 100-200% pa interest secretly as it was illegal. Many who borrowed from moneylenders used the money to repay WALKO. *Iddir* lent small amounts for short periods. There were no MFIs, RUSACCOs or NGO credit. The savings culture had improved in recent years; some farmers saved in banks and some bought Renaissance dam bonds one investing 14,000 *birr*. Livestock and stored food crops were other forms of saving. Equib had declined due to conflicts. Many preferred to invest rather than save.

There had been a number of cases of violent burglary by gangs since April.

Since 2008 there were more tin-roofed houses, separate houses for cattle and quality furniture. There were new ideas about domestic work; husbands and sons fetched water and wood, took grain to the mill, and washed their own clothes. The Service Co-operative workers were selling subsidised items like sugar to traders at a higher price and keeping the profit. It also took several hours to get the items. It had become difficult to differentiate between urban and rural young people as both wore similar clothes. Clothing styles of *Wehabi* Muslims were changing.

Most community members used contraception though there was resistance from some husbands. Unmarried girls were using contraception though they did not get it from the Health Post. There was more concern about the diets and personal hygiene of infants and small children. Many people started to care for their children from the time of conception and the number of child deaths were said to have declined. Children started simple work at about 6 and worked hard for the family from 10. Children with stepmothers could not get proper care.

Some parents sent smaller children to a private pre-school in Tibe; there was a plan for a Grade 0 in 2014. There were two primary schools: 1 full-cycle upgraded in 2012 and the other in 2013. The school had recruited a community-paid teacher from the community as there was a shortage of teachers. There was also a shortage of textbooks and teaching aids; teachers were making their own aids. The school wereda grant had been used to buy furniture and community contributions (10 *birr* a year) were to be used to build more classrooms. The school got more income from producing crops and tree seedlings for sale. Other factors contributing to poor performance were low teacher quality and pupil workload. Most children combined school and work and this was accommodated to a degree through the shift system and school closure for a week or two during the harvest season with catch-up classes at the weekends. There was some dropping-in and out including recently married men and married women with no children.

A secondary school up to Grade 10 opened in Tibe in 2012. The nearest TVET was in Bako. In April parental unhappiness was high because most children were failing Grades 10 and 12 though in October it was reported that the 2013 Grade 10 and 12 passes were better. In April many of the 82 private college graduates had no job and in October only 1 out of 162 students who had recently taken the Certificate of Competency exams had passed both the theory and the practical. Children's aspirations were declining as they observed the unemployment of their educated older siblings.

Many young men were un(der)employed due to lack of land and jobs. There was no support from government or NGOs, including micro-finance. Young men who wanted to stay in the community and become farmers had lost hope. Most young men married after 19 but orphans and others with family problems might marry from 15. 25 had recently become the common age of marriage. Girls married from 14 often by eloping due to doing badly at school, economic problems and/or frustration at domestic responsibilities though in many cases in 2013 the age was more than 20. There had been a few cases of forced abduction and rape in the last year.

Though around 70% of young men in their 20s were married less than 5% had inherited or been given land from their parents. Some farmed through share-cropping and renting; others were involved in smallscale trade or mule carts. Urban migration had increased. Heavy work on the road had damaged the health of a number of young men and boys. There were around 150 educated jobless youth some involved in criminal activities and drinking and other bad habits. Young women's migration to Arab countries had increased. In the past parents wanted their daughters to marry rich landowners but in 2013 they preferred to send them to Arab countries or school.

The whole community including officials was against the ban on female circumcision. Circumcision of relatives from other places was conducted by Muslims. Most young men of 19 had started sexual intercourse with girlfriends or other women; they did not use condoms as they were not available. Some young men attending secondary school and living in rented houses took girlfriends and women there and raped them but it was taboo for women to say they had been raped. Also the court required three or more witnesses and a medical report. Young women who got pregnant had babies or abortions or committed suicide; some migrated.

There was a youth co-operative in Boto zone working on afforestation; it was organised in 2010 and had 40+ members. They had planted some new trees but their activity was not as expected; kebele and wereda administrations did not give them proper support. The kebele administration had recently held a small meeting with some young people in Ebicho to discuss organising them in small-scale co-operatives and to give them communal grazing land near Tibe to start grainmills and livestock fattening but there had been no practical action. The wereda lacked budget to help youth form co-operatives.

Tensions arose when young people started earning their own income. Adults and young people did not accept each other's ideas and parents could not properly manage the lives of their children. Most parents did not want to share their land with their grown-up children and the conflict between the generations had been increasing. Young people were almost excluded from political and economic activities and reportedly most youth did not want to be involved in politics. There was a report of recent pressures from the kebele and wereda on youth to make young people party members. Those who got jobs with the support of the administration became members; those who were not members could not easily get jobs. It was also said to be necessary to have a relative at wereda level. A group of young women were planning to establish a youth association to empower themselves; they planned to demand support at kebele and wereda levels.

Polygyny was practised whether or not the senior wife agreed; women had the legal right to claim against it but there was poor awareness. One man had five wives and 35 children. Widows could keep the land if their children stayed with them and re-marry though re-marrying was very rare. Five widows had refused to be inherited and gone to court in the last year; those whose name was on the land registration book got decisions in their favour. Divorce was not common; divorced people were less respected and there were problems implementing women's rights as they clashed with customary norms. Male violence had reportedly decreased due to the 1-5 and *iddir* network though there were still problems.

A women's co-operative established in 2005 did not survive long. There were no specific interventions for women; they could access credit if they had collateral and savings. No-one was committed to making women's participation in the kebele structure happen nor was the intervention to increase women's participation in the wereda structure performed fully; there were only three in official positions. Other sectors did not want to co-operate with the Women and Child Affairs Office.

In 2013 diets included *tef* and sorghum as well as maize and people were eating more vegetables and fruit and less meat. In 2008 they ate twice a day; in 2013 three times. The wereda said there was training on nutrition improvement and screening of children every 3 months. In 2011 and 2012 there

were six health volunteers from the women's 1-5s working mainly to improve child nutrition but they stopped in 2013.

The community had benefited from the government's water development programme; 70% accessed eight taps and two spring points and 30% got water from rivers and ponds. An *iddir* sold very clean water. Most people travelled long distances to get safe water; they were willing to contribute for a project and the kebele had asked the wereda but they had not yet responded. The wereda GTP plan was to reach 100% safe water by 2015 but there was shortage of budget, spare parts and trained professionals and the wereda office had no car.

Since 2008 HEWs had made people aware of the importance of family planning, vaccination, personal hygiene, and environmental sanitation and there had been important changes in malaria prevention. DDT was sprayed in houses, compounds and swampy places in May and mosquito nets were distributed; this year there was much less malaria. HEWs were expected to give pre- and post-natal care and a clean and safe delivery service but there had been no deliveries at the Health Post due to lack of skills training and delivery kits. TBAs had been restricted from practising but could help at deliveries at home in an emergency. There was an ambulance but no budget for fuel so families had to pay fuel costs. The number of women delivering at home was said to have reduced.

The two HEWs were meant to follow-up the health conditions of people in each zone working closely with zone and gare leaders. Many people would not let HEWs into their compounds and set their dogs on them. The most accepted programmes were malaria prevention, family planning and child nutrition programmes. Problems with the HEW system described by a wereda official included lack of transport, skill limitations including bad English, and absence due to maternity leave and training.

There were more orphans (15) and there was a suggestion that HIV/AIDS was a factor; people were not willing to disclose their status. The quality of service at the new health centre in Tibe was low and people preferred to use private clinics. Building of a hospital in Bako started at the end of 2012.

More than 99% of inhabitants were Oromo. About 60% of people were Protestants; 32% were Orthodox Christian, 7% Islam and fewer than 1% only practised *kallu*, though some combined this with participation in a major religion, including 10 young people. *Kallu* was celebrated in September in the former leader's house; people came from towns. Since 2003 the number of women and children who had become Protestants had increased considerably while since 2008 many Sufi Muslims had converted to Wehabism. Until 2012 they got money from outside for holidays which reportedly increased their numbers quickly. In all religions there were stricter rules and more teaching.

There were four Protestant churches and separate mosques for Sufi and Wehabi Muslims. There were no Orthodox Christians and roughly half and half Muslims and Protestants in Alemgena zone which is where the first Muslim community emerged. The religion increased through births and migration from Jimma. Muslims dominated trading and were becoming the richer section in the community. Ebicho and Boto zones were mainly inhabited by Orthodox Christians and Protestants. Muslims and Christians celebrated together in each other's houses and some households contained people of different religions. However, relations between the leaders were not so good. There had been verbal tensions between Protestants and Muslims over conversions and in early 2013 'only the government' prevented fights between Mekane Yesus followers and Orthodox Christians.

There were tensions between the *wehabi* and *sofia* sects in Oda Haro which were even greater in Bako where the mosques did not have a good relationship and the followers disagreed on how to practice Islam. *Wehabism* was considered as extremist at wereda and kebele level though the community did not observe this among the followers. The wereda suspected that some *wehabists* from Addis Ababa with links, including funding, with internal and external 'terrorists' who were wanted by the government had hidden themselves in Oda Haro and *kebele* officials informed the community. In the monthly meeting in Tibe there was discussion of the government concern that

the expansion of this strict kind of religion was a threat to peace and security. The promoters of the religion were said to use returned international migrants to transmit their messages, distribute money to followers and convert *Sofia* member with the aim of establishing a Muslim state in Ethiopia.

Some Protestants in Tibe had tried to set up an Oromo-only section within Mekane Yesus following a similar move in Ambo. They were expelled and set up their own church on the land of the leader which had ten members but was growing. Since most had become Protestants religious celebrations had been declining. Muslim women had started wearing the veil and long dresses and men were shortening their trousers, wearing a religious hat, and refusing to shake hands with women.

The size and large population reportedly made the *kebele* difficult to administer especially remote Boto zone whose people still had not accepted that they were part of Oda Haro. In April the current chair had been in office for three years. His predecessor had served for many years but left due to illness; he was still a cabinet member. The leader before was dismissed for corruption. Cabinet members did not attend meetings on time or properly implement government directives and programmes. There was competition for power among the cabinet members and with the manager who had been a Cabinet member in the past and did not have good relations with the cabinet or chair. Also there was lack of budget to run the *kebele* day-to-day activities. The *kebele* Council had 100 members, 50 of each sex. There were no women or youth structures at *kebele* level.

Each zone had a chair, secretary and 3 members. The zones played leading roles in maintaining peace and security; the leaders received instructions from the Cabinet and *kebele* manager which they passed to the Development Team leaders and followed up on their implementation. They also reported progress and problems to the Cabinet and manager. There were roughly 25 DTs with five leaders and 25-30 member households. They were meant to implement directives, organise Public Works and mobilise people to help each other in their 1-5s; also to organise members to get improved fertilisers and seeds and mobilise them to protect environmental sanitation. Most DT leaders were also political party (cell) leaders.

There were 125 1-5s whose intended role was to mobilise people to build latrines, help each other during labour problems and mobilise themselves for development activities. Since 2010, in principle though not practice, women were organised in DTs in order to improve family health. They were organised under the *kebele* women's affairs leader with technical support from the HEWs but the leader had not been active. Later in 2013 there was a big move by the wereda to activate women's structures.

As *kebele* officials at all levels worked without pay people had started to refuse to take on the roles as they prevented them from improving their household economies. The wereda was aware of the problems with the DTs and was planning to involve model farmers in managerial roles. Other problems were that occasionally there were disagreements among the leaders of teams, people did not accept instructions and were not motivated to co-operate in 1-5s with some unwilling to engage in the labour-sharing system. The 1-5s had not met between April and September.

There were 143 male and 15 female party members who paid 12 *birr*. Many members had not joined willingly. The leadership was very active during the April elections. The party organisation consisted of a chair and 3 members at *kebele* level and 56 other organisers in the community. Cell members in each *gare* were meant to meet every two weeks to discuss political issues and report to the party organiser. Party organisers and DT leaders should have met twice a month to discuss important things that had happened in the *gare*. However a wereda party member said most party meetings were carried out at *wereda* level every year. Party members were trained in November 2013; they were told to agitate the people to side with the government in the 2015 election.

The Council of elders handled disputes about marriage, land, violence and property and advised criminals. Elders were recognised by the government and represented the community in important

meetings at wereda and zone levels. As their roles were accepted by government people easily accept and implement their ideas. Government had declared religious equality and leaders of all three religions had been recognised at kebele and wereda levels considering them important in bringing peace, security and development. *Iddir* were involved in applying sanctions to those who did not follow directives and for mobilising people for DA training. Since 2008 they had started to play an important role, which was recognised by the *wereda*, in taking action against those involved in theft and violence which had decreased as a result. In the first instance the fine the criminal and force him to return the stolen property; if he does not conform he and his family are excluded from all social, economic, political and cultural activities. Although this approach was said to be against the law it was supported by wereda officials.

The current kebele manager had worked as vice-chair for a year and was kebele secretary before becoming the manager. He was also powerful in *iddir* and the church and allegedly used his power to take revenge on people who fell out with him, for example apparently arranging for some to be excluded from the community through *iddir*. He was a leading model farmer and was said to focus more on his private farm and irrigation work than his job mostly working only half a day. He was an opposition member in the 2005 election and had allegedly got the manager job through bribery.

There was a view from the community that the DAs should have contributed more than they did as they only visited the kebele on some days and then sometimes only for half a day. In the last 5 years they had helped facilitate the purchase of fertilisers and improved seeds through the SC, provided training, demonstrated some different farming techniques on farms, provided training on terracing and tree-planting and helped produce tree seedlings. They had not given enough time to the control of deforestation activities. The livestock DA was less available than the other two and there was no vet. In April there was no house for the HEWs in the kebele and they lived in Tibe so there was no evening or weekend service and sometimes they were only in the community for half days. In October HEW houses were under construction.

There were seven major and 40+ smaller male *iddir* and a large number of smaller female ones. Since 2003 the role of *iddir* in establishing peace and security had increased. Sanctions included return of stolen property, a fine of 200 *birr* shared equally between *iddir* and *kebele*, and excommunication.

Land tax ranged from 15 *birr* to 260 and flat-rate voluntary contributions amounted to 42 *birr*. Contributions from all households for road-building had ranged from 29 to 200 *birr*. There were market taxes. Five traders had business licences and paid tax to the wereda; they complained about competition from illegal traders saying there was no standardisation at wereda level. One small trader said he sometimes bribed the market tax collectors.

Most people supported public goods construction such as schools and internal roads through Public Works but there was a need for a skilled, educated and open-minded administrator to manage the community-based development activities. There was no fixed working season but it was usually 15-30 days between September and December.

In 2010 200 model farmers were selected and trained for 15 days on how to improve agricultural production as part of the introduction of the GTP. Since the launching of the GTP people had started to focus more on their private agricultural work which had brought a big improvement in economic wellbeing. Kebele economic development activities were mainly focused on married adult men who farmed. A local trader said the Government did not accept complaints from traders and gave them very limited support.

Wereda administrators were said to implement policies and programmes in fits and starts without completing or following-up on any properly and there were complaints that there were a lot of plans and programmes presented to the community in different meetings which were never effectively implemented. This had led to increasing questioning of everything by community members. This was

an important attitude change and some farmers had begun actively participating in kebele and party meetings. An HEW and the NRM DA said that the community was responding more positively to government interventions than in the past. The head of the wereda said that since Meles' death officials had lost interest in implementing programmes, especially those relating to women, perhaps due to less control from the Regional level.

Many young people supported opposition parties in the 2005 election and afterwards the government imprisoned a large number of them and after that they became politically passive. Comments and ideas from young people were still dismissed by wereda officials as ideas from opposition parties. . People voted for the EPRDF in 2010 believing in having electricity in the near future. There was a suggestion that since the ruling party gave no support to young people they aspired to see a strong opposition party in the future. The 1-5s prevented the formation of other political parties at local levels. Conditions in politics and religion were not good but people could not talk about them in meetings as they would be defined as extremists.

There was a belief that since Meles' death favouritism, nepotism and bribery in the wereda administration had become a major problem which particularly affected poor women. Party leaders reportedly were working to find jobs for their children at wereda and zone levels. Officials coming to resolve two inter-kebele conflicts allegedly favoured their kebeles of origin. Policemen and officials sometimes took bribes from thieves and released them. The *kebele* chair, who had been in place for 3 years, was replaced in August accused of lack of commitment and taking land tax and money collected for internal road construction amounting to more than 10,000 *birr*. There were allegations that kebele and social court officials took bribes and supported relatives and friends. The *kebele* had collected 30 *birr* from the community for solar power in the last three years but nothing was done and the wereda claimed lack of budget. One change was that ordinary people were complaining to higher authorities and battling with corrupt people.

Iddir investigating crimes worked closely with elders and 1-5s; the *kebele* followed up the implementation of sanctions which were reported to the wereda monthly. Only cases with enough witnesses were taken to court. There were 60 militia members six of whom were members of the cabinet. In the rainy season 58 thieves, many young and unemployed, stole maize, sugarcane, bananas and livestock; after the *iddir* imposed sanctions they returned property to 18 farmers.

There had been conflicts with a neighbouring *kebele* over the use of irrigation water since 2003 and forest land since 2005. A conflict over forest land had started with another in 2011. Sometimes there were conflicts over use of water for cattle with another neighbour. Every month there was an inter-kebele meeting of people from nine kebeles to discuss security issues in the area. It was said to have started in 2005 following unrest in the kebeles and wereda after the election. Although opposition parties won the election the government finally changed the result and became the winner. The discussion on security issues became an instrument to reduce border conflicts and, in conjunction with the use of *iddir* sanctions, crimes such as livestock theft.

One view was that farmers were very reluctant to accept new ideas; most pretended they were willing to practice them when actually they were reluctant. However there was also a view that people's development aspirations had changed since 2010 and they were becoming hard workers though people were changing at different rates. Model farmers were trained once or twice a year; in December 2012 150 were trained for 3 days in education, agriculture, security, health and politics. Some directives were passed through general or zone-level meetings.

As a result of modern education young people were said to have no interest in customary beliefs and values and be reluctant to accept advice from elders. Listening to the radio and watching TV helped people to understand the different cultures in Ethiopia. Urban migrants returned with new styles and knowledge about other communities. Muslim women returning for migration to Arab countries covered their faces and wore long dresses. Traditionalists supported female circumcision and

opposed modern hairstyles and clothes and strict religious practices. When HEWs taught farmers that circumcision was against government policy they argued that government policy was against their culture.

The AGP had announced a budget of 11.3 million ETB for activities in 17 *kebele* where FTC activities were deep-rooted which included Oda Haro. There was special budget training in April and May and people were registered in farming and non-farming activities in groups of around 20 people on the basis of their proposals: innovation groups wanted to use new technologies while interest groups were organised in terms of business activity. The government planned to give 80% of a budget for co-operatives to engage in fattening, grainmills, irrigated farming, trading, forest management etc. The wereda promised to allocate the budget at the beginning of July but it had not arrived by October. Wereda management was problematic and there was a rumour wereda officials had used the money personally; the community had lost confidence in *kebele* officials.

Future wereda plans included expanding SMEs in rural and urban areas by raising funds; the rural strategy was to organise youth and landless people in co-operatives to work on animals, afforestation, honey bees, and business including trading. They also planned to expand irrigation using model farmers to mobilise others, monitor security and safety, improve rural internal roads, get safe drinking water to 100% and electricity to 75% and improve education and health services. Kebele officials said that the government planned to change most farmers into model farmers. The kebele had plans to provide a modern irrigation machine. The government had a plan to construct the Gibe 4 hydro-electric power station on land along the Gibe river which will create a reservoir on the lowland kebeles of the wereda.

5. The story of Oda Dawata, Tiyo wereda, Arssi zone, Oromia

Oda Dawata is 15 km from Asela which is 175 km from Addis Ababa in Oromiya Region. Asela lies west of Mount Chilalo on a high plateau and came into existence before the Italian invasion during which it was captured. A hospital and school were built in 1946 and by 1960 it had electricity and a telephone service. Generally the area is self-sufficient and has had little experience of severe famine, although there were food shortages in 1985 caused by shortage of rain and 1999 caused by frost. It is famous for four international track athletes including Haile Gebreselassie.

The main road from Asella to Adama goes through Oda Dawata *kebele* which surrounds Gonde town which is 12 kms from Asela. There are four villages organised in three zones: Akiya, Chebote, and Mecro-Begejo. About 60% of the terrain was flat or sloping, 39% was steep and 1% was gullies.

5.1. Oda Dawata in imperial times

When Oromo people originally came to the area they settled in the higher areas of Akiya and Chebote where it was not so hot and dry as in Mecro and Begejo. Between 1881 and 1886 Menelik II conducted several unsuccessful invasion campaigns against the rich and fertile Arssi land. The Arsi campaign was one of the bloodiest of his campaigns but he eventually conquered in 1886. The administration of Oromo lands was given to Shewan Amharas. During Haile Selassie Amhara people came and settled in the lower areas and since then these *ketena* have mostly been occupied by Amharas.

In the 1950s a *gasha* of land (40 hectares) was leased for 200 *birr* a year; this shot up to 1000 in the 1960s. During the invasion an Italian established a grain watermill on the Gonde river and after he left a local farmer used the canal to grow onions and tomatoes. Tractors and combine harvesters were introduced during Haile Selassie's reign and there was a grainmill and plastic utensils were introduced. The first school (Grade 1-8) was built in Gonde in 1970

5.2. Oda Dawata during the Derg

During the Derg some remembered there was tolerance in religion, culture and language and unity between the people. During the Derg farmers were not allowed to trade.

There were tractors and combine harvesters but they were under the control of the government and it was difficult to get access to them. There was a Producer Co-operative between 1985 and 1990; it used threshers in 1988. The irrigation was used on 3 hectares to grow *chat* and *gesho*. A primary school opened in Gonde in 1984. One person had a TV.

5.3. Oda Dawata in the early 1990s

(Oda Dawata was not researched in 1994/5 and the story comes from 2003 recollections).

During the transition to the TGE many forest trees were destroyed by the community. In 1991 and 1992 there was a period of great fear and suspicion among ethnicities, notably among Amhara and Oromo, followed by division and organising on the basis of ethnicity and language. The Oromo felt that the Amhara were living outside their Region even though the two had lived together in peace for a long time. Tension increased after the bloody conflict between the Oromos and Amharas in the nearby Arbagagu area. In 1993 OPDO and the OLF began to establish their political networks. In Odadawata efforts were made by Orthodox Christian and Muslim leaders and elders to bring peace to the community which had succeeded to an extent by 1994;

In 1995 four Peasant Associations, Gonde-Begejo, Mekro, Chebote and Akiya united and became Oda Dawata.

5.4. Oda Dawata 1995 - 2003

In 2000 there were 875 households. 70% were Oromo, 25% Amhara and the remainder Siltie or other ethnic groups. Arssi Oromos tended to be Muslim and the Amhara and Shewa Oromos Orthodox Christian. There were three villages: Gonde-Begejo, Akiya-Lokicha and Mekro-Chebote. Akiya and Chebote were at an altitude of 3000 metres (*dega* climate) and Gonde, Begejo and Mekro at about 2,200 metres (*weyna dega*). There were two perennial rivers flowing along northern and southern boundaries. There were complaints of flooding in 2003.

By 1999 divisions based on ethnicity had declined further though they were not totally removed. In 2003 the division between people because of language was noticeable; they quarrelled at meetings and waterpoints for reasons which were not relevant in the past and children who spoke Amharic were not accepted by those who spoke Oromiffa. However, there was a view that compared with the past people were participating in political, social and economic activities in a better way.

There had been intensive deforestation since 1991 which was believed to have caused a steady rise in temperature. Erosion was also becoming a major problem. In 2003 seedlings of various tree species were being distributed to farmers. The hottest months were March to May and the coldest October to January. The main rainy season was between June and September.

65% of the kebele land was used for farming and 21% for grazing. 6.5% was covered with forest and 7.5% used for other purposes. A large communal forest occupied part of the kebele and the Bale Mountain National Park was nearby. A major problem in the kebele was land shortage; a considerable number of people were landless mostly youth or in-migrants. The last re-distribution was in 1991. Some landowners leased land for money and rich farmers were keen to access more land through contracting; some had young helpers who identified potential land and/or organised labour. In the past when a farmer died the PA took his land and distributed it to those without enough land while the family kept the rest but in 2003 the family inherited all the land.

In 2000 the telecommunications service restarted and many richer people in Mekro and Begejo got phones at home. The town of Gonde and village of Mekro had access to electricity. There were more than 200 TVs and 1 fridge. In and around Gonde there had been urbanisation; there was a Health

Post and Agricultural Extension Unit. There was a market in Gonde on Sundays and Wednesdays but it was far from Akiya-Lokicha. People also travelled frequently to three other markets.

Mekro and Begejo were situated along the main highway from Nazareth to Asela and had access to transport. The road from Kulumsa to Ziway-Dugda passed through Begejo giving them easy transport access to Gonde, Asela and Ziway-Dugda. The villages of Chebote and Akiya had no access to road transportation and people used horses or donkeys. In 2002 wider internal roads were constructed.

Economically times were harder but the community attitude to rural development was positive as it would be the springboard for the country's development plan. Farmers were said to be increasing their effort to improve the quality of land as they were confident that no-one would evict them and there was no fear of land redistribution.

Wheat, maize and sorghum dominated *meher* cultivation in the *weyna dega* area and barley, peas, beans and potatoes in the *dega* area. During the *belg* season potatoes, barley and beans were grown and in Begejo irrigated potatoes, onions, carrots, tomatoes, beetroots, green peppers and cabbage were produced. Farmers raised cattle, shoats, pack animals and hens side-by-side with growing crops. A farmer said that for things to go well he needed a better market for his products.

There was differentiation among farmers based on their resources, capacity efficiency, and interest. Hardworking farmers were meant to lend crops to farmers who did not have enough and show others what they had learned from agricultural extension workers. They should farm extra land by taking contracts from those without ox or labour. One richer farmer said he provided oxen, seeds and money to those who lacked them, prepared feasts for the community and served as a model; in return he was respected and the community was expected to assist in all farm activities if demanded. In the past wealth depended on land or livestock owned but following the nationalisation of land livestock became more important; owning an urban house was also a sign of wealth. Those from wealthy families had more opportunity to become wealthy themselves.

Middle-wealth farmers had enough food for their family but no extra to lend to others; they should learn new techniques from the hard workers. Poor farmers had no seeds or ox and leased their land to others: they were responsible for exploiting their labour to get better and should have a good manner. They had a right to moral and material support. Two young landless farmers, one Grade 9 complete and the other a drop-out college student were both rich as a result of leasing farmland through contracts.

Farmers bought fertiliser on credit from suppliers. Fertiliser increased productivity; those who could not afford to buy fertiliser were in trouble and tended to give their land for contract. In 2000 farmers were not able to get a reasonable price for their produce; they sold wheat for 80 *birr* a quintal which was not enough to cover the cost of the inputs. Farmers were expecting a good harvest in 2003 and were worried the same thing would happen; if so fertiliser debts could not be repaid.

In Begejo and Mecro tractors and combine harvesters had been used since the 1960s. Farmers used fertilisers, improved seeds, pesticides and weedkillers. The irrigation system using the river Kulumsa did not have enough water to reach all those who paid tax for irrigated land. There was a suggestion of a mechanism for taking turns.

Communal land had all been divided with each person taking their share. Crossbreed cows, bulls and hens were distributed among the farmers and the quality of dairy products was improving. The community preference for breed cattle had increased (1) in order to get better milk production and a hybrid ox with better ploughing capacity and (2) scarcity of grazing land had forced the community to reduce the number of less productive indigenous cattle. However, they were expensive to buy and rear so there were not very many; the cost of other livestock had not changed much in the last ten years. There was fattening of oxen, cows and shoats. Livestock vaccines were used to prevent disease.

In 1999 an agricultural extension package was started with a limited number of farmers. The wereda agricultural experts and extension workers decided the amount of fertiliser and when to sow what. In 2003 a new family package was introduced; ownership of the project was given to the family in animal husbandry, poultry and crop management. Government training on modern agricultural techniques was given to farmers by the Wereda agricultural department and Gonde Agricultural Extension Unit. Views on new agricultural ideas were that they produced better yields but were risky, expensive and not available to all. Kulumsa ARC sold improved seeds and provided different kinds of seedlings. One farmer said he got abundant production through using better seeds and the assistance of extension workers. Government should help in supplying pesticides and fertiliser. For a few Global 2000 provided cows, oxen, and hens for sale and showed how modern stores were constructed.

The two widely-practised labour-sharing mechanisms were *debo* and *wenfel* but they had reduced in the last ten years since the food and drink was more expensive than hiring labour, it saved labour preparing the food and drink, and any failure in quantity and quality of food and drink might lead to blacklisting. Wage labour during harvesting was commonly provided by people from the community and migrant workers from highland weredas in Arssi and northern Shewa. The contract for harvesting $\frac{1}{4}$ hectare of land cost 35 *birr*. Labourers were hired on annual basis for 600 *birr*, housing and food or a *timad* of land to grow their own crops. For newly-established households with no land these forms of labour were key to their livelihood. Daily labour was paid 3 *birr* a day. Boys from poor families were hired as shepherds at a wage of 250 *birr* plus accommodation and food. This was less common in 2003 as there was a greater commitment to education by parents. There was an exchange of use of oxen for crops.

Non-farm activities included cattle trade and retail and wholesale grain trade. There was a farmer well-known for his carpentry. Women engaged in informal petty business activities such as petty trade and selling local drinks and malt. Women from the higher villages sold firewood. Men did daily labour including manual labour in Asela. It was estimated that there were over 300 ex-soldiers in the kebele and around 100 still serving in the army. Employment opportunities for rural women were few. People went to do daily labour in the nearby *kolla* areas until their harvesting season came. Otherwise there was little male migration. Some women migrated to Nazret and Addis Ababa to work as house servants and in rare cases to foreign countries. There was a woman employed in an Arab country who sent money to her family.

In 2002 a Farmers' Bank was established. Customary credit was provided in kind and as cash with interest rates up to 100%. Usually the borrower used the money to buy inputs and paid back during harvesting. People also borrowed money or crops without interest from friends and relatives. The customary ways of lending were declining due to lack of trust on the side of the lenders. Government lent agricultural inputs like fertilisers, improved seeds, and pesticides to be repaid during the harvest. There many *equb* in the PA: in Gonde town for merchants and in the villages for women engaged in selling local drinks, malt or firewood.

Around 25% of houses had iron roofs (sign of wealth); they first appeared in the 1986 villagisation programme and the numbers had grown fast since 1991. Separate houses for animals and kitchens were built, almost a third had improved stoves and 3% had kitchen cupboards. All households had some locally produced utensils; wealthy houses also had modern furniture, radios and tape and a few had TVs. Men and women were better-dressed.

The society was highly male-dominated, descent was patrilineal and almost all households were headed by men. However, heads no longer had the exclusive right to make decisions on property; wives had to agree and other household members could have a say. Adoption was common. The gender division of labour was clear; men did not participate in domestic activities.

The richest farmer was a model favoured by the agricultural bureau which made many visits representing the community. Another rich farmer was known for discouraging meetings in favour of work. Wealth was a key factor in achieving social status; the wealthy were expected to behave well in relation to those of lower status. Elders played an important role handling all social issues particularly conflicts. They were selected according to community or clan status; some were religious or clan leaders. People were expected to assist them with labour and material and social support when necessary. They had good relations with PA officials.

In the past marriage was arranged through families or involved abduction. In 2003 there were fewer marriages because of longer education, delayed male livelihood establishment, young people not accepting parental choices, and the expense of bridewealth although this had fallen due to growing economic hardship. The age of marriage had risen to 17-19. There was more abduction in Akiya-Lokicha and more arranged marriages in Gonde. Polygyny which had been common was reducing due to economic reasons and changing attitudes. A divorced woman remained indirectly under her husband's influence and could not remarry; since the law giving women equal rights to property men were said to have been less likely to take the lead in divorce though women struggled to get the law implemented.

A family planning office opened in 2003 and women knew about the use of contraceptives. However the population was increasing rapidly since the Muslim religion did not allow contraceptives and a wives often had 10-12 children. In the past children were raised by the while community; but now only by the family. Advice had replaced harsh punishments. Children were expected to help their family but were not willing to take orders. The number of school pupils had increased considerably; education for girls was increasingly valued. In 2000 Gonde primary school added a classroom. There were junior schools in Akiya-Lokicha and nearby Kulumsa. The nearest high school was in Asela which was too far to travel each day (16 kms). Most households could not afford accommodation; most pupils stopped after Grade 8 and many during attendance at high school, particularly girls who were vulnerable to abduction.

There was a problem with unemployed school leavers; many were idle. Youth could get land from the family holding only if they were willing. A poor mother whose daughter had passed Grade 12 with high enough grades for private college could not afford the fees so she was at home with no work. There were some college graduates employed by government. In the past youngsters were seen as immature and emotional but in 2003 they were respected as they suggested good ideas thanks to their education. Female circumcision had declined partly as a result of government pressure but also due to changes in social attitudes.

One view was that women were still expected to wear long dresses, walk slowly and be cool in behaviour though there had been a little change in dressing and talking. Another was that they were becoming impudent rather than shy. Muslim women participated in public meetings.

From June to September there was food scarcity in almost all households. Due to interaction with other ethnic groups the diets of the Arssi Oromo had shifted from wheat or barley porridge to *injera* made from wheat or barley and bread associated with a decline in milk and butter production. Meat consumption had also fallen. Those living in or near the town were eating three rather than two meals a day. There was piped water in Gonde and vicinity though there were long queues and most of the rest relied on the two perennial rivers. Those who were villagised built latrines

Most illnesses came from poor sanitation, basic living conditions and poor nutrition; the most common were TB, bronchitis, typhoid and STDs. AIDS and the number of orphans were increasing. In 2002 an HIV/AIDS club was established. Most people used traditional medicine. Health centre construction started in 2001 and it was completed in 2002 with a 10% contribution from the community. Service began in 2003; there was no clean water or electricity.

Arssi Oromos were Muslims and Amharas and Shewa Oromos were Orthodox Christians. Protestants had got recognition after 1991 and numbers had increased, especially in Gonde town; the Muslims and Orthodox Christians hated them. There were traditional beliefs in *kalichas* mostly practised by Orthodox Christians.

De-centralisation had led to more jobs for educated people and faster government responses and farmers got advice from the kebele rather than having to go to the wereda. The PA was a government-backed political institution which played an important role in maintaining peace and security. The cabinet had five members who were responsible for administration, tax collection, and disseminating government policies and directives to farmers. They could expect social respect and labour service when they worked long days for the benefit of the community. Party members were seen as a bridge between higher party levels and the community and were meant to identify dissident opposition party members in the community.

Clan was very important for Arssi Oromos; there were strong clan and lineage relationships in an established hierarchy. In hard times the clan should share the burden. There was an annual ritual on top of Chilalo mountain organised by the Asela clan. Tanners and smiths found in Gonde town could not marry the rest; they were Shewa Oromo and Sodo Gurage.

There were *idir*, *equb*, and *mehaber* through which strong social bonds were formed. The *Balewold iddir* of Gonde had over 800 members contributing 6 *birr* a month; almost everyone in the town and environs belonged to it. There were also *iddir* set up at community level and affiliated with religious groups.

Land tax had increased, e.g. from 80 to 150 *birr*. Adults were meant to participate in group labour work. Attitudes to government policies were ambivalent; Oromos appreciated the use of Oromiffa and the federal government system and landholders the lack of redistribution. Some Amhara feared that the ethnic policy would lead to instability. People had the right to express their thoughts. Awareness about corruption had been raised.

Oromos and Amharas were living harmoniously. Girls and young women feared abduction. The government controlled security matters through the PA administration. Many disputes were related to land shortage. Policemen were recruited from the community and answerable to them. The social court handled minor issues and people could use their own language in courts.

Before nationalisation people were strongly attached to their land where their ancestors were buried. Religious pilgrimages by both Muslims and Orthodox Christians provided an opportunity to travel and see different things. Most people had radios but there were no TVs.

5.5. Oda Dawata 2003 - 2013

About 42% of land was flat, 18% slopy, 39% steep and gullies 1%. *Dega* land was suitable for barley, potatoes, beans and peas and *weyna dega* land for wheat, *tef*, maize, and sorghum. 90% of land was devoted to smallholder farming. There were 1624 households 490 of them female-headed; 883 owned land and 741 were non-tax-paying youth with no land. Recently 111 landless households had been registered as official as parents had given them land. The largest landholding was 7 hectares and the smallest 0.25. No farmland was owned by co-operatives or investors. Around 100 farmers share-cropped their land out mainly to landless unemployed youth and more than 100 mainly rich farmers rented land in. In 2012 a contract for 2 years for 1.25 hectares had cost 17,500 *birr*. There were more than 50 absentee landowners making livings elsewhere. Land registration was prepared but there had been no action. There were no agricultural investors in the kebele.

80% of households were Oromo, 19% Amhara, 0.5% Gurage and the rest from different places. There were Arssi Oromo who were Muslims (70%) and Shewa Oromo who were Orthodox Christians and referred to as 'Amhara' (10%).

There was no significant forest in the kebele but the government had banned cutting of trees except eucalyptus in 2010 and the forest around Chilalo mountain had started to recover; people had planted trees individually. Watershed work involving terracing and tree planting organised by development teams started in 2012. In early 2013 there was bund work for two months with technical support, training, monitoring and evaluating by wereda officials. Most people did not want to participate in the public work and rich households and those related to kebele officials did not; there were no punishments for those who did not participate. The work was not totally successful due to lack of knowledge as to where to construct the terraces; the amount of flooding had reduced but there were still problems.

The *kebele* surrounded Gonde town and people interacted with it frequently, especially those from Mecro and Begejo. There were four *ketena*: Begejo had 5 densely populated urban style villages; in Mecro the part nearest the town was densely settled as in towns while in the further part there were many hamlets; in Chebote and Akiya some houses were scattered and some in hamlets. In Begejo there were two religions: Orthodox Christianity and Protestantism. In Akiya almost all were Muslims while in Mecro there were all three. All Oromos in Akiya and Chebote were Muslims.

There had been an agreement to give some land to Gonde town; when it was taken the owners would be compensated. The *kebele* had tea-rooms and small shops. The kebele office, FTC, DAs' and vet offices, all built more than five years previously, were in Mecro very near to the main road and Gonde town; however the DAs worked in the town. Each *ketena* had a full cycle primary school and there was also a first cycle school in Akiya. There were Health Posts in Mecro and Akiya and a Health Centre in Mecro.

95% of households in Begejo had electricity, 85% in Mecro, 20% in Akiya and none in Chebote. It was used for lighting, grinding grain, mobile charging, TV etc. Around 80% of households used mobile phones though the signal was sometimes difficult to access; they were used to contact relatives living elsewhere including Arab countries, to get information about market prices and to contact wereda officials.

Gonde was 12 km from Asela the wereda and zone town, 13 from Itiya on the main road from Asela to Adama. External roads were tarmac and gravel (2); all were of good quality. There was no bus station in Gonde and a shortage of passing minibuses and cars (cost 5 *birr*). The important markets were in Itiya (13 kms along the main road) and Boru (10 km some on a gravel road).

There was an internal dryweather road in Mecro and for half the distance to Begejo from the main road. Potato trucks could not go to most parts of the kebele in the rainy season due to poor internal and feeder roads. In 2013 as part of the Universal Road Accessibility Programme the community contributed 100 *birr* for internal road construction and the wereda gave 50% of the cost and technical support. New roads from Gonde to Akiyo and Chebote were constructed although the Akiyo road was not finished and some parts of the Chebote road had later been damaged by floods and erosion and the bridge was broken. Most farmers had donkeys to transport water, wood and grain to the mill and market; some had carts and also horses.

Meher was the main season when all farmers produced crops. It was not possible to produce twice from the same land unless potato farms were intercropped with peas and beans. Men ploughed between February and mid-July; sowing and weeding (women hand-weeding and spraying) took place mid-July-August and harvesting of *meher* crops between October and mid-December depending on situation in the *kebele*. *Belg* crops, potatoes, kale, cabbage and maize were planted mainly in April and harvested in June except for maize (October). The last irrigated crops were harvested in May after which they planted for the rainy season. Fattening was not done in the rainy season. It was difficult to produce areke in the rainy season as there was a need for sun to dry the malt and firewood. Children's sale of dungcakes was reduced as dry dungcakes were not available. During the school break children and others could weed and dig plants at the ARI and do

construction work in Asela. The DAs' work was seasonal; they worked 12 hours a day 7 days a week during sowing and less in the off-seasons.

Earlier it regularly rained in February and March but recently rain had not started until late March. Rains were good between 2008 and 2013. Flooding regularly affected wheat and barley production which also suffered from wind and frost. It was reportedly hotter in the dry seasons of 2012 and 2013; this had increased crop and livelihood pests and reduced water levels. Erratic rainfall in the last two years had caused rust on crops. The 2013 rain had been good though there was some worry that unusual rain would damage wheat in the higher zones before the harvest.

There had been progressive economic improvement. Potato-growing for the market had increased due to good market prices and productivity of grain and irrigated crops had increased for those using modern inputs as advised. Involvement in non-farm business and labour had increased; young people engaged in these activities mainly due to lack of land. An estimated 90% of households were involved in smallholder farming, 20% in agricultural labour, 30% in non-farm business, 5% in non-farm employment, 20% in daily community and 30% in migration to the Middle East.

The soil had been very fertile but over-farming in general and potato farming in particular and the frequent use of fertilisers and pesticides were said to be 'burning the soil'.

The leading subsistence crops were wheat, then barley, and then *tef*. Eucalyptus, conifers and coffee were grown. Potatoes, wheat, peas then beans were the leading cash crops in order of importance. 99% of potatoes and 90% of peas were sold. Surplus wheat, barley, *tef*, maize and sorghum, and beetroot, carrots, onions, cabbages, fenugreek and black cumin were also sold. The sale of potatoes had increased by 50% compared with 2008 and 80% more land was used compared with 2003. Potatoes required huge labour from planting to harvesting. Sale of barley had increased by 10% since 2008; 30% more land was devoted to wheat than in 2003 and 50% more to peas. Compared with 2008 vegetable sales had increased by 15%, *chat* by 5% and eucalyptus by 20%. The sale of oilseeds had declined.

While input prices rose steadily output prices fluctuated causing some farmers to use local seeds and insufficient fertiliser reducing productivity. In 2012 wheat prices decreased which was attributed to government interference in the market. Recently they had imported wheat and sold it directly to flour factories at prices which led to losses by wheat traders. Bean prices also fluctuated from day to day since exporting began; large exporters were paying low prices to middle traders saying international prices were low.

An estimate was that 10% were very rich as a result of having more land and working hard; 20% rich; 40% middle; 15% poor; 10% very poor and 5% destitute. 30% of farmers employed agricultural labour. People were poor due to small landholdings, labour shortages, many children, death of spouse, chronic illness, polygyny, divorce, tensions in the household, and lack of commitment to off-farm activities. Very rich households had houses with more than 2 rooms, TVs, radios, modern furniture, fridge, modern kitchen equipment, DVD players, satellite dishes, etc.

In 2012 there was a significant reduction in wheat production which some attributed to expired fertiliser. The government and research centre provided improved wheat seeds at 2-yearly intervals. There were different kinds for the *weyna dega* and *dega* areas. More than half of the farmers had used improved wheat seeds in 2012 although they had not been as effective as expected. The 2013 wheat harvest was expected to be better mainly due to the weather but also the use of urea which had not been used in the past: 40 quintals per hectare compared with 35 in 2012. There were no improved seeds for potatoes, pulses, oilseeds, and trees.

In 2013 more than 80% of wheat seed was planted by scattering. Line-sowing was labour intensive needing about 12 people to sow one hectare; those doing it had used traditional co-operation rather than 1-5s as it was more flexible. One farmer had introduced a planting technology attaching a holed

plastic bottle filled with seeds mixed with fertiliser to the plough so he ploughed and planted at the same time; four people had copied him.

The Service Co-operative started in 1980 and since then provided fertiliser on credit and sold consumables. In 2013 it was providing fertiliser, improved seeds, pesticides and weedkiller from the wereda union; 90% of farmers were members. There were shortages of inputs and sometimes a failure to get improved seeds at the right time; credit was no longer available. It was estimated that since 2008 fertiliser buying from the service co-operative had increased by 40% and improved seed buying by 30%. Buying of pesticides from Asela shops had increased by an estimated 30%. However, farmers mistrusted the SC since the previous cashiers had embezzled their funds but had been released after only three months in prison.

In 2011 a private company provided inputs at lower prices than the Service Co-operative which faced a financial crisis due to lost demand. Extension workers first told farmers that the inputs from the private company had expired so they should buy from the SC to get good production but the farmers said there had been no difference so eventually the government banned the private providers. Due to the high price farmers had still not bought from the SC but from farmers who had used SC seeds the year before. As a result the SC was left with 124 quintals of improved seed stored since 2011 which it could not sell. The farmers would not buy these in 2013 but the government would not provide another type until they were sold. Farmers had stopped planting the same kind of improved seeds on the same land as it reduced productivity; they were always struggling to get new seed from the SC, ARC and or other farmers. People in the ARC project were happy as their improved seeds were more productive and Centre tried to provide new ones each year. Some farmers still bought inputs illegally from private providers.

Before the 2013 harvest a wereda official brought a letter to the kebele chair requesting the kebele SC to buy outputs of wheat, barley, peas, beans and lentils using a loan of more than 1 million *birr* from the Hetosa Union. They said this would benefit farmers as traders cheated them and the SC would sell the output when prices were better bringing a profit to its members.

Some farmers had started planting in line, inter-cropping potatoes-peas/beans-and maize and using a fixed amount of seed and fertiliser and various kinds of pesticides. All types of animal dung were collected and sprayed on the land during the second ploughing; after the third plough artificial fertiliser was added while the seed was sown. In the 2013 harvest season more potatoes and less wheat were planted; farmers expected 100-120 quintals per hectare compared with 80-100 in 2012.

Potatoes and trees were sold at the farmgate and in Gonde market. Some wheat was sold to the local flour factory; other wheat and peas were sold to Gonde traders. The SC used to buy a small amount of wheat but did not in 2012 due to lack of budget. In 2012 all rainfed outputs were sold through a network of self- traders and small, middle and large traders based in Gonde. The large traders dealt with national and increasingly international traders. Potatoes and wheat were increasingly bought at the farmgate and profits had generally improved although recently input prices had increased relatively to output prices.

All irrigation was found in Mecro-Begejo zone; in 2012 40 households had access to irrigated land; 20 hectares were irrigated using gravity and 12 using pumps; irrigated crops had increased due to the use of modern inputs and DA advice. In 2013 60 hectares were irrigated by 50 households. Most land was used to grow potatoes; onions, *chat*, and sugarcane were also grown. Traders came with lorries to buy the crops. Livelihoods were improving significantly; most copied what others were doing. There were only two harvests a year due to shortage of water and complaints that the upstream kebele used most of the irrigation water. There was no scope for more irrigation without considerable investment in night storage tanks; many requests for these had been made to the wereda to no avail. Garden watering was used by some household to produce vegetables and apples.

In 2012 around 100 farmers rented tractors and 200 rented combine harvesters from private individuals in Iteya. This was said to be cheaper than hiring labour. Some had BBM ploughs but did not use them.

There was no communal grazing land but more than 80% had private grazing land. More than 90% used zero-grazing: crop residues, wild oats, elephant grass, hay, drink-making residues, molasses and home-prepared fodder mainly of urea molasses block. Wheat bars and nug cakes were bought for improved dairy cows and fattening. In Begejo and Mecro people were fencing the grazing land around their houses and more than 50 people sold hay. In April 2013 there were fewer cattle than in 2003 (5030) mainly due to lack of grazing land (only 23.8 hectares) and the introduction of improved breeds (1020) which produced more milk than local cows and should be fed with special fodder at home. 3-4 local cows could be sold to buy one improved dairy cow; most had crossbreed cows and produced a milk surplus. The community got many improved breed calves and were elected at national level to host 'Calf Day' in September attended by government officials from all levels.

Milk was sold to a dairy co-operative which also made butter. In 2003 only a few sold milk to teahouses in town. In October 2013 the supply of milk exceeded the demand. Share-rearing and ox-sharing had declined. When oxen got old they were fattened using the zero-grazing system; prices had increased highly since 2008. There were fewer shoats than 10 years ago (3360 local sheep and 235 goats) due to lack of grazing land and herding labour and their quality was declining, 1180 donkeys and 3,650 chickens of which 500 were improved. Sheep fattening could change women's lives in a short period. Chickens were provided with fodder and shelter and most young men got income from poultry production; some used incubators. About twenty farmers produced up to 80 eggs a week to sell. Epidemics were frequent and there was not effective medicine. When disease medicine was not available at the kebele farmers bought it from a private shop in Asela. The AI injector trained and supplied by FAO was meant to charge twelve *birr* and give six to FAO but people were so satisfied with his services that they gave him more. WALKO gave multi-purpose credit which could be used to buy livestock. The wereda office and DAs had introduced modern beehives and their management and though in April they had not facilitated access to them their use was spreading. In August 15 transitional and 3 modern hives were made by farmers trained by the newly arrived DA.

In the past DAs worked every day in their office but in 2013 they were zone-based and went to the villages following up on farmers' crop and livestock activities in relation to earlier training. They were monitored by the kebele manager who reported to the wereda rather than by the wereda office. The current structure was more efficient. Model farmers still had a role in sharing experiences at meetings; since 2010 one female model farmer had been selected. DAs had close contact with model farmers since other farmers easily accepted new things if they had worked well on model farmers' land. The extension programme focused mainly on wheat but also provided advice and training in modern techniques for other crops and irrigation. Kulumsa ARI provided improved seeds to some model farmers to grow and distribute to others. They also provided some training in farming techniques. In May 2013 two old DAs with diplomas were replaced by DAs with B.Sc. degrees. The wereda agricultural office was trying to improve its services by holding regular discussions with all DAs. DAs were becoming busier due to their close follow-up of farmers.

Before planting for 2013 season the ATA gave money to 14 farmers to buy 50 kg of urea which had not been used before; they were proportionally selected from rich, middle and poor and all had the determination to work. They were given 50 kg of improved seed with 500 *birr* to be paid back after the harvest and trained by ATA in farming techniques and inputs for three days including a visit to a successful farmer in another kebele.

The amount of work on smallholdings had increased associated with greater productivity. While tractors and combine harvesters had reduced labour demand the increased effort necessary for other new technologies had increased it. Only about a third of farmwork was conducted by

household members in richer households. Both Muslims and Christians reduced the number of holidays following intensive training in 2010. Work group labour had declined since 2003 but there had been no change in labour exchange between two farmers (*wenfel*). Daily labour by locals and in-migrants had increased; adults were paid 60 *birr* a day and those under eighteen 30 *birr* a day. A few widows and divorcées ploughed. Women were increasingly involved in fattening.

People were involved in grain and vegetable trading, and making and selling areke (more than 100 women) some selling to wholesalers. There was a grain mill, a carpenter and part-time weaving and basket-making. In April 2013 there were five stone co-operatives with an average of 20 members each along the river Kulumsa; if they had a stone crusher they could get good prices but even so many had changed their lives. In October there were only three one of which was said to be new. There were confusing reports that two youth co-operatives and a women's co-operative which were selling or would sell subsidised sugar and oil once a month (or two months) had been organised. There were about 40 people selling wood, ten making charcoal illegally, four shoeshiners and a repairer of TVs, watches etc. There was a car for public transport, 10 donkey transport providers and twelve horse-and-carts.

Around 100 residents had formal jobs and about 90 were employed elsewhere. Since April seven educated young men from the kebele had been employed as teachers in wereda primary schools. Many people worked as labourers at Kulumsa ARI's seed duplication farm. The Gonde flour factory had more than 100 permanent employees and many daily labourers. Most employees were from Oda Dawata; they suffered from respiratory illnesses due to lack of safety tools. The factory contributed to development activities in the community. The malt factory also employed wage labourers. An investor from Asela who had been given land to extract stone had a stone crusher and employed up to 30 daily labourers. Local people and the school complained about noise pollution but the kebele manager put this down to envy of others using their resource. The investor donated money for development and free transport for local development programmes. There were around 100 domestic servants.

Male migration within Ethiopia had been increasing due to lack of land and alternatives. Urban migration was mainly to Asela, Adama, Debre Zeit, Addis Ababa and Harar. There was no migration for seasonal agricultural work, and longer-term migration to Bale for agriculture for 2-3 years had decreased though if weather and market prices were right they could make 40,000 *birr* growing red peppers. Official migration to the Middle East on 2-4 year contracts had increased though it was still insignificant. Illegal migration to the Middle East and Sudan was increasing. Some had prospered and others had died. Remittances, especially from Arab countries, had increased compared with 2008.

Many young females and some adult women had out-migrated; 80-100 went each year and numbers were increasing. About 10% of them went to towns for education, jobs in bars and tea-rooms and domestic service. The remainder went to Kuwait, Dubai, Saudi and Beirut legally and illegally from the age of 15; an estimated 800 were there in April 2013. Some did very well; they sent remittances and came back with money, clothes, house equipment and new skills. One woman was earning 5000 *birr* a month on her third contract. Successful migrants built houses in town and invested in shops and other businesses and their families' livelihoods were improved. Some came back with nothing and/or were damaged physically or mentally. Most people knew the government had stopped migration to Arab countries for 6-7 months to improve the safety of migrating citizens.

Modes of saving included crops, livestock, WALKO, the bank and *equb*. Those involved in business preferred to invest. Since 2011 students in Mecro-Gonde primary school had been saving at school giving their weekly incomes to their home-room teachers; in October 2013 130 were saving. The maximum saved was 899 *birr* in one year. They had to bring their parents to withdraw money. Only a few farmers took group-based and asset-supported credit from WALKO to buy fertiliser and improved seeds. WALKO also provided up to 2000 *birr* at 15% interest for fattening, contracting land, trading and other business. In October 2013 people were being told to save 10% of what they

wanted to borrow from WALKO. People also borrowed from relatives and neighbours, rich farmers, *iddir* and *equb*.

Families tended to be large with up to twelve members. The father was the authority figure while the mother enforced the rules. The gender division of labour was breaking down both ways and women had a role in guiding the household as they were relatively financially independent. Goods buying was estimated to have increased by 40% since 2008. People were adopting urban lifestyles in cooking, eating and cleaning households and compounds.

Elite networks linked successful farmers, traders, elders, religious leaders, clan and lineage leaders and kebele officials, with some people having more than one role; a few were women. Elites employed poor people as daily labourers and gave some cast-off clothes and sometimes crops after harvest. Destitute women mostly worked in rich people's home baking injera and washing clothes for a monthly salary of 60-70 *birr*. Sometimes they worked without payment living there only. Very poor women survived on areke production and petty trade. There was no government assistance for very poor people though landless people were exempted from taxes and contributions. The Chebote and Akiya communities had seriously less access to government services.

There were full cycle primary schools in each of the four *ketena*. There was no shortage of teachers but the wereda had not provided paper, pens, chalk and dusters since 2012. There were two languages Oromiffa and Amharic and a problem getting Amharic textbooks. Clever and lazy students were mixed in 1-5s. There were two shifts from 6.30 to 11 and 2 to 6.15. USAID were helping 120 poor students. Richer students had advantages including access to tutorials which cost 25 *birr* per subject per month. Attitudes to pre-school, primary and secondary school education had changed; almost all attended primary school and more than 95% secondary school. 100% of 7-year olds were attending school and in one primary school only 2 out of 120 failed Grade 8. It was common for boys to drop in and out but less so for girls. Most families wanted their children to attend tertiary education and succeed but the difficulty that graduates from Grades 10 and 12, college and university were having in finding work was undermining positive attitudes to education by parents and children.

In search of income the schools had started taking contracts to harvest potatoes, wheat and barley from farmers using students to do the work. They were also mobilising student savings. In March students made drinks and bread to sell to invited guests making 1500 *birr*. The sports club collected 2 *birr* from each student playing in a football game and the librarian sold library cards to all students for 2 *birr* and used the money to buy books.

School and work demands clashed during the harvesting season. In the past children did not start working for themselves until they were 17 or more; in 2013 some from poor families started at five and those from families which were not poor from about twelve. More than half the children in one primary school were self-financing. Most missed classes on market day and the school made up the class.

The aspirations of many young males had changed; some wanted to study, some to farm in teams; and others to trade. Adult aspirations for children had expanded to include education and trading success. Only a very few men in their twenties had farming land from their families as an offer or inheritance and in most cases it was insignificant. An estimated 30% of young men rented land for smallholder farming and 34% migrated. 23% did agricultural labour on smallholdings (3%) and the ARI (20%). Other work included trading and employment on construction, at the flour factory or in Asela. Around half of young men including many graduates were un(der)employed.

Work opportunities for young girls (11-15) nearer to Gonde were said to be good: loading stone and sand for school construction, wage labour at the ARI and flour factory, making and selling areke, vegetable trading, and sheep fattening. Some saved their income to fund migration. Longer-term prospects involved marrying early, migrating or pursuing education. Main problems for girls were

early sexual relations, early marriage, dropout and paid work which did not bring a change to their lives. Main problems for young women were being illiterate, unwanted pregnancy, unplanned marriage, having more children, lack of land, and conflict with husband.

The increasing migration was robbing the community of its energetic fresh manpower. Some old people criticised young people's clothes, hairstyles, work habits, and friendships with the opposite sex. There was a view that older people owning land exploited young people.

Female circumcision was reduced to an estimate of about 20% of young women. Young men commonly had sexual relations with girlfriends and a few 'with everyone'; they used condoms properly.

The Youth Association was not party-affiliated and reportedly had 550 active members engaged in irrigation, stone extraction, selling hay and other developmental activities. The Youth League had 200 active members engaged in youth association and sporting activities; for example it was mobilising girls at school to play football and volleyball. Young people who participated in local politics were given priority in employment and those who did not might be branded as opposition which might be very bad for their future careers.

Parents arranging marriages sought an equal match of wealth, ethnicity and clan. Young people were increasingly choosing their partners. It was hard to differentiate voluntary and forced abduction or to enforce the underage marriage law and there had been no court cases. Young men were marrying later due to difficulty in establishing independent households. Most young women were also marrying later; some were having children outside marriage.

The number of female-headed households had greatly increased as widows could refuse inheritance and second marriage and divorce had increased. However, women, particularly poor ones without relatives, struggled to get their rights since elders and male officials preferred the old ways. More than a third of men in the wereda had more than one wife; court cases usually failed due to bias and corruption. Wife-beating was common and women were said to accept it as normal; complaints did not go anywhere. Women could inherit from parents although when elders did the division they tended to give more to sons staying in the compound. Nearly all women had their own income from activities appropriate to the *ketena* they lived in but received little help or support from government apart from access to credit. Remittances from migrants to the Middle East and their involvement in different businesses on return had improved women's status. Families now were unhappy if they gave birth to sons.

Since 2008 people were buying more *tef*, vegetables, fruit, spices, coffee, meat and restaurant food and less root crops, pulses and beans, oil seeds, eggs and milk. There was a community-based nutrition programme in the wereda. Almost half of households did not have access to safe water; about 40% used unsafe water all the time and about 15% used it some of the time. The problem was more serious in Akiya and Chebote. Work on protecting a spring in Akiya zone was planned. Wereda officials said providing safe drinking water needed a lot of money and the zone did not give enough attention to the problem.

There were 2 HEWs though at least 4 were needed to cover the vast kebele effectively. Until 2010 there were Health Posts in Akiyo and Mecro; the latter closed when a centre was established in Mecro in 2010. There was no electricity or water at the Health Post. The HEWs focused most work on Akiyo sub-kebele only having contact with people in the other sub-kebeles in meetings. The HEWs used to teach people at the kebele and their responsibility was to the wereda but in 2013 they gave outdoor services and were responsible to the kebele manager.

In April 2013 they were focusing on cleanliness, balanced diets, family planning and vaccination for pregnant women. People used to implement the latrine programme as there was a punishment but after punishments were abolished people had started to give less respect to HEWs and were

unwilling to do what they were told. There were 29 health volunteers trained by JICA but when JICA phased out they shifted their roles to the party and became Development Team leaders so HEWs got less help, for example with vaccination. The HEWs were meant to train the DT leaders who should train the 1-5s which had an important role in checking that members were implementing the packages though the HEWs said that women's organisation meetings and large kebele meetings were more effective in awareness-raising. In October the kebele manager said that the 1-5s were not functioning.

By April 2013 there was a new policy to give more attention to maternal mortality; one HEW said she had assisted eight women to give birth following training and they were advising women to use ante-natal and postnatal care at the health centre. TBAs had been forbidden to assist delivery and included in the health army to mobilise pregnant women to use ante-natal and post-natal services. After delivery mother and baby should have 3-6 check-ups: within 6 hours, 6 days and 6 weeks. In October reducing maternal mortality was the leading issue. Mothers preferred to give birth at home but following the provision of a free ambulance service in September more were reportedly delivering at the Health Centre which had started providing coffee and food.

A wereda health office official said that HEWs were also working on agricultural activities, women and child affairs issues and political issues: 'this office only does work on health issues on paper'. The HEWs said they had no support from government.

There was no malaria but a number of people were known to have HIV/AIDS. Gonde holy water was at the boundary of the kebele and there was a powerful witchdoctor in Chebote.

70% of people were Muslim, 29% Orthodox Christian and 1% Protestant. Christians lived close to the town on flat fertile land and were wealthier than the Muslims. The Muslim population was increasing rapidly. It was said to be easy for people in the same household to belong to different religions apart from sharing the same meat. Muslim men married Christian women. Muslims had links with people in other weredas in the zone, Bale, Addis Ababa and Saudi Arabia; people went for education, religious relations and to share experiences. There were visiting preachers. Some Muslims were dressing in religious clothes. There had been disagreements among Islam followers due to the introduction of *wehabism*; some young men were going to Bale to learn the Quran.

Orthodox Christians had *mehaber* and saints' day links with adjacent kebeles and weredas; preachers and singers came every three months from Addis Ababa, Adama, Awassa or Asela in a programme arranged by Sunday school students. Recently people, including young ones, were more involved in religious activities; the new teaching in Amharic was good. Those returning from Arab countries were re-baptised so they could eat meat slaughtered by Christians. The 100 Protestants were mostly young; the number was increasing steadily.

A teenager said there was some sort of discrimination on the basis of religion and ethnicity. Following the community development work the kebele organised a big feast funded by contributions and the kebele budget; it was intended to strengthen brotherhood and tolerance among all religions in the kebele. Mosques and churches were used by young people as places of entertainment.

Of the eight cabinet members only one was Amhara. In April the kebele chair had been in place for two years; his predecessor was replaced by the Council after 1 year for ineffectiveness and he had replaced a man who was removed after three years due to inefficiency. In October there was a new kebele chair; the former one had been removed as he was absent from the office most of the time and then got sick and disappeared from the kebele for about a month. Elected cabinet members had no salary and not enough time to do both private and kebele work efficiently. There was mistrust among cabinet members who wanted to get famous by defaming others. Government policy on councils was that if a member was absent three times they should be dismissed; if the policy were implemented everyone would be dismissed since people did not want to be council members.

Mecro and Begejo *ketenas* were merged in one sub-kebele; the other two were Akiya and Chebote. There were 29 Development Teams of 20-30 households from the same neighbourhoods and 29 cells led by the DT leaders. DTs were meant to meet weekly and cell members every 2 weeks. The role of male 1-5s was to follow up implementation of development work and mobilise members for public works. Female DT leaders and 1-5s were meant to make sure pregnant women attended the health services for delivery and work with the HEWs. Neither male nor female structures were working as planned since people did not understand the agenda and were increasingly individualistic.

There were 307 party members paying 12 *birr* a year. Attendance at the bi-monthly meetings was much better than other meetings. Party members were given priority in services and employment.

The *kebele* manager had been in post for 6 years and was planning to leave after 1 more year; he was dissatisfied with work overload and low salary and because people in the *kebele* structure were not active. He had no holidays or opportunity for further education. Relations between the *kebele* and the *wereda* were good; the problem was the grass-roots. Since April the zone performance was very poor due to lack of good governance by the *kebele*.

There were four clans and clanship affected *kebele* politics and marriage. The dominant clan was Akiya which about 30% of households belonged to. When there was a conflict religious leaders, elders and clan leaders came together to discuss a way out. In the past there were three *iddir* with mixed participation from the different ethnicities/religions but recently Muslims had started establishing clan *iddir* as mourning was different and in October Orthodox Christians also had exclusive *iddir*. *Iddir* leaders had been trained by the government about peace and security and development so they could train their members. They also mobilised people for public works and gave money for road and water construction, school building and the Renaissance Dam.

Land tax ranged from 50 to 260 *birr*; total land taxes per annum were about 66,000 *birr*. Market taxes ranged from 2 to 20 *birr*; there were no licence fees or income tax. Regular 'voluntary' contributions from landed households amounted to 132 *birr* and recently there were one-off contributions for buildings at *wereda* and Regional level totalling 70 *birr*. Contributions for piped water and the Renaissance dam depended on the wealth of the household. People were unwilling to participate in public works (landed households only) because they prioritised their own work and/or did not accept the necessity of the work; participation was limited to 50-100 households.

Regional government officials visited in 2012 and discussed different development issues with different sections of the community; they promised them many things. Officials suggested that the EPRDF won in 2010 because of their hard work at grassroots level unlike in 2005. In 2005 there were different parties which confused the community; in 2013 people understood the determination of the party to develop the country so there was only one party in the area. Ordinary community members were not interested in Development Teams and 1-5s and were unhappy with the follow-up and controlling mechanisms. They did not want to hear about politics being bored by it; they would prefer to be neutral from politics but they could not due to pressure from the government. They did not want to be in 1-5s with neighbours if they did not like them.

There were a lot of strategies for improvements in various areas coming from central government to government employees in the community but they were not given enough time to implement them so the community was complaining.

Kebele officials were said to be corrupt, especially the manager. If you asked him for an ID card in his office he said they were not available; then you went to his house and got a card by giving him some money. Officials took bribes related to land issues and there was an allegation that the recently removed *kebele* chair took land from people who had died even though their children were still around but nothing happened due to his connections. Kebele officials were said to do nothing in a dispute unless the client gave them fees in cash or kind; they collected money from both sides and

gave no solutions. Sometimes they asked people to pay a fine at a meeting and disappeared quickly to avoid audit. 700 *birr* collected on the festivity of values day was 'swallowed in the ever-opened pot'. The social court stamp was kept in a private shop where litigants were called to pay a bribe before getting the stamp. At the social and wereda courts those with relatives and money were said to win cases. There was no effective mechanism for ordinary people to bring corrupt people to justice as they had links with corrupt wereda people. 'Each official resigns when he feels he has made enough from corruption and another official is chosen by higher-up corrupt officials to take his place'. Also people were frightened of the consequences of exposing them.

Many youth were not interested in politics though some criticised the government because of growing landlessness and joblessness. There was no direct pressure on young people to join the party but non-party members could not get jobs or join co-operatives. Some were interested in opposition politics but there was no party and they were afraid of government punishment as happened during the 2005 election when opposition supporters were punished heavily. Many assumed the youth organisations were instruments through which the government would monitor and control them. The only attention government gave to young women was to girls who were good at sport. Young people criticised kebele officials for giving land bordering the town to urban youth.

The ARI, malt factory and wereda agricultural office gave training to help farmers improve agricultural production through BBM ploughing, planting in lines and irrigation but there was no provision of the tools needed to implement them; also the organisations focused support on only a few model farmers.

Since April there was a conflict between an Oromo clan and the Amhara triggered by an incident where the cattle of an Amhara nibbled the leftover harvest of an Oromo. The two groups started to attack each other seriously and the Federal police were called in. Since then the Oromo had not allowed the Christians to talk in social meetings and took fierce revenge if the children quarrelled.

Due to their close proximity to big organisations like the ARI and the flour factory, links to cities via children, and TV and radio people were very willing to accept modern ideas and practices. In 2013 people were more aware about their culture. Translation of the Bible into Amharic had created easy understanding of Orthodox Christian rules and people were starting to fast. *Wehabism* taught not to eat or live with Christians or to wear short trousers. Returning migrants were introducing ideas of *jihadism* to try to make passive followers of Islam as active and conservative as them and to introduce the kind of extremism they had seen in Arab countries. Protestants were trying to convert people. In the past people worked arbitrarily; government had taught them to plan and programme their work which had increased. Model farmers had been trained in party politics so when they shared their farming experiences in public meetings they also delivered government messages.

There were two campaigns in the wereda: to expand the best practices of model farmers to speed up rural development and environmental protection funded by government and free labour. Wereda plans included expanding rural roads, safe water access and traditional and modern irrigation systems. All programmes suffered from lack of budget sometimes leading to failure to pay monthly salaries of government workers. The MDG Fund had contributed significantly helping to connect most of the 18 kebeles to each other and main roads.

Government had told youth that it was planning to create many jobs and co-operatives. The wereda plan was to organise unemployed rural youth in groups to construct SMEs in carpentry, metalwork, forest protection and honey, agricultural activities, and mineral extraction. They also planned to expand non-farm activities to provide employment in construction work and service activities. In April 2013 the kebele said it had started grouping youth in different co-operatives; in July and September male and female youth were told they were going to be grouped in 5 and 10 person groups and be helped to get credit but nothing had happened by November.

In the wereda one investor from outside had been given 30 hectares for producing vegetables; there were plans to give more land to investors as the wereda had received many requests. Those needing more than 1 hectare had to go to the regional investment bureau who referred the case to the zone who passed it to the wereda which could confirm or reject the request.

6. The story of Sirba, Ada'a wereda, East Shewa zone, Oromia

Sirba PA, which in 2001 became one of three sub-kebeles in the larger kebele of Ude, is located on either side of the long-existent main road from Addis Ababa to Nazreth and Shashemene and beyond; it is about halfway between Debre Zeit and Mojo being about 20 kms from each.

The village is in the *weyna dega* zone and most of the land is on a wide plain. Part of the village is vulnerable to flooding during the rains. In the early 1990s over 80% of inhabitants were Oromo; the remainder were a mix of Amhara (13%), Wolayittans (3%) and Tigrayans (2%). All were Orthodox Christians.

Debre Zeit and Mojo have grown over the years. A station was constructed in Mojo in 1917 on the Addis Ababa-Djibouti railway; in 1994 the population was around 22,000 and in 2013 estimated at 38,000¹. Debre Zeit became a definite entity in the 1940s and in 1946 the air force moved to the area; by 1967 the town had a population of around 20,000 which grew to 73,272 by the 1994 national census and an estimated 128,400 by 2013. Since then industrialisation and urbanisation along the road between Addis Ababa and Mojo have continued apace with increasing impact on Sirba. The Addis Ababa Adama 6-lane toll expressway which runs along one of the sub-kebele's borders was planned for completion in April 2014 and the new electrified railway from Addis Ababa to Djibouti, which will run alongside the road past Sirba should be open in 2016.

6.1. Sirba in imperial times

Sirba is in East Shewa which was incorporated in Menelik's Shewa kingdom as he extended it south in the 1880s. The Italians raided cattle from the area and in 2003 one old resident described how he had fought in the battle of Maichew in 1936 during the Italian war. In 1963 there was crop failure due to drought (*shenkute*) but no help from the government. In the early 1970s Sirba had 29 landlords, four of whom were women. Sixteen of them had holdings of 40 hectares (1 *gasha*) and the rest had less; the smallest holding was five hectares. Most of the farmlands were operated by tenants; those with more than two oxen hired labourers. In 1970 three landowners started to use tractors and threshing machines evicting their tenants. An association was organised for distributing fertiliser; a 50kg bag cost 100kg of *tef*.

6.2. Sirba during the Derg

Sirba became a 'show' village during the time of the Derg. After the revolution the Sirba and Godeti Peasant Association was formed on 920 hectares of farm and grazing land. In 1975 each married household was given 1 hectare as a garden plot and the vast remaining part of the land was ploughed communally by all villagers. Allocation of the product depended on contributions of oxen, seed and family size although there were claims that the PA leaders allocated larger shares to themselves, relatives and friends. In 1976 80 hectares of land were reserved as communal land and the remainder shared among the households. The villagers were divided into four village groups to cultivate the communal land every Friday; 30% of the product covered the PA running costs, a portion was kept for seed, and the rest distributed among the villagers depending on their

¹ <http://www.citypopulation.de/Ethiopia.html> accessed 10/02/14

participation up to 25kg of grain. The community was not interested in communal activities as the PA leaders were suspected of abusing their access to resources. The size of the communal land decreased over time as it was used to give farmland to newly married couples. In 1988 the remaining land was divided among villagers.

100 conscripts were recruited to the Derg army and after 1977 the four village groups were obliged to work on their land and the land of older people every Wednesday. In 1976 land tax was 6 *birr* for all households; in 1987 those with more than two oxen paid more than 80 *birr* (under the TGE the highest rate was 25 *birr*). In 1980 the Agricultural Marketing Corporation imposed quotas of crops households of different wealths should sell to it at fixed low prices which ranged from 1 to 2 quintals; eventually this rose to 2-5 quintals. Assigning tax rates and grain quotas to individual households was used by PA leaders to attack opponents and benefit allies. A number of households became landless as they were unable to fulfil the quotas. There were also contributions totalling 11 *birr* for wereda and awraja running costs, the literacy campaign, the war and for drought and famine.

Fertilisers were introduced by the MoA in 1977 as the land was losing fertility. In 1983 a Producers' Co-operative was formed with 18 members, many of whom were members of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia, and power shifted from the PA to the PC. Their privileges included not being asked to provide large quotas of grain, getting 53 hectares of the best farming and grazing land, and provision of modern inputs including tractors (introduced in 1987) and threshing machines. The PC banned alcohol temporarily by confiscating liquor and closing many drink houses. Treatment by a leading cadre responsible for villagising the area was harsh; people were fined 20 *birr* for keeping livestock in their houses and not using the latrines and some were beaten up for these and similar failure. Following the introduction of the mixed economy the PC was dissolved, the land divided among the 18 members who kept it and in 1994 still held the best and largest farmland, and the PA resumed power.

Health centres and schools were made available nearby and a solar water pump was constructed (in 1989). Vaccination began after villagisation. Religious beliefs, including in *kallu*, were discouraged and religious organisations were weak. Fasting and not working on saints' days were discouraged. Having farm labourers was illegal. Early marriage was prevalent since abduction was a threat; it was also common for men to inherit their dead brother's wife.

6.3. Sirba in the early 1990s

The area is in the *weyna dega* climatic zone. The altitude of the village ranged from 1,800-1,900 metres with an average monthly temperature of 17°C and annual average rainfall of 860 mm. Most of the land is on a wide plain. Those who tilled land in marshy areas practised terraced farming and constructed dykes to reduce water erosion. Part of the village was vulnerable to flooding during the rainy season. DA figures showed 6 hectares of trees but they were scattered and mostly in household compounds.

By 1994 the size of the PA had shrunk from 920 hectares to about 600 since three portions of land were transferred to neighbouring PAs, in one case when a neighbouring PA successfully claimed 40 hectares and in the others to compensate for loss of land to the ammunition factory and service co-operatives. There were said to be 189 household heads (up to 24% female-headed) of which 154 were Oromos and the rest Amharas (25), Wolayitas (6) and Tigrayans (4). In 1992 there were ethnic conflicts between Amhara and Oromo in Arssi which affected relations in Sirba a little with some Amharas saying there was a plot to evict all non-Oromo from the village but this did not occur. The people were Orthodox Christian 'mixed with superstition'. There were an estimated 100 landless people including returned soldiers and those who did not pay their land tax during the Derg. Women could own and inherit land. Most people with land had enough; oxen were the scarce resource.

Since the fall of the Derg people had left the village to return to their old homesteads. The nearest

market was in the adjacent Denkaka PA. The road between Debre Zeit and Mojo was allweather. Vehicle transport was available to both places at a cost of 1 *birr*. Large markets were held in Debre Zeit on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays and cattle were sold and bought in Mojo market. Villagers visited Debre Zeit for medical treatment, schooling, marketing and buying household items. Some households had biogas introduced by FAO in 1992. The biogas was not seen to be very efficient and was not taken up by many others. Most households used kerosene lamps for lighting and wood and dung-cakes for cooking. They had to walk for more than 3 hours to get wood. Water supply was steady; there were two handpumps and a solar water pump provided by the MoA in 1989. Each household had contributed 2 *birr* to repair the handpumps. There was a problem with phosphorus in the water so people had to go to neighbouring PAs to get drinking water. Many or all villagers had abandoned the latrines nearly completed during the Derg programme. Networks between Sirba and other communities were based on religious activities, trade, kinship including marriage (6 PAS) and friendship.

There was only one production season which was *meher*. Men were involved in off-farm activities between December and March. Oxen were sold in May, June and September and shoats between June and September. Women needed credit in August and September and men between June and September.

Farmers were better off than they had been before Mengistu left: had land, good harvests and no forced labour contributions. After price liberalisation and the ending of marketing boards prices of grain had increased. In 1994 58% of farmland was used to grow *tef* and 19% to grow wheat; other crops included beans, chickpeas, barley, maize, sorghum, chickling peas, peas, lentils, fenugreek and cowpeas. The 1994 harvest was poor due to insufficient rain. Many households grew small quantities of cabbage, green pepper, tomatoes, onions and carrots in their back gardens mainly for home consumption. Villagers kept cattle, shoats, donkeys and chickens and earned substantial income from the sale of animal products; the number of livestock had declined due to shortage of grazing land.

Some landless people rented land or were involved in various types of share-cropping arrangement. Those renting out had larger land sizes or no oxen or were not strong enough to plough. Those renting in were usually better-off farmers; rents ranged from 400-600 *birr* per hectare for one production season. Though renting was illegal it had been openly practised since 1990.

Wealth was based on the possession of land and oxen and the ability and desire to work hard. Wealthy people had or did all or some of the following: a lot of land; leased land; help from children; enough oxen; worked hard; lent money; used money wisely; fattened oxen. There were farmers with ten oxen and 50 shoats. One farmer who obtained a yield of 140 quintals of *tef* must have used almost nine hectares of *tef* land. Characteristics of poor people included drinking; being a widow; death of oxen; being lazy; foolish use of money; smoking; being ill; having a very large family; death of wife; not enough land; rented land out; sold land; half mad; notorious wife; changed wife, old age. Houses of wealthy farmers were bigger; the largest had six rooms. 64 houses had tin roofs and 114 had thatched roofs. A rich household would have a radio and tape recorder, chairs, stools, tables and benches, modern beds, several pottery, plastic and iron vessels, a cement storage bin and big granary, a gas lamp, a kerosene and charcoal stove, a cupboard and boxes. A poor household would not have modern furniture, radios and tape recorders, plastic and iron vessels or a cement storage bin.

Since 1991 fertiliser had not been provided on time and when delivered it was not the requested amount and prices had risen. For fertiliser distributed in 1994 PA leaders were ordered to get complete repayment by March 1995; however there was a large amount of unpaid credit during the past years.

24 people engaged in ox fattening for the holidays. Fodder included straw and residues from the

flour factory in Debre Berhan. Milk was sold. In 1992 the MoA organised two groups of women to look after donated chickens but not all group members took their turn in looking after them so the groups were disbanded and the chickens divided among the members; there was one man practising poultry farming on a larger scale.

According to the DA office in Ude the yield per hectare of *tef* in 1993/4 harvest was 10 quintals and of wheat 13 quintals. *Tef* was increasingly sold reducing the incidence of inter-cropping and crop rotation with nitrogen-fixing pulses. Most villagers did not use the MoA standard amounts of Dap and Urea and very recently some had planted seeds glued to even less Dap by mixing them with water and used less Urea producing the same yield as those using the recommended amounts.

Tractors for hire (180-200 *birr* per hectare) were available from the MOA, the Ude Service Co-operative and private individuals. Twelve farmers, nine of whom were moneylenders, used them in 1994. 28 people hired a threshing machine from the MoA paying 150 *birr* for 20 quintals of *tef*. Ten people had bought sprayers in 1988 from Ude Service Co-operative (140-170 *birr*) and some hired them to spray weedkillers and pesticides bought from Ude SC and markets.

A trader with a grain store who sold in Debre Zeit and Addis Ababa before the Derg and who was expelled from the area after the revolution had resumed his activity replacing the AMC. He had leased land, built a store, sold seeds and dug a well for all to use. There was a cross-breeding station in nearby Ude village but no Sirba residents had used it because of their vulnerability to local diseases and shortages of fodder.

Farmers used a mix of household and hired labour. Recent research found that 61% of agricultural labour had been provided by men and 26% by children under the age of 15. Women, helped by daughters, were predominantly involved in hand weeding, transporting grain, preparing threshing-floors, looking after garden vegetables and crops, milking and tending cows, fetching water and straw, storing dung in wells in summer, preparing dung-cakes in the dry season, brewing beer, making *arage* and *tej* and routine household tasks. Hired labourers came from inside and outside the village. Immigrants came from neighbouring districts and further Amhara areas like Gondar and Wollo especially during the harvesting season. Sons of poor villagers were hired for herding. Different kinds of working party used alongside hired labour were common. There were various institutions for exchanging oxen, land, crops and/or labour.

Non-farm activities included a few men grain trading; women retail trading eggs, dungcakes, straw, small quantities of grain; sale of wood from own trees or faraway places; a few made charcoal; one man made *gotera*; two men provided plastering mixes of mud and straw for houses; a lot of drinking houses run by women; five shops selling kerosene, matches, soap, incense, salt, sugar, coffee, cooking-oil, cigarettes, biscuits, sweets, ointment for hair and skin, blades, pencils, tea leaves, soft drinks, incense sticks, pins and soap-powder. Some men worked as guards at the *Gafat* ammunition factory; guard for water pump. Three men were hired to carry grain by the grain trader. A number of teachers and other civil servants lived in the village. There was no seasonal migration; a few had settled in Debre Zeit and often visited.

Credit used to be obtained from local money lenders but had reduced as it had become expensive. The interest rate was 100% for a period of one year but to avoid government charges the borrower had to sign for double the amount as if he borrowed without interest. There were 17 moneylenders in the village and 61 frequent borrowers. 'It seems that the dominant form of surplus appropriation in the village is money-lending.' Farmers gave a downpayment and took fertiliser from the MoA or Service Co-operative. There were two post-harvest *equb* and was also a network of non-commercial credit suppliers including wealthy farmers, relatives, women drink houses etc.

The bases of respect in the village were old age, *kallu* status, wealth, and office-holding in the PA. Recently respect had become skin-deep, even for elders. PA leaders may be respected for fear of being put in jail. Poor farmers greatly respected moneylenders to whom they frequently went with

problems seeking loans and other favours. PA leaders were relatively wealthy; a few elders had become PA leaders but not many. *Kallu* leaders had never been PA leaders. Incipient class formation was manifest and the gap between rich and poor very wide. The poor tended to stay poor and the rich to stay rich.

Good behaviour and hard work were desirable traits in women and to develop them in girls they should have almost no connection with boys, learn domestic skills, and be restricted in where they went. The nearest school (Grade 1-8) was in a neighbouring PA 2 kms from the site; there were shortages of water, classrooms, furniture, equipment and books. School fees were 10 *birr*. Teaching was in Oromiffa. There were about twenty school completers and drop-outs ranging from Grade 2 to Grade 12. Five students had completed college education; one had returned to farm and the others were employed by government outside the village. Rich farmers supported their children by giving them plots of land to use. A newly married couple usually lived in the husband's family compound.

During pregnancy if a woman felt seriously sick she visited a doctor in Debre Zeit. Ideally she would stay at home doing lighter tasks 5 months after conception. Most births were at home with TBAs and ideally the mother would rest for a month. Poor women without older children or sisters were not provided with good care. One of the three TBAs had been trained in modern techniques and charged 10 *birr* for her services; the other two did not charge.

Widows usually remarried often to a brother of the husband. If not they kept control of the household land and property; some specialised in making local alcoholic drinks for sale. There had been changes related to marriage over the last forty years: a diminishing of polygyny; from selection of brides by the father of the groom to an agreement between the would-be couple; the dropping of bridewealth; increasing frequency of divorce and the greater share of household items to a divorcing woman. On divorce the couple divided household items and livestock equally and the husband kept the land and usually the house. The size of feasts depended on economic status but had generally not reduced. Married women had no right to claim property on the deaths of their fathers. When sons formed their own households they had a right to a share of their father's land.

Staple food was injera with pepper sauce; meat, eggs and milk were more frequently consumed by richer households. The family ate from the same plate. Prevalent illnesses included malaria, pneumonia, flu, eye disease, gastritis, measles and diarrhoea & vomiting in children. The nearest clinic, hospital, doctor, modern midwife and pharmacy were in Debre Zeit which cost 1.80 *birr* for transport. The most frequent illnesses seen at the clinic were TB, AIDS, diarrhoea, malnutrition and respiratory illnesses. The nearest maternity clinic was in Addis Ababa a distance of 60km costing 5.25 *birr* for transport. The initial consultation fee everywhere was 1 *birr*. There were four traditional doctors and three *kallu* in the village. *Kallu* diagnosed the cause of an illness which may be failure to participate in family or community rituals, cursing and sorcery, or spirits of an evil eye; they gave advice expected to cure the afflicted person.

Orthodox Christian religious practices included fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays and not working on four local saints' days or on Saturdays or Sundays. Anyone not respecting these practices would be expelled from the local *iddir* and no-one would help him during crises. Customary religion was practised alongside Orthodox Christianity. Waka and his creations including Ayana (who cause misfortune and act in dispute resolution through possessed *kallu*), Atete (extended family protector spirit transmitted to eldest son), Boranticha (livestock protector), Abdar (residential area protector) and Diree (rainmaker) constituted the basis of the Oromo belief system and rituals. There was also a belief in witchcraft associated with the evil eye and sorcery.

Community decision-makers were the PA officials and on occasion community elders. While most Oromos were aware of their clan identities, which were important for blood-fees and identifying elders to give blessings in rituals, most day-to-day activities involved networks of kin and neighbours. The social obligations associated with kinship were considerable and equal on patrilineal and

matrilineal lines. The life cycle of *Gada* ceremonies were not significant as in earlier times and largely served ritual purposes. The responsibility of *Abba Gada* who stayed in power for eight years, included organizing and administering rituals, resolving conflicts through mediation, giving blessings and making prayers and so on. The *moggasa* institution incorporating non-Oromos into Ada'a's clans and lineages was still alive. Villagers joined two or more *iddir* or *mehber* to distribute risks.

People complained about the unfairness of the tax system which took no account of differences in size of landholdings. Since the implementation of the regionalisation policy political meetings and demonstrations (by OPDO) excluded non-Oromos. During the Derg both Oromos and non-Oromos held power in the PA but in 1995 all PA leaders were Oromo. The community was not tightly-knit; there were factional groups as well as different ethnic groups and a lot of social interactions in small circles in and beyond Sirba. It was said that Godeti farmers had larger average land sizes than those in Sirba but had refused a request for a more equitable distribution. The community seemed to choose customary and modern ways of life as appropriate to the situation.

6.4. Sirba 1995 - 2003

After the EPRDF came to power in 1991 nothing much changed at first. At the beginning of ethnic federalism there was some friction between the majority Oromo group and the non-Oromo group which was later resolved peacefully because of the close intermarriage ties. Then there was a new government and the first social shock was the return of demobilised soldiers. For some years there were debates for example about the Constitution. The Oromiffa language was introduced in schools. Social problems were not so complicated as they had become by 2003. There were few health problems and no agriculture input problems.

In 2001 Sirba kebele was merged with neighbouring Ude and Kumbursa kebeles into a new kebele called Ude, becoming a sub-kebele. The numbers of households and people had increased considerably; one respondent said that one of the two worst things was 'being crowded in this village' and was thinking of returning to his pre-villagisation place. There had been no re-distribution since the earlier period of the Derg and there were complaints that landholdings no longer corresponded with household size. No land in the village was unoccupied. Landlessness was the most serious problem in the village; the average landholding of those who were part of land distribution during the Derg was between 1-2 hectares and many had nothing at all. Communal land for grazing was shrinking. Recently land contracting had been permitted and a new law had been issued in the last year asserting women's rights to share use rights of land on divorce. Some land had been taken by the government and given to a certain investor. Land pressure was the major reason for the decline in livestock holdings and the increase in joblessness.

There was said to be no land in the village for latrines. Most did not have them as they reduced their garden space and were expensive. In 1999 the two hand pumps and solar pump constructed during the Derg collapsed and in 2003 people were using water from handpumps which was dirty, especially in the rainy season, and from an increasing number of wells which brought many diseases.

The weather in the previous three years had been dry and yields substantially lower especially in last year's drought; this year the rain was heavy and flooded some farms. One of their greatest fears was drought as a result of climate change. A man said that in the dry season there was no work for labourers like him.

Most respondents were gloomy about economic prospects: the community faced disease and theft and people were getting poorer and poorer; shortage of land was leading to decline rather than development; around the fall of the Derg production was much better; even with quota payments and compulsory contributions life during the Derg was not so difficult as in 2003. Not much was being done by way of rural development and health, education and water services left a lot to be desired. There were fewer government subsidies and things were becoming harsher for most farmers.

Agriculture was the main source of livelihood; the common crops were *tef*, wheat and maize. The land did not give yields without fertiliser. There had been an increase in crop outputs and prices and a dramatic increase in new inputs. The Service Co-operative was run by a share company; it bought crops from farmers at better prices, sold fertilisers and had its own grinding mill. There were different grades of farmer: a second grade farmer was neither rich nor poor and a third grade farmer had little land. Those with money, large numbers of cattle, larger land size or who could contract land were seen as well off. Fertiliser, seeds and weed-killers were not reaching farmers on time, consistently or at a reasonable price. Landless people who contracted farmland with money, oxen or labour had the right to get fertiliser from the co-operative and to get assistance from the DA. Livestock holdings had decreased because of lack of grazing land and the high price of fodder. Many livestock died from diseases. One young man had invested in a few new cattle breeds though the lack of a market for milk sale was discouraging him.

Labour-sharing still existed although it had reduced with the growth of wage labour hired by richer farmers. Some *debo* and *jijigi* had been replaced with economic networks like *wonfel*. Women participated in these for weeding. There was an example of one respondent whose son was employed as a herder by a rich farmer being paid 250 kgs in grain; 'he is the basis of my survival'. Farm workers from the north came for seasonal work.

As a result of land shortage problems the number of people engaged in off-farm activities, mainly trade and drinking-houses, had increased. There were few rural or urban employment opportunities; only rural farm work and in towns daily labour for men and domestic work for women. Some youngsters moved to the nearby towns for months. Some women went to Debre Zeit or Mojo to work as housemaids or barladies. Some children of currently rich former landlords living in Addis Ababa and abroad sent remittances.

Farmers got fertiliser on credit from the PA and landowners could get loans from the PA giving their land as collateral. The Oromia Credit and Saving Association and an NGO had introduced micro-credit associations in the last two years and the number of moneylenders had dramatically declined. Poor people could borrow to buy oxen, fertiliser and pursue off-farm activities. Some people could not repay and left the village. There were 40 members of *equb*.

Before the 1990s household structure were more extended than in 2003. TV had been introduced to the village. One rich man had a car. Plastic utensils were common. Clothing styles were almost urban.

An Oromo who had been a landlord had a large farm and owned trucks and lorries in 2003. Respect for the rich had reduced because of other credit sources. Before the revolution elders were social leaders and respected but during the Derg power rested in the hands of young men and in 2003 while elders were respected they had lost their position of power.

Inequality was increasing as there were increasing numbers of landless and those with money were contracting more land for farming and growing richer. A poor man working as a guard at the PA office could not afford to marry and have children or to go out with his friends on Saturday. An adolescent with disabilities was living hand-to-mouth. Craftworkers seemed no longer to be excluded as less respectable. Higher status went to those with the largest landholdings; landlords during imperial times and during the Derg PA leaders and local cadres who used their officials powers to get more land.

Parents shared equal responsibility in raising children; the mother's role was nurturing and the father's giving moral guidance. From about 5 children obeyed and helped their parents; they had a right to be well-fed. At about eight they went to school. Parents were more aware of the importance of education and tried to send their children to school though some poorer parents could not afford to as their children's labour was needed at home to support the family. There had been a decline in abduction which used to prevent girls from going to school. Children still attended the school in the

neighbouring village and education was pretty similar to how it was during the Derg except that the language of instruction was Oromiffa; the number of pupils had increased.

Girls were given more autonomy and had more right to decide when they would get married and to whom. They could choose to continue their education rather than marry early and take the case to court. Female circumcision was reducing. Young men were able to go into *tella* houses and talk with the older generation.

Adolescents worked in the fields, looked after cattle and did household work. Youngsters were becoming increasingly dependent on parents due to difficulty in accessing land; they also had no access to jobs. Many of the landless and poor were drifting into the cities to do odd jobs like daily labour. Due to tensions over land relations between parents and young people were somewhat strained.

Young people came up with new ideas at the *haya gasha iddir* which involved everyone in the community and met once a month and some were implemented. Both men and women should get married and start a family and take part in social activities and join social organisations. Child conception was the most important event in a woman's life. Having a large family was one way a woman earned respect. They might have 10-16 children in their lifetime with most expected to survive.

Enforcing of daughters to marry had decreased and the age of marriage increased. Abduction was declared illegal; there was a case where a young woman refused to marry the abductor and he was punished by the court. However, while abduction was said to be on the decline young women were still afraid as girls who refused to marry were often abducted. A widow should still marry her husband's brother or nearest male relative though widow inheritance and polygyny had decreased due to wealth deterioration. The current law gave women more rights and autonomy and the number in public places had increased. Women had an equal share of livestock on divorce. The Oromiya Regional State declared land to be the common property of husband and wife which was said to have reduced the number of divorces. Land, property and house were inherited by all sons; daughters only inherited if there were no sons.

In the past men were by far superior. Relations started changing slowly from the beginning of the Derg and the establishment of the Revolutionary Women's Association. However, many men could not accept women in leadership positions, though some women were being more assertive in household decision-making.

The nearest health centre was twenty kms away in Bishoftu. As poverty and youth unemployment had increased the ability to deal with illnesses had declined. With shortage of land and no development interventions many married and unmarried youngsters were spending their time in drinking houses, which had mushroomed in number in recent times. This had increased exposure to HIV/AIDS. Disabilities had decreased but illnesses were said to have increased; 'in the old days we knew only malaria but today it is beyond numbering'. Child mortality and widespread epidemics were said to be declining as there was vaccination at the health centre, especially when there was an epidemic. Illnesses and accidents were dealt with by reliance on the labour and financial support of family, kin and neighbours.

As a result of the war with Eritrea an Eritrean family from the community was expelled from the country. An incoming Amhara woman who had married an Oromo said that she had no-one in the village she could really talk to. There were no educated people and a deep mistrust of the Amhara by the majority Oromos. She feared growing hatred by the Oromo of groups from other regions who had acquired land and prospered.

Most claimed to believe in Orthodox Christianity but were also followers of *Kallu* the traditional religion. *Kalicha* observed rituals and served as spiritual mediators between the people and *Kallu* the

traditional God. They inherited the *kalicha* spirit from their parents. The impact of religion on work practices had increased: there were seven non-working saints' days each month and additional Saturdays and Sundays. Those who did work on these days were rebuked and sometimes excluded from *iddir*.

Kebele and wereda leaders and staff were frequently changing whenever the higher-ups decided and local people did not know why most of the time. Reported reasons for changes in the kebele leadership in the last five years were pressure from the government and complaints of nepotism. A previous kebele leader said the present government had introduced speaking one's own language and respecting one's own culture and these had benefited everybody. Wereda decentralisation only benefited those holding power as they were using the money for their own needs. There were women's representatives on the kebele council.

There was an elders' council with five members who mediated in disputes. It was recognised by the government and solved community problems within the PA. They were also involved in marriages. The length of time local justice could detain a criminal had increased from three to five months. People were no longer brutalised for no reason or taken to prison as in the past. However, it took a long time to settle a conflict; even in the kebele court cases took forever to be resolved.

Kin were socially obliged to look after poorer and weaker relatives. Every eight years the Oromo gada system leaders were elected; they no longer had authority but had symbolic importance. The local Abba Gada performed cultural activities and was highly respected. Other community-initiated institutions and organisations included working groups (*qabo, wonfel, jigi, debo*), *mehaber*, *iddir*, and *equb*. Community self-help organisations like *iddir* were increasing in number and they had more members and higher contributions. *Iddir* sometimes lent money to members in need and there were work parties organised to do farmwork.

Taxation had increased; for 0.75 hectares it was 52 *birr* and for 2 hectares 120 *birr*. Landholders had to follow PA rules; they had the right to use the land they held, get fertiliser from the co-operatives and assistance from the DA and to elect PA leaders. In the elections they were given cards. In the first election there was OLF and the second ONC. There was an election committee which supported the government. The cadre sat near and warned people to vote for the government. We participated in the elections but were not well-informed about the party or candidates we elected; we were simply given cards and told to cast ballots and did as we were told.

Before 1991 the PA leaders were feared because they used to brutalise anyone who did not agree with them; in 2003 there was no such violence and kebele leaders were not feared. If they were unjust people appealed to higher courts at wereda level. Corruption was said to have increased. Respondents said that the government had lost acceptance in the community having even less than previously. It had 'forgotten the peasants and the educated' and 'should do genuinely what it propagates through the media'. The war with Eritrea led to a lot of discussion. Eight youngsters from the village were sent including a man working for OPDO who said he was sent by the party. Two young men were killed. There was no food aid during last year's drought. A Dutch-funded NGO was active in Sirba.

There were many radios and TVs in the community which were changing people's views of the outside world.

6.5. Sirba 2003 - 2013

There had been no change in Ude kebele boundaries since 2001. Ude town where the kebele offices were was a municipality with independent offices and structures. In Sirba sub-kebele there were an estimated 224 tax-paying households of which 7% were female-headed. There were 1570 people with an estimated number of 600 under 20 dependent on their parents. 117 had completed Grade 10, college or dropped out and remained dependent on their parents. 6% of the tax-paying

households had no farmland. Almost 90% of household heads were Oromo, there were 18 richer Amhara and Tigrayans, 4 poor Kembata and Welayta and two ferenjes.

The sub-kebele is mostly flat except for Sirba mountain which was under rehabilitation by the watershed management programme. Ten years ago there was grazing land but by 2013 it had been taken by individual farmers. Flooding which eroded farmland and destroyed crops was common; it flowed into houses and compounds. Since 2011 the problem had reduced as people had made terraces along the side of their farms and compounds.

Ethnicity, clan or wealth did not affect who lived where. There was a primary school, 8 shops and about 20 drinking houses in Sirba and a roadside hotel built in 2005 which had recently been bought by Sheikh Al Amoudi. There was also a large stone quarry used by three co-operatives to sell stone. The quarry had been there since Imperial times but was expanded after the foreign company working on the main asphalt road vastly exploited the area with machines. Denkaka town in Ude kebele had a Thursday market, restaurants, a tyre repair place and a youth centre supplied by an NGO. There was a kebele office, grain store, FTC, new vet office, and Health Post which was being re-constructed after burning down and a high school up to Grade 10.

The main urban links for work and trading were with Debre Zeit and Mojo. People went to Debre Zeit to sell products, shop, and to go to the wereda office and court, the credit office, preparatory school, colleges, to watch DSTV football and to visit friends and relatives. It took 30 minutes in a minibus which cost 6 *birr*. In nearby kebeles there were flower farms, a new poultry farm, and factories and more new investments were expected.

All but five households were connected to electricity which was used for lamps, charging phones, TV, tape recorders, refrigerators, pumping underground water and a few stoves. In October 2013 10 households in Sirba used biogas (cost of installation 10,000-15,000 *birr*); otherwise wood and dung were used for cooking. There were about 500 mobile phones in Sirba; the signal was not poor though occasionally it totally failed. Phones were used to communicate with relatives, check market prices and listen to music. There had been a water problem since May due to the frequent electricity disconnections which stopped pumps from working.

The main Addis-Adama road went through the community giving access via minibuses to Debre Zeit, Mojo, Dukem and Addis Ababa etc. There was a road crossing Udie town to the west which connected to the armaments factory and the military camp. The wereda plan for inter-kebele roads was not being implemented due to failure of contractors to deliver and management problems at zone level. Sirba had a number of internal dryweather roads wide enough to allow trucks to pass; during the rainy season trucks could not pass and it was even difficult to walk. Sometimes floods cut off some roads.

The rain in April was not used to produce crops as it did not last long enough. Meher rain was usually from early June to the end of September. Ploughing was done from April to June and sowing between June and the end of July. Weeding took place from June to September and harvesting between October and December. Female students worked on floriculture in the summer vacation and male students on road construction. Traders did their best business from December to August. Rain between 2008 and 2011 was good but in 2012 it came and stopped early causing reduced harvests. It was said to be hotter than in the past but this had not affected crop or livestock production.

The entire wereda is an important area of *tef* production for the national market and high market prices and the adoption of new technologies such as improved seeds had provided farmers with good access to land, labour and oxen with opportunities to increase their production and incomes. In Sirba the importance of cash crops had grown. People in all wealth categories were richer than 10 years ago. Land sizes ranged from 0.25 to 2.5 hectares with most owning about 1.5 hectares. The maximum land used by one farmer through additional renting was 12 hectares. One farmer paid

4000 *birr* for hectare. Demand for rented land had increased from outsiders in local villages and towns. About a quarter of the farmland was rented out or given for share-cropping.

In 2103 the following estimates were provided for Sirba households: 12% very rich; 26% rich; 30% middle; 26% poor; 6% very poor and 1% destitute. Very rich households had TVs and modern furniture, the very poor had a bed of mud and a small box for their clothes, while the destitute had only their clothes. Very rich households were involved in farming, fattening, high-breed dairy farming and non-farm business such as trade and/or transport provision. Poor farmers had small land and maybe an ox, a cow and 2 shoats.

Five years ago fertiliser was given on credit but in 2013 it was only available for cash. The kebele agriculture office provided credit for *tef* and chickpea seeds but the seeds were not always supplied on time. There were a few farmers who could not afford to buy fertiliser and this increased inequality as they produced less.

Crops had a higher market value and farmers were selling more than they had five years ago; many had increased production of *tef*, chickpeas, lentils, wheat, and peas using fertiliser and improved seeds. DAs introduced improved chickpea and lentil seeds in 2010. Most stored wheat to sell when prices rose. In October 2013 farmers were expecting *tef* yields of 33 quintals per hectare. There three traders in Sirba with big grain stores and wholesalers came to the village before the harvest to negotiate future prices. Eucalyptus trees were sold and there was high market demand. Spices grown in backyards had good market prices.

There was no Service Co-operative in the kebele. In 2008 farmers sold their *tef* in local markets at Ude and Denkaka; in 2013 some still did this and there was a trader based in Sirba who bought and sold grain all year but most farmers sold to big wholesale traders in Denkaka, Debre Zeit, or Mojo. Some women seasonally bought *tef* from local farmers and sold to big traders.

A few farmers were using BBM ploughs although the cost of 300 *birr* had discouraged others. Farmers thought the plough too heavy and had created a similar model made of wood what was used by many farmers for the 2013 harvest. Plastic water bottles were pierced and filled with *tef* and fixed at the back of the oxen to plant in line though wheat had to be hand-planted. Half of farmers were said to have planted *tef* in line for the first time. Many of the richer farmers rented tractors for the 2013 harvest and some rented combine harvesters. Some urbanites rented land and tractors, used modern inputs and techniques and planted *tef* early in July rather than at the end which was the local custom. Many farmers had copied.

In 2009 an NGO provided a waterpoint, electric pump and drip irrigation to irrigate 15 hectares; in April 2013 due to problems related to land ownership it was serving 18 farmers on only 3 hectares who produced vegetables. Their association collected contributions to buy seeds and fertiliser and contacted traders in town to buy the products. The DA and an NGO professional gave advice. By October the 2013 the project had stopped working due to interference by the NGO, the corruption of the NGO worker and the discouragement of the members.

The Government started digging wells for irrigation in 2009 and again in 2011 but the 11 dug were still sealed in April 2013; there were 3 in Sirba. In June work was started to extend pipes into farmland and it would continue after the harvest. The plan was to charge individually for water and electricity. If the plan was realised all landed farmers would have access to irrigated land; they were happy that they would be able to work in the dry season. There was a five year plan to dig 150 wells on the kebele's land.

The production of green pepper, carrots, cabbage, spinach, rue, garlic, fruit and coffee in backyards for home consumption had increased. Since 2009 a few households have used water pumps and drip irrigation at household level producing twice a year.

There was no communal grazing land and people fed animals at home with straw and hay and on their post-harvest land. Two types of fodder were also grown and mixed together. Special feed was bought for improved dairy cows. There were fewer cattle and shoats than in 2003 as people were focusing on quality rather than quantity. Most were traditional; most farmers fattened oxen at the same time as ploughing. Improved breeds of cattle for milk were introduced in 2008 and were increasingly used for milk production. There were 500 households in the kebele who daily supplied milk to the Ada'a milk processing company. In October one farmer could not sell all his milk to another company due to a quota. Traditional cows were good for butter production. Elephant grass had been planted by farmers and the DAs. Most kept local and improved chickens and sold eggs.

There was no DA assigned to the kebeles before they were merged into one in 2001. In 2013 there was a Crops DA in each village and 1 Livestock and NRM DA for the whole kebele. The extension service provided improved seeds of *tef*, chickpeas, and wheat, fertiliser and hybrid livestock, and fodder seeds. They organised the preservation of natural resources. Until 2013 the Debre Zeit Agricultural Research Centre used to provide 20 kg of improved seeds to farmers who returned the same amount after the harvest and sold the remainder to local farmers. In 2013 the ARC distributed their best quality seeds to traders rather than the seed associations. Most farmers bought from the traders though they would have got credit from the association. Most farmers suspected that the seeds sold by the Service Co-operative were not actually improved but some bought them as they could get credit; there was a delay in getting the seeds and some worried farmers turned to other sources.

Ude Service Co-operative had 1141 members: it distributed fertiliser, improved crops of all types, chemicals, consumption goods, construction materials, spraying materials, fodder, BBM etc. Members got priority. The kebele assessed farmers' needs through the Development Teams and 1-5s and ordered through the wereda agricultural office which reported to the Zone and Region. The Regional bureau communicated with the Unions which imported the fertiliser. Most preferred to buy fertiliser from the SC although this year there was no expiry date on the bags.

DAs taught about the best farming techniques including crop rotation, planting in lines, the amount of seed to use and using BBM methods, keeping the seasonality of farming, the amount of fertiliser and the use of pesticides. They identified farmers' input demands and worked on providing a sufficient supply. In the 2013 season the kebele chair said that the BBM and planting in line were being enforced and people were adopting them better than before. DAs said that 75% of farmers had applied the extension packages: applying new farming technologies, comprehensive agricultural activities and application of farm input. Those who properly applied them counted their cash in thousands. The AGP programme had started in the wereda; it was providing inputs for irrigation.

In July 2013 Debre Zeit Agricultural Research Centre, which had an experimental nursery site in Sirba, sent a truck loaded with five types of tree plus eucalyptus for farmers to plant around their houses. Trees were also planted on Sirba and Ude mountains using Public Works although they were not well-protected from livestock in October. DAs had told people that eucalyptus reduced fertility due to its acidic nature.

NGOs had provided education on seed quality and preparation of improved chickpea seeds for sale to farmers, hybrid livestock, preparation of fodder with seeds provided, and one farmer had been trained in castration. The kebele agriculture office worked closely with three research institutes. They moved around with kebele officials to see how the work was going. They discussed bio-gas with those that used it. They worked with women on weeding and using weedkiller and livestock.

The kebele agriculture office in collaboration with 3 research institutes had been facilitating access to improved cattle; there was credit. They also provided improved chickens. The vet shop opened in 2007 and in 2013 provided vaccination, medical treatment, delivery service and castration. There

were shortages of instruments and medicines. The DAs had sensitised the community to the advantages of beehives but there had been no production by 2013.

In 2010 203 model farmers were selected in the kebele including 62 from Sirba. They ploughed a large area of land through renting, and were involved in bull fattening, dairy farming, and growing irrigated vegetables. Since 2010 the DAs have assisted them to be more productive. 45 model farmers some of whom were Development Team leaders were used to mobilise the community on different issues. They invited other farmers to their farms and organised experience-sharing visits among themselves and with farmers from other villages. Those with bio-gas had been visited often. There were two champion farmers in Sirba; they were role models and worked with the DAs as agents for improved seeds. The 1-5 groups were not as active as expected as farmers were focusing more on private work and forgetting their 1-5 responsibilities.

In most households family members worked on the farm with children helping in weeding and harvesting. Capacity to hire daily labour had increased since 2008; working groups and reciprocal labour exchange still existed but had reduced. The price of labour hired for harvesting had risen from 220 *birr* for ¼ hectare in 2012 to 350 in 2013. More than 700 labourers came to the kebele.

The Region had identified the wereda as an area for *tef* and other crops and irrigation as the soil is fertile. There was evidence that the government was trying to encourage co-operatives. The wereda said there was activity to help service co-operatives including training and wereda support for their credit and savings associations. In April 2013 the kebele chair said that new co-operatives for poultry and bull fattening were being set up. In October 2013 no new co-operatives had come but the kebele was trying to organise unemployed youth in each village and involve them in bee-keeping. The kebele chair said there was an AGP fund that was going to be given to 30 youths in associations to produce seedlings and fatten bulls. A list of young men's names had been sent to the wereda. The criteria were being educated and unemployed. A young man said that youth had been brought in to groups and told to save 1000 *birr* to get access to credit but saving this amount was impossible for most. One group had a member who had 1000 *birr* and they had borrowed 34,000 *birr*. Previously groups only had to organise, get a license and access the loan.

There were two grinding mills, three carpenters, two builders and two women making injera plates from mud and straw. Some youth were engaged in metal work, tyre work and kept shops. There was a shoe repairer, watch and radio repairer, two barbers, two mobile battery chargers, a skilled butcher, a man renting a bicycle to people wanting to learn to ride and one traditional healer. There were two small cafés near the China construction company. Women's participation in small trade, shops and selling local drinks had increased. There were eight shops up from two in 2008 and three horse carts and one old truck to transport stone, sand, soil and eucalyptus trees. Two people owned middle-sized buses. 200 men belonged to stone co-operatives working in the Sirba quarry. One co-operative got a loan of 180,000 *birr* for a stone crusher which it had repaid but the crusher had broken and been taken to Addis Ababa for repair. The kebele chair said brokers took much of the profit.

There were ten government employees and three guards paid for by the community. There were 35 people educated to various levels with higher-level jobs outside the community. Some youth helped parents with their businesses. The expansion of different industries and farm enterprises in the area had led to increasing wage labour. Young men and women were hired in local factories and eight flower and vegetable farms. There was a flower farm and brick factory in one of the other sub-kebeles and a blocket factory in the other which had hired 30 people from Sirba. The Chinese road construction company which took land for four years and set up a camp employed around 40 people from Sirba. 30 young women and three adult women were working in flower farms 2013; some commuted and some stayed in Debre Zeit. Those working in the greenhouse were affected by chemicals

There was a gas station under construction. There was a plan to expand investment and there was a huge demand for land; one investor had asked for 100 hectares. In April a metal workshop began operating in Sirba and another investors' group visited the kebele with wereda officials looking for land. For five hectares or more the regional investment bureau together with its office at the wereda decided which land to give for what type of investment. There was a rumour that some land around the Arosa hotel had been allocated for foreign investors but not information on who or what they would do. Sheikh Al Amoudi visited the hotel he bought last year and told the wereda he wanted 200 hectares for an unknown investment; the kebele was ordered to send a report of available land which they did in October.

Young men migrated seasonally during the rainy season; those who left for education were unlikely to return. Many young men migrated to Adama to work on the new road project connecting the town to Addis Ababa and others moved to Debre Zeit, Mojo, Dukem or Addis Ababa following earlier migrants to work on investments. Some commuted to neighbouring villages for agricultural work. Many young men had graduated from public and private universities but people said the problem was that you had to be an EPRDF party member to get a government job. Officials hired relatives or those most active in the party.

Young women worked as housemaids, waitresses or cobblestone or construction workers in Addis Ababa, Mojo, Adama, or Debre Zeit, or migrated to Arab countries. Some girls were hired at the plastic and shoe factories in Dukem and continued their education in the evenings. 32 young women had migrated to Arab states from Sirba. Most had sent remittances and when they came back brought good quality household and personal items. They had learned to work hard, to cook, and better home management skills. By October the community had been well informed about the recent banning (for 7 months) of migration to Arab countries.

Savings options included livestock, crop storage, *equb* (one for business people had a pot of 400,000 *birr*), the Oromiya Credit and Savings Association (WALKO), GUDINA community savings group, and the bank although people were increasingly more likely to use them for investment. There were savings clubs for festivals with the money put in the bank. WALKO (funded by the Oromiya Development Bank and recently savings) and GUDINA (funded by villagers' savings) provided credit on a group basis for fertiliser, land rent, seeds etc. In April there was no debt problem as DAs followed up closely. By October WALKO had stopped lending after they faced conflict with a group when some members failed to pay and the rest did not want to pay on their behalf. The kebele chair said that neither gave credit at the time when it was badly needed and a businessman said the sums available were not large enough for activities like trading. Credit for non-farm activities was said to be available at wereda level and training provided by the government and two NGOs. People took credit for butchery, rural bars, and grain and livestock trade. Members could borrow up to 1000 *birr* from *iddir*. In 2008 members of the Haya Gasha *iddir* suggested school upgrading and they also suggested building a cement pond for water for cattle; 25 cents per cattle a day saved 4 hours travel time to Mojo river. Moneylenders had disappeared.

There are more tin-roofed houses and a decline in the traditional L-shape as it used more tin. The local family type was nuclear but as parents shared their land with their sons they lived almost together although independently. Most households used improved stoves. Refrigerators, TVs and other electrical goods were increasingly used. The idea that men should be involved with domestic work was accepted; men fetched water and took grain to the mill and some boys cooked and made coffee.

Some men combined roles as successful farmers and/or community elders, *iddir* leaders, kebele office. One leading party member was a community leader and another an *iddir* leader. The four interviewed traders had no other roles in the community. The kebele chairman was a successful farmer and a speaker for a *Waka Efata* sorceress. Elders mediated during conflicts, acted as

intermediaries in marriage, and blessed new houses. Marriage with blacksmith and potter families was no longer a problem.

Abduction had greatly reduced in the last five years although the risk for girls travelling long distances to school still remained. There were 4 cases in last 12 months with two ending in marriage and two in punishments of 3 months and 5 years. Some young couples arranged abductions when parents refused the marriage. Women could now choose their marriage partner. Marriages now had a formal structure under the municipality office. Polygyny and inheritance of widows was said no longer to exist. Domestic violence was still common; mostly resolved by elders.

The rate of divorce had increased, especially among young couples. During the previous 2 months there had been 20 marriage disputes with one ending in divorce. Law provided women with full ownership rights after husband's death and she could re-marry. Daughters' rights to inheritance were said to be better practised.

Many women were engaged in income-generating activities and participation in politics had improved. There was affirmative action in schools and for wereda vacancies.

Most married women used contraception and some unmarried girls. There was a wereda campaign to reduce maternal mortality by encouraging women to deliver at the health centre, including awareness creation through 1-5s, better service at the Health Centre, baby clothes from an NGO, incentives for TBAs and a wereda ambulance (since June). HEWs advised delivery at the Health Centre and that TBAs would be punished with five years in prison; their only role was to provide information and follow-up though it labour was sudden TBAs could help them before taking them to the Health Centre.

HEWs advised about infant care and feeding. Female circumcision was common ten years ago but was said to have greatly reduced. The school girls' and virgins' clubs had been actively reporting cases. Most practitioners did not dare to violate the law; one was jailed for three months in 2011.

Sirba primary school opened in 2009 with help from an NGO; in 2011 the kebele and another NGO collected 20,000 *birr* to build 4 more classrooms and the school was upgraded to G1-6 in 2013. Head reported teacher, classroom, electricity, and textbook shortages, increased dropout and absenteeism during the harvest season. 57% of 7 year olds had started school in 2011. The kebele high school in Udie had been upgraded to G1-10. Very poor students could get a letter not to pay the school fee of 150 *birr*. Children's expectation regarding education had been decreasing seeing older siblings with Grade 10 unable to find work.

It was estimated that only 1% of young men had access to land from parents or siblings and about 2% with good economic capacity rented land. Most youth and newly married couples had no land; children could only get land from their parents. About 50 young men had completed Grade 10 or college but could not get a job and were dependent on parents. Some girls attended preparatory school in Debre Zeit and some from richer households attended private colleges in Debre Zeit and Addis Ababa. There was no opportunity for educated girls and many of those who failed to join preparatory school migrate to Arab states. Youth were searching for ways to get jobs or do business rather than completing education which was considered essential in the past; people increasingly believed they could get a means of living without being successful in their education.

Some boys started sexual relationships from 14 or 15 and pre-marital pregnancies were common; those who could afford to had abortions. Use of condoms was said to be common. Arrangement of marriage by girls under 18 by parents had reduced in the last five years though there were at least four cases of married 14 year-olds and many parents believed that girls of 16 and 17 with a mature physical appearance were old enough to get married. Identification of age by officials was a big challenge.

Most young people were not interested in either politics or religion. Young girls used going to church as a means of recreation; parents didn't mind them going to church so they could meet their girlfriends and boyfriends. Young men had better access to recreational places. An NGO had recently provided a youth centre to a club in the kebele with 42 members, 22 of whom were girls.

Community awareness about nutrition was said to be low although there was regular teaching on how to prepare balanced diets and nutritional monitoring; wereda official said agricultural and health packages should be integrated. Most people bought clean pumped water from a private individual or a waterpoint provided by an NGO for irrigation and drinking or got it free from the Chinese construction camp.

The community built a health post in 2006 which burned down in 2012; *iddir* had collected 60,000 *birr* from members towards the cost of materials which totalled 100,000 and the community contributed labour. Only 4 households did not have a toilet though the HEW had to visit constantly to convince people to have them. In 2012 the mostly male health volunteers were replaced by 1-5 teams; by 2013 there were six 1-5s. There were monthly meetings of the HEW with women in the villages and she went door-to-door. Seven people in the Health Army who were Development Team leaders with better education worked closely with the HEW in mobilising people for vaccinations, distributing bednets and controlling those who had no toilet or did not implement the health package.

Wereda officials said the health extension service suffered from high staff turnover, insufficient and poor quality training and lack of commitment to the profession. In April there were three HEWs, one for the urban part; in October two had left, one for maternity leave and the other for a nursing course. There was still a big problem in preparing toilets properly and getting people to wash their hands. There was polio vaccination at the end of September and anti-malaria spray at the beginning; some people would not let the sprayers in saying it would mark the walls but she said the new spray (not DDT) would not.

HIV infections were said to be increasing in the wereda. Ten people had died in the kebele since April with some suspected of having HIV/AIDS. Despite bednet distribution there were annual malaria epidemics; people got treatment soon though there was shortage of quinine. There were 2 private clinics in Udie and three traditional practitioners in the kebele. A woman who went to the hospital in Debre Zeit was told she could not get any treatment as the physicians were all busy in meetings. There were wereda innovations to increase non-government income for health services: a plan for centres to rent unused space in their compounds and a grain bank system where the community contributed flour for the post-birth porridge ceremony some of which was sold for income.

In the kebele most were Orthodox Christians; there were a few Protestants who owned shops and did wage labour and a very few Muslims from outside had recently rented houses. People visited sorcerers in other kebeles to get babies blessed, find the truth in disputes, and get medication for people and livestock. DAs were meeting the community at church gatherings to pass messages about preparing soil, fertiliser, sowing in line etc.

The rural kebele office had 7 cabinet members; the main work of the rural office was implementing government policy, tax collection, village security and taking community concerns to the government. Cabinet members faced challenges handling their farms and homes as the kebele work took a lot of time.

The kebele council had 300 members including 150 women. The social court had 3 members. There were three sub-kebeles – Sirba, Udie and Kumbursa but no sub-kebele administration apart from a kebele vice-chair in each. Sirba had nine male and nine female Development Teams with around thirty members and 1-5s theoretically responsible for neighbourhood security, skill-sharing and co-

operation in daily farm activities and mobilising for Public Works. There were 300 party members paying 14 *birr* a year. Party leaders reportedly met once every two months.

Development team leaders were also cell leaders whose main role was education about politics. They were meant to meet monthly and discuss ideas and rules coming from the top and evaluate their activities through *gimgema*. The male 1-5s were not working as planned due to the attitude of the community; people stuck to their customary ways of interacting. Some were reluctant to participate in the 1-5s discouraging the other members and there were some who disrupted the group with bad behaviour. The group was fully voluntary and anyone could leave at any time. Women in the female 1-5s did not do what they were told to do; most were not interested in following the health extension packages.

Women and youth organisations were not active in Sirba. *Iddir* were used to pass political and development messages including during funerals.

Kussa was a gada leader who organised feast members for the 8-year ceremony and punished men who misbehaved, for example had affairs. There were five gada groups each divided into 3 groups: Folea, Debele (successors of Folea) and Etimeko (cultural police). The local leader of the Folea group was highly respected and prayed with elders for peace, prosperity, rain and prevention of disasters. There were 60 members of the Folea festival in Sirba which sang around the village during the feast. Visits to other Folea 8-year ceremonies had been banned as fights had broken out. The government used the 20 *gasha* *iddir* to which all belong to mobilise the community to collect money for the Health Post and school. The officials collected the money and banked it.

Land tax ranged from 25-150 *birr*. Traders paid market tax and in April a grain trader, butchers, one drinking house and some shops had started paying tax on their sale. Licenses cost 50 *birr* a year and tax ranged from 300 to 4,000 *birr* per year. From May the kebele had been aggressively demanding that all businesses, including shops with small windows and women selling areke and tella get licences. The community was told to ask permission from the kebele before starting any business. Stone co-operatives paid tax but even if a farmer sold 50,000 *birr*'s worth of eucalyptus there was no tax.

All community members contributed 177 *birr* a year for sport, the Red Cross, kebele administration costs, schools and the court. Those with children at school paid an extra 250 *birr*. There was a recent contribution of 100 *birr* for the rebuilding of the Health Post. A few volunteers had bought Renaissance Dam bonds between 100 and 1000 *birr* and there was an initiative to raise money through *iddir*. All community members aged 18 to 50 were meant to participate in 15-60 days Public Work. Some people were reluctant to participate in the watershed management public works. Respondents with land below Sirba and Godeti mountains said flooding had decreased as a result of the work.

There were opposition parties in 2005 and confusion in the community but the EPRDF won the election; there was no opposition in 2010 and the community voted for the EPRDF.

In 2011 the community was divided into two groups, one supporting the kebele leader and the other demanding the election of a new one. The previous chair was removed, allegedly due to inefficiency and suspected corruption including selling land. In 2012 his supporters beat up the new chair at night in 2012 and the old chair had allegedly mobilised people not to participate in Public Works. Some wereda appointments of kebele chairs were said to be the result of bribery.

Some community members were against incoming investment as their lands were being taken away though 'no-one could resist the government's decisions'. The kebele chair did not know how much land had been given out. The government had promised that the investors would provide employment with good salaries but the flower farm was only paying 12 *birr* a day. About 300 people from the kebele were employed in the flower farm and brick factory and 3 in the hotels.

Compensation paid to farmers for the land taken by the air force was very good; for example two bought minibuses. Farmers whose land was taken for investments like the flower farms and Chinese Construction Company had not been adequately compensated.

Big meetings had been held every year since 2003 to introduce government policies and programmes to the community. Many people including youth and women were attending meetings. There were strong complaints about kebele meetings being called during harvesting, especially when rain seemed to be coming. In October there was a big *gimgema* of ten days to evaluate last year's plan with the focus on farm inputs, health services, adult education and community security. The conclusion was that the plan was not accomplished well due to poor community linkage and lack of participation in meetings and raising of problems. Kebele officials accepted criticisms of loose follow-up and community mobilisation but no-one was demoted and all promised to improve. One wereda official said that from the region down to the kebele there were frequently total shifts of attention and effort to new activities and neglect of existing programmes.

In 2008 theft, murder and robbery were more common than in 2013; people killed each other when they fell out and livestock were stolen by outsiders. In April the previous militia were dismissed after 2 days *gimgema* and the wereda justice office appointed a new kebele head of justice and administration with no community consultation and 15 new militias were assigned. In 2013 there was a fight between two youth groups over access to grazing with some injuries.

Many older people continued to follow customary rituals and opposed a number of modern innovations being introduced as a result of urban linkages; these were supported by younger people. Women returning from working in Arab states brought business ideas, international clothes like miniskirts, and were 'different in some way'.

There were four emerging towns in the wereda including Denkaka. Unplanned town development was mushrooming as a result of illegal house construction related to informal land sales. There had been information about the new master plan for Denkaka which would contain some gots from Sirba. Areas in the village had been given new identification codes indicating they were part of the town rather than the village. Kebele officials had told people in Sirba not to build new houses as they may be destroyed if they did not fit with the unfinished Master Plan. A new railway from Addis Ababa to Mojo and beyond which would pass through the village was under construction and a station was being built near Udie.

Wereda officials said the main problems were low awareness about credit, high community dependency syndrome, lack of participation in meetings, trainings and adult education, especially women, and lack of integration of the work of the health, agriculture and education sectors.

7. The story of Kormargefia, Basona Werana wereda, North Shewa zone, Amhara

Kormargefia straddles the main road from Addis Ababa to Debre Berhan; it is about 10 kms south of Debre Berhan which is about 120 kilometres north east of the capital. The wereda town Chacha is 8 kms towards Addis Ababa. The community is situated at about 2,700 masl in the dega zone on a plain with a few hilly areas that are mostly used for settlements, in particular around the kebele centre. These hilly areas are mostly gently sloping, with a few steep inclines. Much of the land was swampy and the area is affected by frost in the *meher* season.

The people around Debre Berhan belong mainly to Amhara ethnic groups; the Oromo minority has been assimilated. Amharic is the main language but there are a large number of people who speak Oromiffa. In 2013 95% of Kormargefia residents were Amhara and 5% Oromo; all were Orthodox Christians.

7.1. Kormargefia in imperial times

Debre Berhan was founded in 1456 by Emperor Zara Yaqob; its importance changed as leaders came and went. Menelik became the King of Shewa in 1865 and emperor in 1899. In October 1916 the supporters of Emperor Iyasu V were defeated in a battle in the area confirming Haile Selassie as regent.

In 1936 the Italians took a lot of livestock and killed some farmers who were against colonisation. They constructed a tarred road. Many farmers took to the bush and fought until the Italians were defeated, returning to normal life in 1943. At this time donkeys, mules and horses were used to transport harvest, firewood and straw to the house and the market.

Electricity arrived in Debre Berhan in 1955. By 1958 it was one of Ethiopia's 27 First Class Townships. In the 1950s there was an unexpected famine and many people migrated to big towns like Addis Ababa, Dessie and Jimma to look for work. Before the revolution land was occupied by a few landlords with a minimum of 1 *gasha* (40 hectares). Almost all the indigenous farmers were landless tenants. The few with land paid a land fee in cash and kind to the landowners. Tenants rented land from each other.

7.2. Kormargefia during the Derg

In 1975 after land nationalisation the PA distributed land on the basis of 10 hectares per farmer. Farmers used fertilisers from 1975 and there was a slight increase in the barley yield. Vaccination was introduced in 1974 by the Ministry of Agriculture. PAs were established in 1976 and a Service Co-operative in 1978 which installed a mill and sold the produce of member farmers. ILCA introduced oats and potatoes in 1986 and showed farmers how to cultivate them. The Ministry of Agriculture started vaccination in 1974 and major livestock diseases were controlled. ILCA introduced cross-bred cattle in 1978. The community had had a 'livestock rearing centre' which was run by the Service Co-operative. There was a Producer Co-operative and almost all farmers belonged to it; it was abandoned when the mixed economy was announced in 1989 and the members distributed the property among themselves. The area was affected by famine in 1984 and people suffered considerable hardship; many males migrated to towns looking for work. In 1985 households had to sell a significant proportion of their livestock. There was substantial conscription.

In 1988 the Derg started implementing its villagisation programme and many were forced to leave their homes. House construction reduced time for farming and because dwellings were a long way from farms they could not guard their crops from animals. Some people from the area were re-settled in Jimma and Wollega.

7.3. Kormargefia in the early 1990s

At the end of the Derg regime there was no actual fighting in the area though there was a high concentration of soldiers. This was attributed to the fact that the people of the area were highly resistant and the landscape very difficult to recapture once seized by opponents. A small number of bandits troubled government troops. In 1991 everything that was in the Service Co-operative shop and the mill and the building itself was dismantled and stolen though 27,000 *birr* remained in the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia.

Some farmers returned to the old villages and some re-settlers returned following conflicts with the local Oromo. By 1995 as a result of population growth the average size of landholdings had decreased to 2 hectares. There were a large number of landless people, including newly married couples and ex-soldiers who could not afford the land tax; they survived by share-cropping with widows and old men who had land. There had been some re-distribution of land taken from very old people who could not pay their tax. Land renting was illegal. Donkeys, mules and horses were used to transport almost everything to homes and markets.

There were two rainy seasons: *belg* between January and April, which was highly unreliable, and *meher* from June to the beginning of September. Farmers classified their plots into *belg* (sticky soil

texture) and *meher* (drier) and planted accordingly. *Belg* production was risky due to rain variability. The peak agricultural time was October to December when harvesting time.

There were almost no trees in the area as far back as anyone could remember and only about 2% of the area was covered with trees. It was difficult to grow trees as seedlings were often affected by frost before they were established and most of the land was unsuitable being generally swampy. The PA leaders and the Ministry of Agriculture had recently forced people to plant trees which they did on the hills and dry areas; they covered the seedlings with leaves during frosts.

The most important crops were barley and beans. Farmers also planted various types of wheat, peas, lentils, oats, and linseed. Most production was for consumption but small amounts were sold locally. Livestock-rearing was important. Farmers believed raising livestock would be very lucrative if there were enough grazing land as livestock and hides and skins prices had been increasing rapidly. Wealth depended on size and quality of plots, herd size, harvested yield, stored grain and cash income from other sources. The main routes to wealth were good farming and engagement in wide-ranging off-farm activities especially trade. Wealthy households had iron beds, a hand gun and a radio. Status accrued to military competency, PA leadership, litigation skills and family background. Residents helped each other during emergencies and the poorest people were often supported by the relatively rich people.

Farm technology had not changed since before the 1920s and included oxen, ploughs, hoes, sickle and other tools. Farmers used DAP generally and UREA only for grass and oats. Some farmers in Fagy had been trained in irrigation practices and people wanted the government to construct irrigation schemes. The main livestock in the area were cattle, sheep and goats and pack animals. Oxen ploughed and cows produced milk, butter and cheese some of which was sold. Dung was used for fuel and dungcakes were sold. Sheep were the largest component of the herd. There were fewer livestock due to a disease and reduced grazing land.

There were various forms of agreement for exchanging labour/oxen/land/food. *Debo* and *wenfel* were decreasing as many people could not afford the food and/or preferred to hire daily labour. Daily labour was associated with low status so farmers employed labourers from Menz during weeding, harvesting and ploughing times; young males also came to work as herders. Farmers did not work on seven saints' days every month, spending half the day in church; anyone who worked would be expelled from the community.

Since the main crop in the area was barley the area was famous for its *tella* and *areke*. Other non-farm activities which brought in income included sewing clothes, crop and livestock trading, church services, wooden furniture-making, and selling firewood, charcoal, and construction poles. A few engaged in weaving, tanning, and pottery. Migration was not common; a few migrated to Addis Ababa and other towns to work as daily labourers in April and May.

The most common form of saving was livestock. People needed credit for seeds in May/June and consumption August to October and some also borrowed between June and August. The lenders were the richer traders and moneylenders in the community. There were no *equb*.

Around 90% of houses were built of stone with grass or tin roofs. Ideally a household had three houses: for living, livestock and cooking. Only the school had latrines. The main fuel was dungcakes; about 2% of households used kerosene for lighting. All adult members were culturally responsible for the well-being of all household members. The head usually had more responsibilities for providing necessities and partly for this reason controlled almost all the income. He was head of the family and represented it in the legal and political affairs of the community. The wife with help from daughters was responsible for all domestic work.

There was little appreciation of birth control although both men and women had access to family planning. Pregnant women worked until they give birth although they did lighter tasks towards the

end of the pregnancy. Boys and girls were taught appropriate skills by fathers and mothers. Youngsters were expected to respect their elders and might be punished physically. In church schools children received religious education which included reading the bible in Ge'ez. In primary school they learned mathematics, English, Amharic, science and social science. ILCA had built four additional classrooms for the school and SIDA had provided mathematical instruments.

First marriages could be arranged by parents or result from choice. On marriage parents gave a son everything essential for him to establish his own house ideally including a range of livestock. Daughters received fewer gifts. Children usually inherited their parents' property; the share of each depended on the will. Theoretically daughters and sons had equal rights but this was not practised. Newly married couples usually lived with their parents for two years before moving to their own house.

Most women heading households depended on male relatives for labour, food and other necessities. Widows could inherit all their husbands' property. Divorce was infrequent since it was looked down on. In principle the wealth was divided equally but in practice the husband kept the land. Divorced fathers kept children over two years of age.

Barley was the staple food used for *injera* which was usually served with a pea sauce for lunch and supper. In the afternoon people ate roasted cereals. During celebrations they ate meat, chicken and eggs. Most farmers had spring water near their houses and sometimes they dug wells; the maximum time to reach water was 15 minutes. There were no seasonal shortages. There was a pond for animals made by ILCA in Karafino and there was piped water in Fagy and Bokafia.

People from the Red Cross came once a month to give vaccinations. There had been a health clinic but in 1995 it had no nurse. There were traditional healers and a TBA. The most frequent illnesses seen at Debre Berhan hospital were TB, broncho-pneumonia and acute upper respiratory infections. In 1994 there were 80 HIV/AIDS patients in the hospital.

Business in Debre Berhan was said to be dominated by Argobba. There were serious clashes in the town between Orthodox Christians and Moslems and Protestants. In Fagy people from other religions were not welcome, especially Protestants. The main kinds of local organisation were Peasant Associations; the informal political structure including elders and working parties; voluntary associations of farmers; and the local churches. Three sets of people made community decisions: the PA, elders elected by people from the PA, and elders elected by the village. Decentralisation in 1993 gave kebele leaders great responsibility and more tasks to do. Extension services improved, primary schools expanded and a sanitation programme was introduced. ILCA had been active in the area since 1975.

Disputes between or within households were usually first dealt with by elders from the PAs; if it was beyond them other elders of the village got involved. Priests also served as mediators when people quarrelled. Unresolved cases are taken to court. Criminal acts were passed immediately to the police station. Some people listened to the radio and tried to acquaint themselves with what was going on in other parts of the world; otherwise people relied on rumours and informal means of communication.

7.4. Kormargefia 1995 - 2003

In 1996 Fagy, Kormargefia, Milky, Karafino, Tebassie and Alobert were merged into Fagy *kebele* in Basona *wereda*. Population increase was said to have accelerated. The land reform of 1997 had a big impact on the community drastically changing economic production and relations among community members. While people with large land had it reduced those with small land and landless people received larger tracts of land regardless of their potential capacity to cultivate it. Former kebele leaders were considered 'bureaucrats' ('feudal remnants' of the former regime) and lost a lot of land. Some poor people and women benefitted but how much people got seemed

arbitrary; for example a woman of 21 with a husband got 10 *timads* while her mother only got four for four people. Following the re-distribution share-cropping became very common and there were numerous disagreements. Communal land was very small leading to disputes between those with livestock who wanted to keep them on the land and those without who wanted to use it to grow crops.

Between 1995 and 2003 there was no road construction in the kebele. Harvests were vulnerable to frost. Since life had become more expensive people had become more selfish and shrewd; 'no-one cares for others'. Unlike in the past they did any kind of work which brought them money. Many people in the community were said to be poor; 'things were much better in 1991'. Some could only eat twice a day and a priest said that one of the three worst things in his life was lack of food for the local community. There was also a shortage of drinking water which meant there was 'no hygiene'.

Crop production was mainly for subsistence with small surpluses sold in local markets. People also sold livestock and livestock products. Loss of soil fertility was again reported as an issue.

Labour and ox sharing continued. An epidemic in 1998 killed an average of 8 sheep per household. By 2003 there were fewer livestock due to insufficient grazing land and farmers selling them for different reasons. In 2003 the price of straw was twice what it had been in 2002. Farmers trusted the traditional vet more than the modern one. Through the establishment of primary schools ILCA taught the community about breeding animals, new crops like oats and new technologies but only rich farmers could take advantage of the interventions. A dairy programme based in Debre Berhan benefited many farmers.

The former *kebele* leader started applying the agriculture extension programme in 1996. Thereafter at first a few farmers were included and later others joined. Initially farmers benefitted but gradually fertiliser prices increased and few farmers could afford to buy them. Some were forced to sell cattle to pay their debts. Some people came to talk about irrigation but were never seen again. The ADLI policy was introduced to the community in 2003.

Wage labour increased as poor people needed additional income. No-one could survive without engaging in non-farm activities such as selling firewood, charcoal, straw, and dungcakes. A new Service Co-operative was established in 2001; it gave access to seeds and fertilisers with credit. Farmers had to pay 17 *birr* to be a member and to borrow had to have land as security for the loan. There was a suggestion that it only benefited rich farmers and those working in it. It didn't provide commodities at a reasonable price.

There was only one provider of fertiliser on credit in Debre Berhan after a competitor disappeared; every year the price went up. Redd Barna Ethiopia provided loans and there were *equb*. The Amhara Credit and Savings Institution introduced a programme in 1997 to help small-scale borrowers with income-generation schemes. Money was lent to people in groups of 5-7; a first-time borrower could get 500 *birr*. Priority was given to women as they were faithful customers; money was only lent to a man if his wife came and signed. The money had to be invested in the agreed business. Loans were not available to those in debt, rich, elderly or disabled people, or those who had borrowed money from the Development Bank of Ethiopia or Redd Barna

There was said to be quite a change in the style of dressing. New kebele leaders and minor leaders were increasingly respected; their social positions were higher than those of elders.

Female circumcision was still practised. In 2002 the community provided labour to build a school classroom; the kebele provided the materials. A teacher said that there was a big gap between the educational policy and the capacity of the school. The policy was designed for 50 students per teacher but that they had up to 105 students in a class, the teachers were not trained and there were no teaching aids. The self-contained policy was not popular. Children over 18 were increasingly

living with their parents. There was no significant change in relations between parents and children though there was some misunderstanding. The son who looked after his parents could inherit.

Early marriage had reduced. To get divorced spouses could file a case with the kebele by paying 25 *birr* each. Women could do men's work like cutting the harvest and threshing if they wished. There was a new intervention from Mekane Yesus to lend money to women for business activities. Women were aware that pregnant women should eat dairy products, fruit and meat while pregnant as a result of the teaching of clinic health workers but said it depended on income.

From 1999 food aid (3 kilos of wheat a week) was given annually for a six month period in a FFW programme. There was a report that people who were close to kebele officials and/or lived near to the road received aid while very poor people who could not speak did not; the community's problems were not fully resolved and the process eroded trust. There was a feeling that in the long-run it made people lazy and dependent. People still had to go to Debre Berhan for health treatment but the service had deteriorated as they no longer got the service in the hospital or clinic on the day they made the 'case paper' but had to wait until the next day. The Red Cross occasionally provided health facilities. Milk teeth removal and uvula cutting was still practised. In 2003 Action Aid Ethiopia held a workshop on HIV/AIDS for kebele leaders, health agents and women from different social organisations as part of a wereda campaign.

Religious leaders could punish the laity who violated the church's rules. Protestantism was expanding in the area causing conflicts with Orthodox Christian followers. Local people were said to have developed a sense of belonging under the care and jurisdiction of a church. The top religious officials had connections with kebele, wereda and zonal officials. Elders resolved conflicts, settled social tensions and punished people who were not following the social norms. Five elders selected from religious leaders and notable people settled disputes. *Equb* organisers offered tella, areke and tea to members who came to pay their monthly contributions. The organiser could punish those who failed to fulfil their responsibilities.

In 1998 zonal decentralisation and related political restructuring reduced government employees to local levels. Problems could be solved more quickly and relations between employees and the community improved. There was an election to choose the kebele leader in 2000. Youth and women's associations were not functioning in 2003, though they had in the past. Taxes ranged from 20-45 *birr* and there were an additional 6.5 *birr* of informal taxes. People did development work like building school classes and road construction. Various development programmes were undertaken during the FFW programme between 1998 and 2003. 53 men were recruited for the war in Eritrea. 50 were from youth groups; 50 *birr* was given to each family for festivals and children's books and pens. The community also provided labour during planting seasons. Two who had returned had been given land and 4000 *birr* each.

One man said that in the past an elected spokesman told the government about the people's problems; he has been replaced by cadres selected from the kebele administration by the government who are not accepted as spokespeople by most of the people. There was a charge that corruption had increased in spite of the campaign. There had been conflicts with people from other communities who came and dirtied the well water. Two kebeles were being supervised by police to secure the area. People listened to radios

There were eight NGOs active in the area providing loans, fertilisers, funding for an HIV/AIDS campaign, teaching mothers how to feed children, developing drinking water and irrigation, working on animal breeding and fattening and poultry, collecting milk and paying once a month, and teaching about agriculture.

7.5. Kormargefia 2003 - 2013

In 2013 **Kormargefia** had 980 resident households 29% of which were headed by women. There were also 148 absentee landowners 42% of which were women. The community was divided into three sub-kebeles: Kormargefia, Aloberet and Milki. In 2005 part of the kebele formed in 1997, Fagy and Bokafia, Tebase and Karafino was transferred to the town administration and the land distributed to investors though only one had started work. 95% of the population were Amhara and 5% Oromo; they inter-married, shared all social organisations and there was proportional representation in the kebele management.

Three Derg villagisation sites remained relatively densely populated; otherwise the settlement pattern was very scattered. Houses were built on the hilly parts of the community which were not exposed to floods, springs and swamps; also they could not plough the rocky hills. At one villagisation site near the main road a small town was growing. Only three places in the kebele used electricity: the church for lighting and speaker, the owner of the grain mill and the kebele chairman for lighting, TV and radio. A few households used solar energy for lighting. Mobile technology was introduced in 2004 and the reach has expanded since 2010; around a half of households owned at least one mobile phone but there was no electricity for charging. Mainly used for phoning and listening to the radio.

The main road to Debre Berhan from Addis Ababa which went through the kebele was tarmac and well-maintained. Minibuses cost 10 *birr* and took 15 minutes but often did not stop as they were full. There was a new gravel inter-wereda road through the kebele going to Debre Berhan. The road from a sub-kebele which bordered Debre Berhan town had been blocked as the town administration had given land at the border to an investor who had fenced the road off. Some houses were cut off when the river was in full course. Intra-community roads were not allweather and became muddy and impassable. There was no road to the kebele centre where the kebele offices and health post were constructed in 2006, and where a school was found. They cross farmlands to get to the kebele centre but cannot in the rainy season as it is muddy and covered with crops. There was no electricity here and no water except at a nearby point. From the edge of the community it took 1½ hrs to reach the main road. The only transport inside the kebele was from vehicles crossing farmland in the dry season, pack animals and two bicycles. Internal roads and bridges were maintained through Public Work.

There was a reported increase in the extremes of heat and cold; there had been no drought in the last five years but rainfall was said to be more erratic. Crops were at risk from frost and heavy pounding hail. Since 2010 two watershed projects on 746 hectares were conducted through Public Work though there were said to be no significant problems related to erosion or deforestation. A small amount of sloping land and some steeply sloped communal land was affected by floods and erosion. A few farmers terraced their own farmland.

The most important contributor to the local economy was smallholder farming though migration and non-farm activities were also important. The minimum landholding was 2 *timads* (0.5 hectares) and the maximum 3.5 hectares; it was not clear how many landless households there were with estimates ranging from none to about 80. Land leases of 3-5 years were common but long leases were not. Share-cropping had declined and was uncommon as even 'lazy farmers' were using land to grow their own crops because prices were so good.

All farmers depended on mixed farming with livestock figuring increasingly prominently in the farming mix. There were more cattle than in 2003: around 6000 of which about 28% were hybrid. They were used for ploughing, fattening, and dairy, dungcake and hide production. Sheep-rearing was very important and every household had increased sheep holdings since the sudden price rise in 2008; around 30% were hybrids. Holdings did not increase in a linear fashion; for example in 2012 there were 1000 or so more cattle than there had been 2011 and a reduction in sheep from 7,600 to 4000. There had been an increase in chickens as dependent children were rearing them for their own incomes selling eggs and fattened chickens. Staple crops in order of importance were barley,

broad beans and wheat; most were consumed at home although any excess was sold. The dominant cash crop was eucalyptus planted on hillsides and non-arable and less productive land. The second most important cash crop was irrigated potatoes, and the third irrigated carrots.

Farmers differed in terms of holdings of rainfed and irrigated land and livestock, access to labour, farming skills and aspirations and commitment. These differences were associated with differences in use of inputs, technologies, labour, output markets and extension services. There were 699 landed households headed by men and 281 by women and there were 238 model farmers, ranked A, B or C. 257 (26%) of households used irrigation with almost a third using pumps and the remainder canals. About 5% of households were estimated as very rich - through farming, dairy farming, fattening and eucalyptus sale. For example in 2012 the kebele chairman, who was a champion farmer awarded three times by Meles, made around 100,000 *birr* from the sale of irrigated onions and carrots and in addition to his staples production he also fattened 3 oxen and 20 sheep for the market. 10% of households were estimated to be rich, 60% middle 17% poor, and 8% very poor (without land). The proportion of poor and very poor was said to be less than in 2008 which was attributed to households farming their land rather than share-cropping it out, sheep fattening, chicken production, diversification and better prices for dung and firewood.

In 2013 there were three DAs responsible for agriculture, livestock and the environment and also each was responsible for one sub-kebele (on average 300+ households in each) each working on all three areas with development team leaders (on average 10 leaders in each). The DAs for crops and natural resources were men in their early thirties and the livestock DA was a woman in her twenties. All three had been transferred to Kormargefia in August 2012. They worked in their sub-kebeles from Monday to Thursday and met on Fridays to discuss performance and plan the next week's activities. When there was a need for a particular skill in one sub-kebele the relevant DA went to advise. A new system to work closely with the development teams and 1-5s to enable all households to access interventions was recently introduced; the development team leaders were meant to act as a bridge between DAs and farmers. The DAs also worked through model farmers using their plots to demonstrate new techniques.

The official remit of the DAs in 2013 included (1) increasing the productivity of barley, broad beans and wheat, irrigation farm products and livestock (2) persuading farmers to undertake new activities with greater potential profit such as growing lentils and linseed on irrigated land, reducing local livestock breeds in favour of fewer hybrids, and keeping bees and (3) managing watershed activities.

The kebele chairman wanted DAs with more skill and commitment to be assigned to the kebele while the DAs wanted only tried and tested technologies to be approved for distribution to farmers. In this way and by avoiding unrealistic promises they hoped could repair the declining trust of the people in the kebele and the DAs. They complained that their salaries were too low as they had to work more than the normal eight hours a day. Some poor farmers said that DAs gave less attention to ordinary farmers, for example ignoring requests for help when livestock and crops were attacked; they were mainly concerned with watershed activities and sometimes advising model farmers.

Improved prices had increased the profitability of cattle and sheep production. In 2008 an ox cost 2-5000 *birr* and in 2013 8-9000; a fattened sheep cost 500-700 *birr* in 2008 and up to 2000 *birr* in 2013. Kormargefia was the main source of breeding bulls for surrounding kebeles as it had been since the Derg. Milk, butter, dung and hides were important products. Preparation of dungcakes as a regular source of cash had increased and wholesale marketing of them to incoming urban traders had been growing. Most farmers had one or more hybrid cattle bought or produced through AI though more than 70% of the 6000 or so cattle were local. Problems included frequent diseases, fodder shortage, and seasonally insufficient river water; local cows survived better. They provided less milk but good quality butter; improved cows provided much more milk but lower quality butter. Local oxen required less feed and average ploughing power; improved oxen consumed more than five times the

amount of locals and had much higher draught power enabling them to pull the BBM which was too heavy for local oxen. Older oxen were rested and fattened for sale.

A dairy co-operative collected members' daily milk for sale to a private processor in Chacha town. Cattle were fed on pasture, hay, straw, wild oats, and *furushka*, a by-product of *areke* production. Sheep grazed anywhere in the fields ploughed or harvested; some people fed them with hay and straw especially when fattening them for sale. Grazing land had decreased in recent years as individual farmers had started to plough their grazing land and the government had allocated communal grazing land to a dairy investment (five hectares), watershed management, and two youth co-operatives farming on irrigated and rainfed land. There were seasonal shortages of water for livestock. The only communal water source for livestock was a pond dug by ILRI years ago; it had become filled with silt and animals regularly got stuck in the mud. Share-rearing of cows had declined as people wanted to keep as many milk cows as possible due to good prices. Share-rearing of sheep continued as before. Ox-sharing had declined as many farmers had two or more.

Farmers bought 'fattening medicine' believed to cure liver disease in sheep and cattle from private shops or the vet and other drugs from private shops. The DAs facilitated access to insemination services provided by the Debre Berhan Research Centre (previously ILCA) and Food for Children and advised farmers about livestock quality, health, fodder, fattening and dairy production which was appreciated. However, not all their advice was accepted. For example farmers were reluctant to increase the proportion of improved breeds as they feared disease could wipe them out, the advice to stop planting wild oats used as fodder fell on deaf ears, and non-model farmers refused to take improved beehives saying the place was not suitable for bees. Few used the DA's spray for killing external parasites on sheep regarding 0.75 *birr* per sheep as too expensive. In April 2013 the vet service (vaccination and drugs available once a week) was reportedly better than it had been in 2008 although the medicine for chicken disease brought sometimes by the wereda did not cure them at all. The mobile vet service had stopped in July when the vet went for training. Many people had taken credit from ACSI which was enough to buy a sheep or to contribute to the purchase of an ox or cow. In 2013 the wereda provided improved sheep and poultry to twenty selected model farmers to provide a hybrid service. A two-day training was provided to dairy producers as part of the Agricultural Growth Programme due to start in 2014 in the wereda.

Improved wheat and barley seeds had been available since 2003; about a third of farmers bought them from the service co-operative while others used recycled seeds from their own production or bought them from other farmers. The local agricultural research centre provided improved seeds of barley, wheat, and fava beans for demonstration on farmers' plots. DBRC provided improved seeds for a *timad* to leading farmers near the centre to be returned in kind after the harvest. Food for Children had distributed improved seeds to twenty poor farmers which they would have to repay. There were complaints that the supply of improved seeds was insufficient and that improved seeds provided through the extension system sometimes failed to germinate and in the case of wheat produced very little grain.

Fertilisers were only available from the service co-operative; private traders were banned from selling them when the farmers' union was formed. Farmers paid cash except for 120 'less-affording farmers' who got fertiliser half for cash and half on credit. DAs had been increasingly active since 2008 advising farmers how to apply fertiliser correctly and in an adequate amount. Recently the DAs had recorded the needs of each farmer for fertiliser and reported the total to the wereda which distributed it through the union and service co-operatives. There were reports that the high price of fertilisers meant that poorer farmers could not use the recommended amounts. Some farmers spread manure on their land and some made and used compost after being trained by the DAs. At one point DAs were told that organic fertiliser was available at the wereda and collected data on the amount required by the farmers, but when they went to fetch it they were told it had all gone; as a result the farmers thought they were liars. Weedkillers, which were not much used, and pesticides

were only available from private traders. Credit for seeds and fertiliser was only available via the Service Co-operative for a few poor households but farmers could borrow from ACSI to buy these inputs.

Broad Bed Maker (BBM) ploughs were sold to fifteen model farmers for 40 *birr* in 2005 but most stopped using it after one season as it was too heavy for the oxen, could only be used on flat land, and easily broke. In its place many farmers manually prepared broad beds using spades and their bare hands (*ziqosh*) a technique copied from a neighbouring *wereda* where it had long been practised. The DAs advised people to plant in lines in the 2013 agricultural season but people resisted claiming it required intensive weeding which would expose the crops to frost and reduce the straw for livestock fodder; only three male and one female kebele/party leaders did so on a small part of their land.

Farmers sold any staples surplus to household consumption. Cultivation of eucalyptus trees for sale had become increasingly common. Licensed traders came to the kebele with lorries to buy wholesale, some farmers felled a few trees at a time split the wood and carried it by donkey to Debre Berhan market, some made charcoal and some collected and sold twigs and leaves from the cut trees. 24 farmers had large eucalyptus plantations; for example one respondent had 10,000 trees a rich 19 year-old living with his parents had 800 and a rich 15 year-old had his own nursery for eucalyptus seedlings which he sold for 65 *birr*. The main risks associated with eucalyptus were that they use underground water and can prevent crops from growing nearby and they also shelter crop-eating birds. The DAs were concerned that there were too many eucalyptus trees and thought they should advise people to stop planting them.

There were three types of irrigation technology in use: gravity-fed canals, individual pumps, and hand-watering with buckets. The area covered by irrigation (86.5 hectares) had expanded due to the increased use of pumps. Approximately 70% of the irrigated land was planted with potatoes and 20% with carrots which were being increasingly grown as they were less prone to diseases than potatoes. There had been a problem selling carrots in 2013 since lorries could not reach the irrigation area due to rain; there was no road. Other crops grown included garlic, cabbage, onions, sugar beet and eucalyptus seedlings. DAs had facilitated access to pumps and taught about irrigation management, planting techniques and crop tending. In the past government and NGOs supplied potato seeds but by 2013 farmers could easily get seeds from their own reserves or other farmers; most used local seeds as improved ones were expensive.

Farmers did not work on holy days although the number had been decreased to four. Most households used family labour for all farm work; only a few had servants (annual wage 1000 *birr*) though daily labour mostly from outside, was increasing, especially for harvesting. The payment was 90 *birr* a day in the last season. *Debo* had decreased as the price of food was higher than the price of daily labour but *wenfel* had increased. Harvesting, weeding and feeding and herding cattle were important economic activities for young women and girls in all types of household.

Wereda officials rated Kormagefia as a medium kebele in terms of dairy farming but next to last in agricultural development. They planned to intensify extension work to help the community increase its market-oriented production with an emphasis on dairy production, fattening, improve livestock and irrigation farming. In April 2013 they said they had decided to assign a vet to the kebele and the community was told there would be community work to build a house for the vet and livestock yard after the harvest. Also they said regional officials had promised a budget to upgrade DBRC especially relating to sheep development projects in the wereda.

There were no traders as farmers sold their own products in the market. There was a grain mill, one shop, a few areke bars in people's houses, five part-time carpenters and builders, and one woman making baskets for sale in Debre Berhan market. Only women heading households produced and sold tella and areke in their houses as this brought shame on wives, even poor ones. Some wives

produced and sold areki to retailers or individuals. Many women and children made dungcakes for sale. Some people collected firewood and fallen leaves from live and cut trees for sale in Debre Berhan. There were traditional medical practitioners: a bone setter and a herbalist who treated conditions like skin allergies. The government did not provide credit or inputs for non-farm activities though it did provide advice at meetings such as the leading farmers' conference.

Most employment opportunities were in informal daily labour. The main employers were; the kebele hiring guards; the dairy investment in Kormargefia which was hiring labourers for re-building; the nearby Habesha beer factory also hiring construction workers; the research institute which employed guards and herders; shiro processing co-operatives which hired mainly women to roast peas and winnow; and several construction projects, a blanket factory and other organisations in Debre Berhan. There was ad hoc work loading trees and stones on to lorries when traders came to collect them.

Migration had increased greatly with the main destinations being towns, especially Debre Berhan and Addis Ababa, and Arab countries for young women. The urban development process in Debre Berhan had increased job opportunities for high school dropouts on construction projects and in factories. Young people attended secondary school in Tebase town and when they failed the Grade 10 exam many chose to migrate feeling ashamed to return home. There were opportunities for girls from aged 13 to work in shiro-producing co-operatives. Also men found work on cobblestone projects, as guards and in daily labour while women worked as housemaids or daily labourers. Migration to Cheffe Donsa from November to January for harvesting had decreased with only twenty men going in 2013. Some people had moved to Bale and Jimma but local people were not sure what they did there. During the reconstruction of the main road many youth were hired and migrated temporarily but now they were back which had reduced security for girls and young women. The first young woman migrated to the Gulf more than five years ago and the number increased in 2012 and 2013 when twenty went bringing the total to forty. Remittances of around 7000 *birr* a year had had a huge impact on their families' livelihood status and brought economic and psychological benefits to the women. People considered the families of migrants the luckiest and most successful. A few young men had migrated to Arab countries. The recent ban had affected those planning to migrate. Many females and their parents supported migration and planned to go ahead once the ban was lifted.

The wereda provided credit for inputs directly to a quota of households (100-150) for many years with the Service Co-operative responsible for collecting the debts. In 2012 credit recovery was 99%. The credit stopped before the 2013 farming season and at the same time ACSI, which had provided credit for many years through group collateral, started registering farmers to save. Since 2009 an NGO had provided more than 100 3-year soft loans for poorer farmers. Borrowing from relatives and neighbours had declined due to 'unreasonable interest rates'.

The number of people involved in equbs and the amount saved (up to 100 *birr* a month) had continued to increase; in 2013 equbs came under the social court which could deal with failure to contribute the amount taken. Equb had brought a significant change in attitudes to saving; they were popular due to minimal bureaucratic procedures and the lack of obligation to form groups. Some people saved in banks. Livestock were the main savings vehicle for farmers.

Household size varied from two to ten. Male heads represented the family at the kebele and in community organisations; older unmarried sons sometimes shared the role. Wives were not interested in kebele issues. There were three types of house all with stone walls: tin-roofed with a room underneath ground level; tin-roofed with no underground room; and straw-roofed. Household assets varied with wealth: a very rich household might have a TV, radio, tape, sofa, table, wooden bed etc while a very poor household might only a bench made of mud and a sort of table. Plastic utensils, first introduced in 2001 were common, as were iron utensils. There had been change in what people wore; socks and coats had recently become common. It was common for men to take

grain to the mill and in times of hardship they made coffee, fetched water and cooked food. Many young boys and an increasing number of men regularly prepared food, milked cows, husked grain and fetched water; these domestic activities were previously only done by women.

Only a few people bought grain and only in years of bad harvest. Buying of vegetables, root crops, food oil, and coffee had increased. Child malnutrition which had been a serious problem a few years ago had reduced to an average of six children per kebele with the help of an NGO. Most people had access to safe water throughout the year through ten covered springs, though a few used unprotected spring water. The amount of water in the springs had steadily declined and there was a fear that some would soon dry up. The kebele rationed the amount of water a household could use per day. Weddings, mourning ceremonies and religious festivals were conducted with less extravagance.

Elite male status was associated with kebele leadership, local organisational leadership, justice administration, religious leadership, and economic achievement through farming and/or business. Most elites were active in more than one field and/or networked with men active in the other fields. For example one of the leading farmers was a party cell and Development Team leader, secretary of the preaching council and the service co-operative and chair of the waterpoint committee; he networked with party/kebele leaders. An Orthodox Christian priest was a leading farmer, party member and chair of the church audit committee. Women were not active in these roles other than the economic.

In the past women wanted to have daughters and men sons but by 2013 both preferred girls as they cared more about their parents. Infant and small child care had improved in the areas of hygiene, vaccination, clothes, nutrition. Children aged 7-12 were (mostly) going to school in shifts and their work burden had decreased; they were not expected to generate their own income. In the past adolescents were often married by the age of 16 but in 2013 most continued in education; boys and girls had equal opportunities. Their work burden had also reduced because they were in school although they were still involved in domestic and farm work. Some had started income-generating activities for themselves or their families. By 17 young people were considered grown-up; in the past they would have had their own independent households but in 2013 they either stayed with their parents or migrated to towns. Most generated their own income by fattening sheep, looking after chickens, collecting firewood, making charcoal and (girls) making areke, dungcakes and baskets. Most of the teenage boy respondents wanted to move to towns when they were older.

The shift system enabled children to combine work and education although the burden of domestic work made it harder for girls. Those wishing to continue beyond Grade 6 had to move to Tebase or Debre Berhan though the Kormagefia school was upgraded to Grade 7 in 2013/14 and there was a plan to add Grade 8 the following year. A library building had been completed and a laboratory was under construction. A new standard building for the Grade 1-4 Milki satellite school financed from the federal budget was nearly completed by November 2013. Passing points for Grade 10 had increased for both boys and girls and many had failed. Attitudes to education had very much improved and it was difficult to find anyone who did not send their children to school. Many parents had encouraged their children to complete secondary school and were disappointed when they failed after they had spent so much money on rent, food, clothes and fees. Some financed private college attendance. The number of people attending adult education varied from 30 to 50 at different times.

While inequality between poor and rich households had decreased, differences in support for children were considerable. Rich households had servants and daily labourers so their children could focus on their education; they could continue to secondary and TVET as parents could afford rent and fees. Most poor children dropped out after the last grade in the kebele school or a year or so after going to secondary school in town. Rich parents provided land and oxen for their sons to set up their own households and funded extravagant weddings. Poor girls were said to feel inferior due to

the quality of their clothes, personal hygiene and nutritional levels and as a result went looking for income.

Young men faced problems establishing independent households due to lack of land which they had to get from parents. Most were said to get married in their mid-twenties. Some young people selected in a community meeting had recently been given communal or *mote-kada*² land for houses or farming. The kebele had allocated 4 hectares of irrigated land for vegetable production to 51 young men who were paying 640 *birr* a year; originally they worked individually but then the land was divided among 1-5s with 5 to 6 members working together. In October 2013 the co-operative had 57 members including 8 young women. In 2013 6 hectares of rainfed land were allocated to 16 young men organised in a group. Some young men from richer households were given land to grow eucalyptus, eucalyptus seedlings, some had sheep and many kept chickens. Other opportunities for the less educated included co-operative farming (two in place), fattening (credit said to be available), and there was a potential for stone exploitation, although prices were very low. There were no work opportunities in the kebele for educated youth.

Possibilities for young women include getting married (youngest age 15) and living in or near the community; dropping out of school and moving to work in town; going to college and getting a formal job; migrating to an Arab state. All were said to have dreams about the future. Most of the teenage girls respondents said they were concerned about the threat of rape and abduction. There had been recent cases of rape, forcible abduction and also 'abduction through lobbying'; for example a 16-year old was contacted by a young man from Tebase who promised her a cellphone if she would live with him; as she was underage and it was voluntary he was fined 200 *birr* by the kebele. One rapist was not charged as he came from a different kebele. It was possible to continue at school after having a baby. Most of the nine teenage male respondents said they wanted two children; one wanted four. Research in sample kebeles showed that wereda and NGO activities to reduce female circumcision and early marriage were having some effect although all three 13 year-old girls interviewed said they had been circumcised and would be ashamed to be with boys if they had not. The six 16 and 19 year-olds supported the ban. In 2003 many girls got married between the ages of 12 and 16 but this was unusual in 2013. Work to implement the choice of partner law began in 2009 and was having some effect but there was resistance from some elders who regarded the choice of marriage partner as a male right.

Government officials were advising youth to organise themselves in groups and join the Youth Association in order to get land or jobs but one said young men were reluctant fearing the government would force them to join the army if there was a war. There had been no economic interventions aimed at young women but kebele officials reportedly called meetings of young women in 2012 and 2013 with the aim of registering all attendants as party members and *ginibar qedem* (vanguard young women). Very few attended and the predominant view was that young people were not interested in politics. A youth leader gave figures for membership of the Youth Association, League and Federation but none of the interviewed teenagers were aware of these organisations.

In September 2013 the kebele registered young people who did not attend school or have independent work; the chair told them the wereda would provide access to credit for farming and non-farming activities. All who registered were also registered for party membership; the intervention had not been realised by early November.

² Land left by people who had died without heirs.

In late 2013 Government had started to give chickens and vegetable seedlings to a few women and had organised a meeting to initiate more women to plant vegetables. Mekane Yesus were introducing a credit programme for women. However women respondents said the government did nothing for women and earlier promises about income-generation 'were totally forgotten'. There was difficulty in enforcing the law on widows' and divorcées' land rights due to elders and kebele and wereda officials who were not in favour of women's rights. Domestic violence was still a problem as violence was accepted in the community as a common misbehaviour. Legally women had equal rights to inherit land from their parents and many cases were reported last year.

The old health extension system was weak as professionals only occasionally came from the wereda to give services like vaccination. The Health Post was built in 2006; the HEWs worked with trained health volunteers until May 2012 when they started working with the wives of Development until female Development teams were established. Many leaders were former health volunteers. Two new HEWs were assigned in October 2012; the previous ones had lived in the community providing services day and night but the new ones lived in Debre Berhan and spent less time at the Health Post. In April 2013 these two HEWs said they had sub-divided the kebele into two and worked with female Development Team leaders who were responsible for reporting households who refused to apply packages. Wereda officials said that in 2013 the health policy focused on four packages, particularly the first two: health of mothers and children; transmitted diseases; non-transmitted diseases; and personal and environmental hygiene. A women informant said the emphasis was on hygiene and environmental sanitation. Although everyone in the community had built a latrine after threats from the kebele administration many respondents said they did not use them frequently.

A cabinet member said they should assign HEWs with better education and experience and improve their working conditions to motivate them to serve the people. They were often absent and reluctant to attend kebele meetings leaving the cabinet to participate in getting the packages implemented. One of the HEWs left for education in July and respondents said the other, who lived in Debre Berhan, was totally absent from the Health Post and mostly went to Aloberet sub-kebele as it was nearer where she lived. 223 women used contraceptives from the health post but had to phone when they needed the HEW and there had been no pregnancy, birth and infant care service at the health post since April. The use of contraceptives was widely accepted by the younger generation but they did not get them from the Health Post. The government stopped supplying condoms since party cadres refused to take them saying they were too disgusting to look at. Young respondents said that those young people having sex did not use condoms. Most deliveries since April had been at home though there was a government attempt to stop TBAs from attending deliveries. In 2013 505 households 'graduated' from the programme, i.e. attended a training. The HEWs said that the people were too conservative to accept the packages and the kebele had one of the lowest rates of adoption.

All were Orthodox Christians and there was high resistance to new religious ideas. Traditional religions involving *kalicha* and witches were also followed though not openly. Religious commitment had intensified with increased attendance and contributions and many starting to observe fasting periods not considered mandatory for common people. Preaching in Amharic started in 2008 and Amharic versions of the bible, prayers and songs were available. The church advised strict observance of non-workable holy days and that boys should be circumcised on the 8th day; the religion did not mention girls. Religious leaders were involved in dispute mediation. Youth participation in church choirs and Sunday education had increased.

The kebele administration provided the following information. There was a cabinet led by the chair, vice-chair and kebele manager. The chair worked with the health, agriculture and education cabinet members and the vice-chair with the heads of security and party affairs. The General Council had 300 members and the social court had five. There were four committees: education (the most

effective due to head teacher's leadership); health (less effective as HEWs not interested); administration and security; and agriculture

The kebele was divided into three sub-kebeles whose leaders were members of the core party structure; they followed and supported the DAs in their respective sub-kebeles. The sub-kebeles were divided into 28 gottis; in 2010 the establishment began of 28 male Development Teams each with five leaders (total 140) and an average 35 member households divided into '1-5s' with on average 7 members and each led by one of the DT leaders. The establishment of female DTs began in 2012. Male DTs and 1-5s should have been used for implementing agricultural extension packages, mobilising people for public works, registering school dropouts, ensuring the repayment of debts and collecting land taxes. DT leaders were supposed to provide monthly reports to the kebele office.

There was a core party structure with sixteen members at the kebele level including the kebele chair, vice-chair and manager and one woman, the head of women's affairs. Six core party leaders were also party leaders in each of Milki and Kormargefia sub-kebeles and four in Aloberet. The lower party structure consisted of party cells (*hiwas*) with 7-10 members each with a leader and secretary. There were 112 cell leaders including 4 women.

Although separate in principle party and developmental structures were linked. All DT leaders were leading model farmers and almost all were also cell leaders leading both development and party activities within their teams. However, not all DT members were cell members. There were 284 party members paying 12 *birr* per year; 259 were men heading households. The heads of these households were registered as *ginibar qedem* (vanguard farmers); they were elected at the end of a meeting organised by the wereda in collaboration with the kebele which trained them in development issues including watershed management and state policies and strategies. A respondent said that the interconnection between development work and politics was very noticeable; 'there are different stages to brainwash people re political issues and knowledge' including kebele and sub-kebele meetings and political work in schools.

From other information in 2013 the structures were not fully functional. The kebele cabinet did not meet during the first fieldwork which lasted a month and the council had not met for at least three months. The chair, who had been in place for 21 years, said cabinet members faced shortage of time and commitment for kebele work which demanded responsibility and risks of disagreements with community members for no return; respondents said the chair and manager were rarely in the kebele office. It was not clear how active DTs and 1-5s were and this probably varied; they were reportedly used to disseminate messages and were said to have increased participation in public works like watershed management.

Meetings of core party members at kebele level were rarely held; at the sub-kebele level cell members met irregularly; and it was not clear how often got level cell leaders met party members. There was a general meeting for farmers at least once a year which people attended unless they had urgent economic or social activities. Model farmer meetings reportedly had a high level of attendance.

As well as providing support when a family member or ox died *iddir* were also used in dispute resolution acting as a bridge between the community and the kebele administration. Once a month elders from each *iddir* in a sub-kebele met in community houses to try to solve disputes; they reported the disputes they had handled to the social court. Government messages could be communicated through *iddir* while mandates had been given to the social court over a number of *iddir* to control disagreements among members.

In 2013 land taxes ranged between 50-270 *birr*. The owner of the grainmill had a licence and paid income tax and a part-time sheep trader without a licence had been forced to pay 60 *birr* income tax and told to get a licence. There were market taxes. 'Voluntary' government contributions amounted

to around 40 *birr*. Households were expected to spend 60 days on public works each year although not everyone did.

A number of farmers and young men opposed the political views of the government though they were not organised in opposition parties. Some strong farmers who were Derg bureaucrats refused to be models or party members being 'selfish and unwilling to teach others' and did not participate in public works. Most people did not like watershed management projects but were relatively positive about school construction and internal road and bridge maintenance.