

**LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT IMPACTS IN
RURAL ETHIOPIA: STAGE 1**

COMMUNITY SITUATION 2010

TURUFE, OROMIYA REGION

STAGE 1 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 6



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This report is one of six Community Situation 2010 reports representing a part of the Evidence Base used in the Final Report for the Stage One of the ‘*Long Term Perspectives on Development Impacts in Rural Ethiopia*’ research project (WIDE3). It describes the situation of the community of Girar in Gurage (SNNP) in 2010 using a number of different perspectives. The fieldwork which produced the database from which the report was written was undertaken in January/April 2010. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are described in the Methodology Annex of the Stage One Final Report. (Our methodology ensures that all statements in the Report are connected to interviews in the database so that in case of queries we can go back to the sources of the statements. These sources are a multitude of interviews with wereda officials, kebele officials, other community leaders and notables, rich-to-poor farmers and their wives, young-to-old dependent adults, and young people between the ages of 11 and 19. (Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs). The Community Situation reports are also informed by earlier research in the sites in 1995 when village studies were produced (WIDE 1), and during the Wellbeing in Developing Studies research in 2003 (WIDE 2) and in-depth research in 2005 (DEEP) for some of them. Comparisons of the trajectories of change are addressed in separate parts of the Stage One Final Report documentation. Further information on this and other sites in this research can be found on www.ethiopiawide.net

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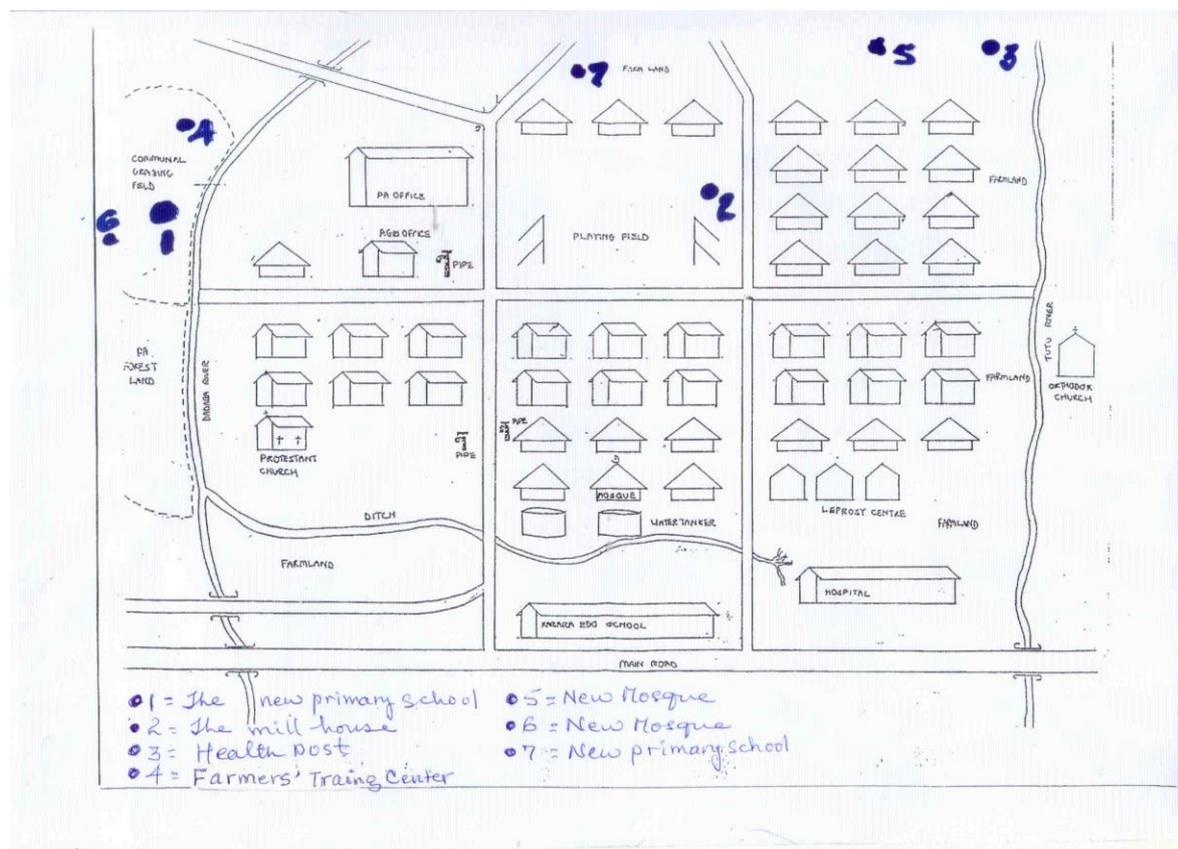
Community as a whole in 2010

Community parts

Turufe is part of a Kebele known as Turufe-Wetera-Elemo located in Shashemene Wereda of Oromia Region, consisting of three villages: Turufe Kecheme¹, Wetera Sake and Abyu Elemo. During the Derg period Turufe was one of 81 Peasant Associations in Shashemene Wereda, which became an Awraja in 1988. In 2009 a small part of the Kebele was taken away from this rural Kebele and added to Kebele 01 of Kuyera town, which itself was placed under Shashemene town. Shashemene wereda currently has 37 Kebeles and became part of Western Arsi Zone in 2007. The zone includes a new wereda called Wondo, formed from four Kebeles taken from the Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples' Region after a referendum together with one Kebele (Wondo) and parts of two others taken from Shashemene wereda.

The major change in settlement in Turufe came about with the villagisation in 1985, during which the Peasant Association was reorganised into two villages, with promises of electricity, piped water, a clinic and school. After the overthrow of the Derg initially some fifteen households returned to their older holdings, and others were considering doing so. Under the EPRDF Turufe and Wetera Peasant Associations were merged within the Eastern Shewa Zone of Oromia Region. In 2002 a third village Elemo was added. The central part of the Kebele has a compact villagised settlement with piped water at several communal water points, access to electricity since 2008 which was obtained with the help of an investor who installed a grinding mill. Due to its proximity to the towns of Kuyera and Shashemene residents in the village have mobile phone access.

Map 1: Turufe source WIDE1 with additions in 2010



¹ The full name of the village is therefore Turufe Kecheme, sometimes also spelled Turufe Kecheme. In this report we use Turufe as an abbreviation commonly used locally.

The map shows the village in 1995 with the additions of two new primary schools, the health post, the farmers' training centre, and six mosques, two of which are recent. There were already a Mosque and a Protestant Church in 1995 and an Orthodox Church in the nearby Kebele of Filicha. The village is surrounded by two rivers the Tutu and the Dadaba; the Kuyera River lies outside the boundary to the west. The terrain is fairly flat and there is a large forest in the neighbouring Gonde Kerso Kebele.

The centre of the *kebele* is at Turufe, although sometimes the kebele social court is held at Wetera where a primary school was built. Many community members prefer to live in Turufe, which is nearer to the town of Kuyera, especially those who have children attending school there. There are some middle and rich persons from Wetera who rent rooms or buy a residence in Turufe.

In 2010 the population was 13,673 according to the Kebele statistics with a larger proportion of females (6,016 males and 7,657 females). The inhabitants are ethnically mixed, with a majority of Oromo, and significant minorities of migrants from both northern and southern Ethiopia. The community is also mixed in terms of religion with a majority of Muslims, and Orthodox and Protestant minorities.

Turufe has been a surplus producing area, with potatoes and maize exported by merchants up to Addis Ababa; farmers grow a variety of cereals, pulses and oil seeds, as well as small quantities of *enset*, *chat* and coffee. Unlike the lowland Kebeles in the Wereda, Turufe has not experienced serious drought and wereda officials consider the Kebele to be among the food secure Kebeles. There have been outbreaks of pests notably in 2009 affecting crops so that seeds and food aid were distributed and in 2010 untimely rain also destroyed part of the crops. An increasing population, loss of soil fertility and landlessness of the youth were considered by wereda officials as the main development challenges.

Community in context

Turufe is 14 kilometres from Shashemene town and only 3 kilometres from Kuyera town. There are horse and donkey drawn carts going to market that provide transport to and from the village and motorised three-wheeler Bajaj can now be contracted to go to the village. However, during the rains the dirt road can become difficult and cart drivers may be reluctant to go there. People mentioned that whereas in the past the roads were repaired through public works, this is no longer happening regularly and due to flooding the road is in poor condition especially during the rains, especially the area included in Kuyera Keble 01 since it is not maintained as it is no longer considered part of the Kebele.

The location of Turufe in Shashemene wereda in Oromia Region with fertile and less densely populated land was an attraction for migrants from both Northern Ethiopia and from the nearby Southern Region which also partly explains the heterogeneous composition of the population with a majority of Oromo but several minorities for Amhara and Tigray in the North and from Wolayta, Kambata and Gurage in the South. There are also a number of migrant labourers who work as domestic workers living within households in spite of some attempts to control in-migration in 2005.

The proximity of Turufe to the Shashemene and Kuyera towns goes a long way to explaining many aspects of life in the village. There are valuable market opportunities to sell agricultural produce, and some off farm activities notably for women to obtain income from producing alcoholic drinks. The towns provide opportunities for wage labour, notably with the construction boom, and a few households sell milk from cross-bred cows to cafes in Kuyera. The proximity to the towns has also given Turufe residents good access to a range of choices for services. There is a hospital in Kuyera, a health centre, a Catholic mission and private clinics and pharmacies, and opportunities for better quality pre-schools and high schools, senior secondary and technical and vocational schools as well

Two schools built by NGOs were taken over by the Government. Several NGOs trained volunteers in family planning, and worked on Harmful Traditional Practices. These programmes have been also phased out or taken over by the HEWs. An NGO that was providing some support for children established a revolving credit fund before phasing out support.

Key sub-systems: households in 2010

Household structures

Households in these rural communities are small systems with three economic functions: to produce livelihoods; to reproduce household members on a daily basis and, at certain stages in the household development cycle, to produce and raise children to work in the future. Their position in the local development cycle relates to the ages of the leading adults. As a result of the stresses of rural life households regularly deviate from the locally accepted household development trajectory (for shorter or longer periods) with consequences for the collectivity as well as individual members. Deviator households are likely to be connected to stronger households.

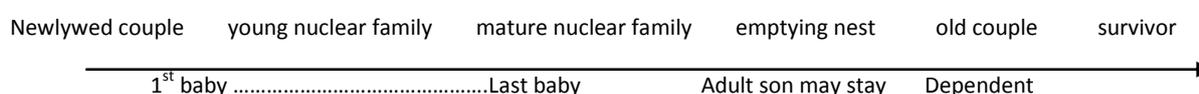
Turufe is an ethnically and religiously mixed community comprised of a majority of Oromo (55%) and a combination of minorities of migrants from both southern Ethiopia representing 26% (from Wolayta, Kambata, Hadiya and Gurage) and from northern Ethiopia representing 16% (Tigrayan and Amhara). The ideal household types are somewhat different between the Oromo and southern migrants on the one hand and the northern migrants on the other.

Ideal household cycles

Among the northern migrants the ideal-type household development cycle begins with the establishment of a new household by a young couple (new household), has a period where the first children are born and dependent (young nuclear family), moves into a period where children provide household labour (mature nuclear family), followed by period when the older children set up their own households with more or less assistance from the parents (emptying nest), ending with a period of dependency by the old parents and the handing over of the remainder of the property (dependent old household).

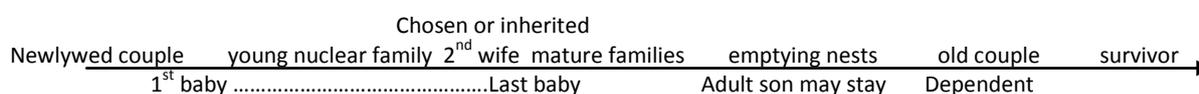
It may take new migrants longer to get started on the cycle as they need to find an employer who will sponsor them to establish an independent household and need to work to raise the resources to convert into livestock in order to have oxen with which to be able to sharecrop land.

Figure 1: Ideal-type household cycle – Amhara-Tigrayan migrants



Among the Muslim Oromo in Turufe there was an ideal of polygyny for successful men though in practice few men succeeded in having more than one wife.

Figure 2: Ideal-type household cycle - Oromiya



The ideal-type household development cycle is initially similar to the Amhara-Tigrayan model but, most frequently when the household is in the mature nuclear phase, in theory the head either brings a second wife into the household, or sets up a separate household for the additional wife, keeping more or less connection with the first wife. In practice though only a small proportion of household heads have more than one wife. In the 2004 survey 11 percent of the sample had more than one wife. Customarily a widow was expected to marry or be 'inherited' by a brother of her dead husband, while if a wife died her family was expected to replace her with a sister. These customs have been the subject of interventions and were outlawed in the Oromia family law and are clearly on the wane and may even have been stopped (see below).

Most women heading households are widows. Some will be able to get back on to the ideal-type cycle by remarrying while others will remain female-headed until either a son who has grown up takes over the household, or the woman dies or is taken into a younger household as a dependent. Among the Oromo divorce is frowned on and marriage with a divorced woman unwelcome. Divorce and the rejoining of the ideal-type cycle through remarriage are common among the Amhara and Tigrayan migrants.

The average household size was quite high at 6.6 in 2005 and 16% of households had ten members or more.

Falling off the cycle

A third of households (35%) had fallen off the ideal track mainly as a result of social shocks of death, divorce, and ageing, most of these being widows. There was a higher proportion among those who had fallen off the ideal cycle who were very poor or destitute (22%) than among those who were on track (15%).

Table 1: Turufe Household Types 2004

Turufe Household Types 2004	% of households	No of households in sample
Young couple (under 30) no kids	0.4%	1
Young nuclear family (oldest child under 13)	19.5%	49
Mature nuclear family (oldest child 13 or more)	22.3%	56
Polygynous 2+ wives in the same household	4.4%	11
Polygynous male head with Wife 1	7.2%	18
Polygynous and female-headed	1.2%	3
Nuclear family with old parent	1.6%	4
Emptying nest	2.4%	6
Mature/old couples living alone or with non-children	2.0%	5
Couple heading three generational household	5.2%	13
Widows/divorced/separated women with (grand) children and maybe others	20.3%	51
Widowers/divorced/separated men with (grand) children and maybe others	0.8%	2
Stepfamily	5.2%	13
Siblings (+)	6.4%	16
Female alone	0.4%	1
Male alone	0.8%	2
Total	100%	251

Source: RANS 2004

Table 1 shows that as time passes households change and that some 'fall off' the ideal trajectory for shorter or longer periods which have particular consequences for their livelihood options and wealth statuses.

Examples of households

A mature middle wealth household (Oromo Muslim)

DM, aged 48 lives with his wife NR, 38 and 6 children aged between 19 and 7. They had 11 children. Two daughters have left to get married, and two other daughters have been working in flower farms in Ziway, and a son is studying in Shashemene living with his married sister. Three of the younger children go to school, one boy has been disabled since birth, and the two youngest are not yet of school age.

The household has two cows and bought two oxen. It had its land holdings guaranteed through the registration process. DM works with development workers getting advice on modern farming. NR is involved in domestic work and weeding in the farmland; she prepares food for her husband and other household members working on the farm; she also has the livestock to take care of including the milk cow.

The household has made use of health facilities at the hospital in Shashemene and the Catholic clinic in Jigessa. DM was treated for typhoid at the hospital in Shashemene and private clinics. NR has been to hospital and private clinics in Shashemene for her heart condition. One son is disabled and cannot stand, and they think it was due to polio. He has been to Shashemene hospital and the mission clinic and holy water at Wondo Genet to no avail.

One daughter went to the hospital for TB and was cured. NR started taking contraceptives to avoid having further children but stopped due to her chest illness and had her 11th child last year.

The household dug a latrine following the HEW's instructions and this was said to have reduced stomach problems. NR said that the campaign against female circumcision was working well and that only her oldest daughters were circumcised. She heard about HTPs from the HEWs and from the radio.

Two children are attending primary school in Kuyera in grade 6. The girls who have migrated to Ziway flower farms had attended up to grades 9 and 10 but did not have good enough grades to continue. The household benefited from the Arsi Development organisation Kerara family and community development project and obtained educational support and credit.

A major change in the household came about as a result of the remittances from the two girls working in the flower farms. This enabled them to purchase oxen and improve the household assets and housing conditions notably putting a corrugated iron roof and buying a chair and a table. DM was also able to buy improved potato seed and fertilizer.

The household had benefited from improved water supply when the communal water points were repaired in 2008. Prior to that due to shortage they had to go to a neighbouring area.

The household obtained electricity in 2008 which they were able to pay for from the bridewealth given for a daughter. According to NR this has brought about changes, since they can have grain ground at the new mill built by an investor close by rather than going to Kuyera, it has reduced the cost of buying kerosene (electricity costs between 10 to 25 birr per month), and meant they can listen to the radio to get information and enjoy listening to music on the tape recorder. The children were also better able to study at night.

The household cooperates with neighbours but less so in agriculture than in the past since households have become more self-sufficient, though for domestic work the women share utensils, and help each other in domestic work in case of festivals. DM said the household had not had

serious crises requiring assistance from neighbours or relatives. NR visits relatives in Arsi Negele when they are sick, and when somebody died. She mentioned that they got crops from relatives last year when they lost theirs, and gave some when they got their harvest. They also got help from relatives when a daughter got married. The family also gets some help from a daughter married in Shashemene who sends them sugar, soap, coffee and other household items, and visits them on holidays. Also she supports her brother going to school and living with her.

DM suggests the farmers' association is largely a means for the government to reach members rather than advocating the needs of the members. He has been involved with the Kebele and has been a member of the Oromo People's Democratic Organisation since 2005, which he says is improving a lot.

The household is a member of an *iddir*. DM said that some *iddirs* are able to provide support beyond death for other ceremonial occasions and are giving loans of cash or grain. His wife NR is a member of two *iddirs*.

DM goes to the mosque and says that the teachings are attractive. Likewise NR goes to the mosque and says the religious education was been good and the mosque supports the destitute with grain on holidays.

DM obtains information about development from visits outside the community, from government meetings, and extension worker, through political leaders and from the Radio. The programme he usually gets information from is the news in Oromiffa and the Development programme.

Overall the household's fortunes have improved very significantly in the past few years as the children are now supporting the household. The older daughter is married in Shashemene and is able to support her brother studying and living with her, and two daughters have gone to work on flower farms and are sending remittances which allowed the family to buy two oxen, a cow, selected potato seeds and improve the house with a corrugated iron roof and better furniture. Improved access to water and obtaining electricity has also improved their quality of life.

A young poor household (Tigrayan Christian)

CW aged 28, used to live with his father, then his sister gave him land for a house and he got married to a fellow Tigrayan, but got divorced and recently married another migrant woman who was brought from Tigray through relatives. He does not have any land of his own and began as a labourer but now relies on renting and sharecropping land and has gradually been able to build a house, get married and acquire livestock including two oxen, a cow and a donkey. CW said he benefited from the teachings of the DA regarding use of fertilizer and pest control.

CW is not involved in cooperation with other households except providing labour support if asked, and said he had not received any assistance from relatives in the community or elsewhere, although his sister gave him land for a house and his father also lives in the village. He no doubt received support in arranging for his new wife to join him from Tigray and his father invited about ten neighbours when he got married. He obtained a loan from an *iddir* and goes to the nearby church.

CW has access to drinking water nearby, and says he has benefited from electricity. He learnt about the importance of digging a latrine and family planning from the HEWs. He obtains information from the radio, and from community members. He says he is aware of the views about not working on holidays and works on many but not St Michael and St Mary's days.

CW has moved from being among the poorest in the community through hard work and thrift, to becoming about average, having built a house and bought two oxen, a cow and donkey and got married. He is hoping to improve his livelihood now that he has enough livestock and a wife to help.

A poor man living on his own (Kambata, Protestant)

RS, aged 28 lives on his own. His three children live with his mother in the same village and the girls

come to prepare food for him. He has two *timad* of land for which he obtained a certificate; however, his main occupation is as a broker using his donkey cart to transport goods, though his donkey was hit by a truck and he stopped the service until he bought a new one; he does not have other livestock.

RS had learnt about improved farming techniques from the DA and had been involved in 2006. However he complained that the DAs do not come to visit any longer. He said.

The DA used to go from farmland to farmland to introduce modern farming system. But nowadays they only demonstrate and don't go from door to door.

RS cooperates with neighbours and provides his transport service; he said he does not have any links with relatives, though his brother comes from Metahara to visit his mother every three or four years.

He has access to clean water, though is not a member of the water users' association. He does not have electricity and lives in a poor house.

He is a member of an *iddir*, and has served as a militia for three years. He has benefited from the road which is important for his livelihood as he relies on the income from using his cart for transport.

He says he has benefited from the teachings of the HEW and the digging of a latrine.

RS does not seem to have improved his livelihood and lives in a dilapidated house. He says he would like the government to provide him with credit of selected seed, fertilizer and a selected cow for milk. As one of the few Kembatas who managed to remain in the village after the others were expelled after the defeat of the Derg; he may well have good connections.

A rich mature household (Oromo Orthodox Christian)

HK, who is 55 lives with his wife TM who is 45, and 8 children the oldest aged 28 and the youngest 5. HK is a wealthy farmer who benefited from his land being used for experimental crop production and from selling vegetables which he produces on irrigated land. HK is also a health promoter. He obtained a land certificate which he sees as a guarantee of possession. TM mentioned that the DAs explained about compost production and said that her family have been benefiting from it. TM plants vegetables for consumption and sale. She prepares food for family members working in the fields.

The household is amongst the richest in the community. HK is a model farmer on whose land agricultural research is carried out by experts from Ziway agricultural research centre, providing seed and fertilizer and giving the produce to the household. This has saved HK the expenses. The yield he is getting has increased this year, and he has been producing vegetables, such as cabbage on the remaining land, for sale. The research centre has also planted fruit trees such as apples on his land.

The household's livestock herd has decreased, in part due to grazing problems, but also since they invested money from livestock sales in the children's higher education. HK had a high milk yielding selected breed cow but sold it due to feed problems, and now had a cross-bred cow, which is kept in the compound. The household sold an ox when a son graduated from a private college using the money for his clothing and other necessities; they sold another ox to sponsor the education of a son and daughter in private colleges in Shashemene.

HK fell down from a tree and was injured facing a bone related problem and was unable to work for five months. He first went to a traditional healer and then to a private hospital in Hawassa to a bone specialist, though he is still unable to engage in difficult tasks. TM and one daughter suffered from typhoid and typhus, and obtained treatment from Shashemene hospital and the private Adventist Clinic. Another daughter suffered from giardia and was treated at the hospital. HK said that although the government health services are improving, the household has been able to afford better private health care.

Since HK is a health promoter he works with the HEWs on health awareness. TM mentioned that her husband gets per diems when he goes on trainings by an NGO and sometimes he also has per diem when he provides awareness education for the community. TM gave birth to 10 children, all at home except two on the way to hospital. Only the eldest daughter has been circumcised (the next oldest is 21 years old). HK says he is now benefiting from family planning as a health promoter as his wife did not give birth since 1997. TM said the household did not benefit from family planning as much as they desired. This is because actually they do want to have more children but she stopped using family planning as it was not good for her health. Thus, despite their wishes she gave birth to 10 children. The youngest daughter had anthropometric measures taken and received oil and flour on two occasions. The household uses their toilet effectively, and wash hands afterwards, before preparing or eating food. The provision of water purification chemicals helped them prevent water borne diseases and avoid the acute watery diarrhoea.

The household had focused its energies on the education of the children. The eldest son has graduated from a private college in Awassa and has started work in Alaba. Another son and a daughter are at private colleges taking a computer course in Shashemene. They send the youngest child who had attended pre-school to a private school in Kuyera. Three children are at primary school in grades 5 and 8. Two children are in grade 9 in Kuyera. The household could not afford to send them to private school as the children would have wished, since they had already spent a lot on the education of the older children.

The household has benefited from electricity for four years since their home is near to Kuyera Kebele 01. The household no longer faces a water shortage since they use the water point near the hospital that has a better flow since the hospital no longer uses it and it has been repaired, and HK is a member of the water users' association. The mobile phone service enables them to have contact by phone with relatives in times of need. The household prepared a graduation party for their son, to motivate the other children to take him as a role model.

Regarding gender awareness the household has given the girls educational opportunities including higher education for one in a private computer college. The boys are also helping with domestic work fetching water.

According to HK the household have good cooperation with neighbours; when HK fell down the neighbours assisted them with farm work. They visit relatives at times of sickness and death. They provide seeds when relatives need them. A cousin gave 1500 birr for the children's college education and a brother 1000 birr. HK has been a leader of *iddirs*, and TM of three female *iddirs*. She thinks it would be good if *iddirs* were involved in assistance for illness and accidents. HK sometimes goes to church but does not have time to become involved.

The household obtains information about development mostly from radio. TM said her husband gets information when he goes to town, from reading newspapers, from officials, and from TV while he is in the town. He relates this to her and their children. The children also tell to their parent what they heard or learnt at school.

Both HK and TM think that working hard is important; as TM said "work is to be respected". However, they never plough on three days a month the 12th (St Michael), the 19th (St Gabriel) and the 28th (St Emanuel).

Overall the livelihood of the household has improved with the children growing older though they have incurred substantial costs for private education, involving sale of livestock. They believe that these costs will pay off and that the son who has now got a job in Alaba can contribute to the education of his siblings. In the future TM would like to open a shop. They have a small room near to their fence, but could not start this as they use all the money they have at hand to educate their children at private colleges.

An average wealth female-headed household (Oromo Muslim)

WH is 37 and lives with six children. After her husband's death WH was 'inherited' by his brother, and had two children by him. He was living with his first wife and was not giving her support for the children, and would sometimes come to her and sell her grain and waste her resources. She decided not to stay with him and ended the relationship and took her case to the Wereda. She won her case and obtained one *timad* of land from him to support the children. She obtained a land certificate that proves her entitlement. After her ox died and she had to rent one and her agricultural income has therefore decreased. Her daughter who migrated and works in a flower farm was able to send money to cover the cost for renting the oxen but she is not able to purchase an ox. Her son became a member of a youth association that obtained grazing land for forestry activities.

Her eldest daughter migrated to work in the flower farms in Ziway and married there. WH was given a marriage gift of 2000 birr and her daughter sends remittances, which enabled her to buy seed on time. She is able to keep in touch with her thanks to the mobile telephone which her daughter bought.

WH cooperates with other households in agriculture and oxen sharing while she still had an ox, but is now paying for ox rent. Neighbours visit when she falls sick, though with increasing cost of living cooperation has reduced. Most of her relatives live in nearby rural areas, and visit her when she is sick, and likewise she visits them when someone dies. She does not get assistance from relatives in urban areas as they are not rich. She is a member of an *iddir* and mentioned that the *iddir* expects interest on money it gives as loans. Regarding the Kebele administration she mentioned that the Kebele manager is now serving clients properly.

WH said her family members have benefited from the teaching about environmental sanitation and latrines and preventative health. She has been to health facilities and takes pills for headaches. Her children go to the nearby primary school. More importantly since 2008 two of her children have started at the new school, which is very close to their home. Her older children have also benefited from secondary school.

WH mentioned that she has benefited from improved security as there are less thieves who were taking grain. She mentioned that one of them was killed in a fight, and the other regretting his act is behaving better as a result of the measures taken against him. WH mentioned that the annual tax for contributions increased from 30 to 100 birr, and even though it had increased it was being used for various useful development activities.

WH said she benefited greatly from the gender policies that enabled her to stop the relationship with her husband's brother and father or her children and take him to court, and win the land to support the children.

WH is pleased about the better access to clean communal water. She has also been benefiting from electricity and the mill service provided by the investor. She obtains information and ideas about development from Ethiopian radio and kebele meetings. In addition to radio her children also obtain information from visits outside the community and newspapers. WH would like to see seed and fertilizer provided on credit as in the past.

WH's household has improved with support from remittances from the daughter who migrated. Also she was able to get land from the father or her two last children by taking him to court. The loss of an ox was a setback, though remittances from her daughter were covering that shock allowing her to rent oxen and buy seed and her son obtained land for forestry in a youth group.

A middle-aged rich female headed household (Tigrayan Orthodox Christian)

FJ is 45 and lives with a grandson and a male labourer. She has hired a series of labourers whom she employs on an annual basis. She has a son who migrated to Addis Ababa and worked in a garage and then returned to Turufe but plans to go back to Addis Ababa and be trained as a driver. FJ had a

dispute with a man who sharecropped her land who claimed the land belonged to him, and took her case to the Wereda and won the case after two years and much expense. However, in addition to the costs, her son was beaten by the sharecropper and injured requiring medical treatment. She obtained the land certificate proving her entitlement. She believes that it is preferable to hire labourers than sharecrop out the land, as this avoid potential land conflicts and involves less costs and thinks that many people are moving from sharecropping to hiring labour.

FJ is fairly wealthy and bought two oxen. She produces maize, wheat, *tef* and potatoes. She mentioned that the selected seeds are not available when needed, and were expensive so she does not use them. She would like selected seeds and fertilizer to be available on credit.

The household cooperates regularly with other households. They provide their oxen in exchange for labour. In times of difficulty FJ calls on a special friend who is also a neighbour. Since she is younger her friend helps her whenever she needs assistance. However, she says that increasing living costs have resulted in declining cooperation. When she had her dispute with the sharecropper her relatives in Addis Ababa were supporting her morally and they sometimes visit each other, though people are too busy and have their own problems. The household held a *mehaber* ceremony and an *iddir* ceremony. She has been a member of the *iddir* since the late 1970s. She joined two *iddirs* (one male and one female). She has been a member of a St Mary's *mehaber* since the 1980s; the *mehaber* has 14 members who meet at each other's houses, partake of the food and drink and pray.

FJ has benefited from the repair of the communal water point that is close to her house. She says the household dug a latrine and keeps their environment clean according to the health worker's instructions. She learnt about preventive health from the HEWs and from TV.

FJ benefited from the gender laws that favour women which enabled her to obtain a judgment in her favour from the Wereda court against the sharecropper. She also mentioned that Kebele services have improved and that security is better though she had some crops stolen from the fields.

FJ's son bought a mobile phone which enabled them to communicate when he was away and with relatives in urban areas. The household had been benefiting from the electricity and bought a television and is using the mill service installed by the investor. When her son was beaten by the sharecropper he was cured after obtaining medical treatment. The household obtains information and ideas about development from TV, radio and visits outside the community, kebele and *iddir* meetings, friends, neighbours and extension workers. In addition to these her son also obtains information from newspapers. FJ believes that one should not work on the major saints' days that she says are about four.

Dependent adults

Male dependents

Young Amhara Orthodox Christian migrant labourer in his 20s

BW is a 21 year old poor Amhara migrant working as a farmer for a female headed household. He left his poor large family in Debre Tabor in 2006 and went to Gondar to look for work as a daily labourer. From there he went to Addis Ababa and heard that there were work opportunities in Shashemene where he arrived in 2007 and ended up in Turufe where he has been living until now. He got married to a migrant woman from his region this year (2009) with the help of his employer who gave him grain.

BW plans to rent land and start farming on his own account. His wife works in various peoples' houses and they meet at night. He bought an ox this year and hopes to buy another next year, and is contented with his marriage which he feels makes him more careful about spending money.

BW has been a member of a newly established *iddir* since 2010, and used to go to church. He was registered with the Kebele since 2008, but is not involved in any customary or formal associations. As a member of his employer's household he got food aid in 2008, and he mentioned benefiting from the latrine dug in 2009; he also benefited from electricity. His ambition is to purchase another ox, rent land and become an independent farmer.

Young Tigrayan Orthodox Christian migrant labourer in his 20s

TJ is a 24 year old migrant from a poor family in Tigray, who came to Shashemene in 2009 and has been working in Turufe as a farm labourer. He is not content as he works hard but the salary is low. As an Orthodox Christian he goes to the nearby church for worship.

TJ was taken by his employer in 2010 to the Kebele and was given an ID card as a dependent. The only service he mentioned benefiting from was electricity. He hopes to lease or rent land, and improve his life within the community. He did not have any comment on government interventions since he did not have any experience of them.

Middle aged Amhara Orthodox Christian long-term migrant in his 40s

CZ is a 41 year old migrant from Amhara and has been living for 19 years in Turufe. He was a soldier who fled from the Bilate camp when the Derg army disbanded and found his way along with four survivors out of 60 to Shashemene. A broker helped him find work in Turufe, where he had been working under three different households in the past six years. He married and set up his own household a month ago. He left an employer for whom he had worked for five years empty handed after he refused to pay him. His third employer with whom he lived for three years helped him set up his own household, allowing him to become involved in sharecropping, from which he obtained 400 kg of wheat this year. His wife works in different houses and earns about 20 birr daily. They are hopeful that their life will improve.

CZ became a member of an *iddir* shortly before getting married in December 2009. As an Orthodox Christian he has been going to the Church. He has not been involved in any community activities but obtained an ID card from the Kebele. He said he has been known to the Kebele for the past 17 years. CZ mentioned that the existence of roads has enabled him to go to Shashemene and other towns and that he obtained electricity from his last employer and sponsor. He hopes that with his wife's support he will prosper through hard work.

Young Oromo Muslim migrant in his 20s

NR is 26 and came from Kofele where his poor parents and seven siblings live. A friend called him to work in Turufe. He earned 600 birr last year as an annual salary, and the amount was raised to 700 birr this year. This enabled him to rent 1 *timad* of land which he has added to the half *timad* he already had in Kofele.

Although his employer is Christian this has not caused problems and he goes to the mosque to worship. He is satisfied that he is able to assist his family to rent land. NR is registered as a member of the household for which he works and has an ID card from the Kebele. He says he benefits from good governance since the area is conducive for work, and is safe due to good policing and justice. He says he has benefited from the electricity. He plans to work another two years and then build a house and marry in his own home area working his own land and setting up a family.

Young Amhara Orthodox Christian labourer in his 30s

MD is 35 and has been working as a labourer for about 9 years in Turufe in the same household. Since 2007 his employer has allowed him to lease/rent land and farm on his own account, and in 2009 he has been working entirely for himself, although his employer still provides him with a room. In 2009 he was beaten by a gang on his way to Kuyera on his bicycle. Six youngsters attacked him and asked him to give them money for chat, and when he said he did not have any they took his bicycle. He fought back and hit one of them but they ran away with his bicycle. Elders intervened to

resolve the conflict and he was ordered to pay for the treatment of the youth he kicked while they were made to return his bicycle. He depended on his former employer for the past five years, though this year he gave the household about 200 kgs of wheat from the crop he produced. Since he joined his last employer he has been happy as he encouraged him to save. He is now renting land and working for himself and has saved some money. He is planning to marry soon.

MD's former employer and sponsor is a model farmer who taught him what he had learnt from the DAs. He mentioned that the DAs no longer come round to people's farms but teach on a demonstration plot. He would have preferred if they demonstrated in the fields. His sponsor took him to the Kebele to get an ID card in 2006. He goes on behalf of the household head to the Kebele when there is development work. He goes to Church in the nearby Filicha Kebele.

MD said he benefited from the latrine and awareness raising on this issue. He mentioned that the policing and justice were useful to him, especially since he was the victim of an attack. The roads have enabled him to take produce to market. The electricity has provided him with light and he has been able to watch TV. His ambition is to buy a Bajaj and become involved in transport business.

Female dependents

Young Wolayita Kale Hiywet Christian domestic worker in her 20s

RN is a 23 year old migrant who came from Koyo near Bodeti in Wolayta to live with her paternal uncle in Kuyera town in 2007. She lived there for a year helping her uncle's wife prepare *areqe* for sale, for which she only received food and lodgings. In 2009 she came to Turufe to live with her sister and her family, and has been producing *areqe* for sale in Arsi Negele and said she has been getting a profit of 200 birr. She has been able to send remittances to her parents and siblings from the profit, and visits them annually for Christmas, which uses up what she has saved. She does not have to pay rent or contribute to her sister's family for food but sometimes buys them items such as cooking oil.

RN's relatives in Kuyera and in Turufe became Orthodox Christians but she has remained a follower of the Kale Hiywet Church since childhood, and goes to church twice a month. She said that having an independent income has meant that she can buy herself items such as hair oil, and she has been able to visit her parents. She used to have to fetch water from a neighbouring Kebele due to water shortage and from the river for *Areqe* which was not good; the improvement of the water supply has meant there is no longer a shortage and she can prepare the alcohol using clean water, improving its quality, and her profit. After the epidemic of Acute Watery Diarrhoea she and her sister's household have begun to use latrines, and keep the area clean following the awareness raising carried out by the HEW, thereby protecting the family from illness. The siblings of her sister's husband have been going to Kerera primary school. Electricity has enabled her to find out things from the radio, which also helps her to work in the evenings when she distils the alcohol. She said she heard about the impact of HTPs from the radio and from conversations.

RN refused an offer of marriage before she migrated and plans to marry when she reaches 26. She hopes to get credit to expand her work and improve her profit, and hopes there will be better opportunities for obtaining credit, which is currently restricted for lack of collateral.

Young Amhara Orthodox Christian destitute migrant domestic worker in her 30s

EZ is a 36 year old migrant from Ambassel in Wello. Until 2006 she used to live with her soldier husband who had another wife. She had a child and was pregnant with another when she quarrelled with her husband and he sold the land for 1500 birr and left her to live with his first wife. She had the second child at home and was sick but did not have enough money to go to the clinic. She became lonely and fled to Addis Ababa, where she met a man from Turufe who suggested she move there.

In Turufe for two months she was hired as a servant for 15 birr a month. However, since she had two children the employer did not want her as they consumed food. The same happened in another household since the time she was looking after her children was not spent on household chores. She then began to work in households on a daily basis though it was not always possible to find daily labour, and she sometimes produced baskets for sale. An elderly religious woman who lives with her five year old grandchild allows her to live in her house without payment. BW suffers from depression when she thinks about how she can raise her children, and they often go hungry. During the threshing season she goes to the threshing areas and farmers give her maize, wheat and potatoes.

EZ sometimes suffers from spirit possession. In the 1980s her husband sent her to pilgrimage sites to cure the problem but despite staying there she still has some attacks. She goes to church at weekends and saints days in Kuyera and Hamus Gebeya. She benefited from food aid when there was crop failure as farmers could no longer be charitable. She mentioned that the water shortage problem had improved and she is exempted from paying the fee of 10 cents per jerry can as she is recognized as being very poor. However, if she has work she had to collect water before the water point starts functioning and goes to the river which is not clean. She said that due to the Acute Watery Diarrhoea, the family started using the latrine. She obtained HIV/AIDS awareness from the HEWs, and about the need to visit health posts, and the importance of children's vaccinations. She begged for money from neighbours to take her child to hospital for medication when it fell ill with a cough, and got treatment. Before 2008 she used to be able to get a letter from the Kebele to go to the hospital. BW does not benefit from electricity since the house she is living in used to be a cattle house. Recently she has been sharing part of the main house for sleeping, but never uses the light but goes to sleep when it gets dark since she could not afford it. She is also not able to use kerosene as the owners say it will blacken the roof.

EZ is hopeless. The household head whom she is living with told her to find another house after June, as they are planning to use the part of the house where she sleeps to store potatoes. She sometimes thinks of going to Addis Ababa to give her children for adoption and to work as a servant, as she thinks she will not be able to get a job with her children. She also worries about introducing her children to her relatives in Wello. She worries about what will happen to her children if she is no longer around as no relatives know them. She would hope for support for the very poor.

Young Silte Gurage migrant household domestic worker in her 30s

TW is 32 and grew up in Turufe with her mother who was hired in a household. When she became pregnant from the son of the household her mother advised her to be circumcised which she refused leading to a conflict with her mother and brother. She began working without a salary, only to obtain food for herself and her child. In 2007 when she became pregnant the household head called her brother and told him about her pregnancy and complained that they were already feeding her older daughter, and did not want to feed the baby. She tried to commit suicide drinking poison and became demented. They gave her milk quickly and she was cured. She went to live with her sister for some months, and then started working in the house where her mother worked, and gave birth there and continued to work as a servant. A relative convinced her to go to Shashemene saying that there was too much work in the household, but after two months she returned to the household she used to live in.

TW stated that the fathers of the children are the sons of the household head in whose house she is living. The father of the first daughter is a son who married out and still lives close by, while the father of the second child is the son who is not married and is living in the house. She mentioned that he still wants to have sex with her, and sometimes tries to rape her. She is too frightened to accuse the men and try to get support from them for the children since she has no relative to support her and is still living in their home. She believes the household head and family know but want to keep it a secret. After her mother's death her brother became reconciled with her and sometimes gives her some money when she faces severe shortages. Her older daughter eats

leftovers from adults and as a result sometimes has stomach aches. She has a neighbour in whom she can confide who tries to give her advice and food and helped her to be reconciled with her brother.

TW once obtained two litres of cooking oil and grain from the NGO Compassion. In 2006 she had been using contraception after an abortion with the help of the HEWs, but became pregnant with her second child, possibly since she was not using contraceptives properly. The HEWs advised her to eat well and avoid hard work during pregnancy and on one occasion she was washing clothes at the river and fell sick with labour pains, and delivered with the help of the TBA.

TW has benefited from clean water at the water point near her home after it was repaired in 2008. She said she has also benefited from the latrine. However, the household head does not allow her to attend meetings at the health post, though she hears what was said from neighbours. She often suffers from headaches due to the problems she faces in life. Since she can no longer get letters from the Kebele to get free health care she usually does without or buys painkillers. Her daughter is ten years old but did not go to school since she is herding the cattle of the household they live in. The household she lives in has electricity and bought a TV from which she gets information. She hopes to continue working in someone's house to raise her children since she has no other option.

Structures of inequality in 2010

Genderage

Gender and age taken together affect all people's status and experience. Some aspects of maturing and ageing are common to males and females and others are specific. Table 2 provides an estimate of the demographic structure of Turufe in 2004. Over half the population are under the age of 20, roughly equally divided between the sexes. There are slightly lower proportions of women in their 20s and 30s.

Table 2 Turufe Demographic Structure Estimate 2004

Birth era	Age	M (%)	F (%)	All (%)
2003/4	< 1	0.5	0.7	1.2
2002/3	1-2	2.6	2.7	5.3
1999/2001	3-5	4.9	4.7	9.6
Under 6		8	8.1	16.1
1992-1998	6-12	10.4	11.5	21.9
1988-1991	13-16	4.6	5.5	10.1
1985-1987	17-19	4.7	3	7.7
Working Youth		19.7	20	39.7
Under 20s		27.7	28.1	55.8
1975-1984	20-29	10.3	9.5	19.8
1965-1974	30-39	5	4.6	9.6
1955-1964	40-49	2.6	2.8	5.4
1945-1954	50-59	1.9	2.5	4.4
Adults		19.8	19.4	39.2
1935-1944	60s	1.3	1.6	2.8
1900s-1934	70s	1.1	1.1	2.2
Ageing		2.4	2.7	5
		M	F	
Total		49.8	50.2	100%

Source RANS 2004

Growing up male in Turufe

Over a quarter of the Turufe population are males under the age of twenty. Boys are circumcised a few days after birth. From the age of about six boys learn to take responsibility for the family

livestock and spend much of their time herding. From the age of about 12 they begin to help their fathers with agricultural work and learn to plough.

Most boys go to school in the two nearby **primary schools** established in the village by NGOs and taken over by the government. The school in Turufe teaches up to grade 3 and is close to the village centre whereas the one in Wetera has been recently upgraded to include grades 7 and 8. However, a few children from very poor labour short households and children of domestic labourers may not all go to school, as they may be required for herding. Boys at school may have to help out on the farms more during peak agricultural periods, particularly weeding and harvesting. The availability of **private education** both for pre-school in neighbouring Kuyera and especially for **secondary school** has opened up opportunities for children from wealthier families to get access to better schooling. The school in Kuyera which used to teach up to grade 10 has included the preparatory grades 11 and 12. There is a government TVET service in Shashemene. A few older boys whose parents are able to afford the fees have gone on for **tertiary education at private colleges**. Two NGOs have been assisting children from needy families including covering education costs, through a child-sponsorship programme.

The introduction of electricity has benefited children as they are able to study in the evenings and listen to radio and in wealthier households TV, increasing their access to information and entertainment including with tape recorders. Some youth have also been able to buy mobile phones.

Turufe has been known as a place where youths are involved in theft and gangs have sometimes attacked people on the way to market. This means that boys need to learn to defend themselves, and there is the risk of them becoming involved in violence.

Lack of access to land and limited opportunities for employment are serious constraint on young men being able to establish their own household and become independent. There has been an initiative initiated by the Wereda to organise youths into groups and giving them land for forestry, and growing vegetables and fruit. Some 150-160 youths are involved in three groups. It is too early to judge how useful this initiative will be, and the returns from the planted seedlings will take a few years and require good cooperative work. However, it is clear that this initiative will not be sufficient for the needs of most of the youth, and many tend to migrate to Shashemene and Kuyera in search of employment, especially in the construction sector and in loading and transport work. Some youths work as brokers, mostly in the *kiremt* season, when potatoes from the *kebele* are ready for sale. Some collect up to 2,000 *birr* by working as brokers between the farmers in Turufe and Wetera and the traders who transport potatoes to Addis. Students buy clothes and educational materials from the income they generate from brokering. A few youth have obtained government employment as office workers, teachers, and DAs. Some have migrated to other towns and also abroad mainly to the Gulf but also to the USA through the DV system or as illegal migrants, very few of whom send remittances.

Growing up female in Turufe

Over a quarter of the population in Turufe are females under the age 20.

Girls begin to help their families at an early age, assisting their mothers and sisters with simple housework tasks. From about the age of 7 they also fetch water and wood, and from about the age of 13 help with cooking and looking after siblings. Possible harms that girls may encounter mentioned by women in 2003 included disease, heavy work, hunger, lack of education, circumcision and abduction. The older girls' group mentioned that as a result of promotion of women's rights at school brothers are now becoming more involved in household chores. However, they also mentioned that while boys play football they are involved in housework.

Female circumcision in the traditions of the Oromo and the migrants from the South is carried out before marriage, whereas among the northern migrants girls are circumcised a few days after birth. Following the promulgation of the Oromia Family Law that prohibits female circumcision there has

been a strong campaign against the practice by the Wereda women's affairs bureau and NGOs and it seems that there is a change and that many families are no longer circumcising their younger daughters. In one household the first daughter was circumcised but the second aged 21 was not. However, the group of older girls mentioned that some parents are still circumcising their daughters secretly. The younger girls' group mentioned attending a drama show at their school about the impacts of HTPs.

Girls are now **going to primary school** as the extension of the primary schools in the village to grade 6 and now grades 7 & 8 in Wetera means that girls no longer have to go to Kuyera to complete primary school. However, girls are expected to work in the home on household chores and look after younger siblings after returning from school and at weekends. Girls from poorer homes or households that lack labour or those whose parents are involved in daily labour are more likely to have to be absent during peak periods or when their parents are away, and face risks of limited basic needs such as food and clothes, lack of educational opportunities and exploitation of their labour if they work for others outside their parents' home.

Some girls have been going to **secondary school** in Kuyera rather than having to go to Shashemene, though many stop and look for work as migrants, particularly since the flower farms in Ziway offer opportunities, or get married in their late teens. However, in one household a daughter was attending a computer course in a **private college** in Shashemene. An NGO, the Arsi Development programme, sponsored one girl at a private college.

The **improved water** services have benefited girls. The older girls' group mentioned that after the pipes which had been broken were repaired the clean water supply has improved. The younger girls' group mentioned that since 2008 they have had less far to go to collect water since the water points were functioning.

The introduction of **electricity** was mentioned by girls groups as beneficial as they have had light at night to study and obtained information from radio and television, and it also adds to their enjoyment as they can listen to tapes and entertainment shows. The opening of the **mill** after the introduction of electricity also reduced distances girls have to go to get grain ground.

Adolescent girls face the risks of **abduction** and **unwanted pregnancy**. However, campaigns against harmful practices seem to be paying off and the threat of abduction seems to be less of a worry, as stringent measures can be taken against offenders. The older girls' group mentioned that the presence of the militia helps to resolve conflicts and makes life more peaceful.

Contraceptives are available from health promoters though the group of older girls said that some young women refrain from asking for them for fear of being seen, resulting in some girls having unwanted pregnancies. In one case a girl who had an affair and became pregnant found that the child was denied by the father and she dropped out of school. Daughters of women working as domestic household servants face serious risks; they may not get enough food, being given leftovers, may not go to school and work as herders, and may not get adequate health care when ill. There is a risk that they enter the same cycle as their mothers, inheriting their poverty and subordinate status facing the same dangers of rape within the households and even a greater risk of contracting HIV/AIDS.

A few girls are involved in trade, including road-side trading which has developed recently. Some girls migrate to work in towns on flower farms or abroad, mainly to the Gulf States, and the remittances some of them send have been useful for their families. There are a handful of girls who have gone on to obtain work, such as a HEW and a teacher.

Early marriage and abduction were among the customs identified as harmful traditional practices. Early marriage was not a major issue for the Oromo and southern migrants, being more associated with the Amhara. On the other hand the practice of abduction of girls is common among many groups and among the Oromo was one of the cultural forms of marriage practices in the village in

1995 known as *buta*, to which parents could object and have their daughter returned with a gift of cattle. By 2010 abduction was mentioned by a group of older girls as no longer representing a serious threat. However, as bride wealth is still practised despite having decreased, elopement by the couple to avoid the payments are not uncommon, and marriage through *hewata* (by the agreement of the two young people without the consent of their parents) is taking place.

Although the youth association mainly involves men, some young women are involved and a few young women were among those who obtained land.

Being a man in Turufe

The main livelihood of people living in Turufe is based on rainfed agriculture together with livestock-rearing and herding. There are also men involved in trade, informal business and brokering, transporting goods and people to market using carts, manual work and a few with skills such as carpenters and masons mainly derive an income through migration. A few richer men are involved in lucrative trading or have shops. There are a large number of migrant agricultural labourers, most of whom are attached to households for whom they work as well as sharecropping land. There are only a handful of households with access to irrigated land who are able to produce and sell vegetables, and very few who have cross-bred cows and sell milk to cafes in Kuyera.

Men largely dominate political activities and positions in both formal and informal institutions. Roles in customary institutions are often held by elderly respected men, and some men have acquired status resulting from their religious knowledge. Positions in leadership within the Kebele system are based partly on literacy and particularly at a sub-kebele level on party membership.

Being a woman in Turufe

Women of different ages and wealth have some common and some different experiences. Female Headed households comprised 24 % of the total households in 2004 according to the WeDE survey. There are a number of different types of female headed household depending on wealth, stage in the life cycle, why they are female-headed, and external linkages. Among the female headed households widows are an important category. Female headed households tend to face the constraint of access to male agricultural labour.

There were about 11% of the male household heads having a second wife in 2004. **Polygyny** was seen as creating problems since when the male head dies questions of inheritance and division of property become complicated and potentially conflictual. Recently women finding their husband marrying a second wife have taken their case to the legal advice committee and on to the wereda women's affairs office. Women who found their husband staying with another woman need to report the case before three months have elapsed, since the new Oromia Region Family Law gives rights to a woman who has been living with a man for three months to be confirmed as his wife.

Livelihoods

Wives and daughters are engaged in running households, cooking, cleaning, washing, fetching water and wood, and looking after children. They are also involved in **farm activities**. Women prepare food to take to family members working in the fields and look after livestock. Female headed households who were second wives tended to be dependent on their husbands who were sometimes the brothers of deceased husbands who 'inherited' them according to customary traditions.

Women's **land rights** have improved. Single women and second wives have been able to argue that they have rights to land and many have obtained land certificates. To overcome the male labour problem female headed households with land tended to sharecrop out their land. However, this sometimes led to sharecroppers trying to claim they owned the land. When the land registration was carried out there were several cases of women headed households who filed cases against sharecroppers who claimed their land and succeeded in winning their cases and having the land

registered in their name. Some of these have since opted for hiring labourers rather than sharecropping. Richer female headed households tend to hire out oxen in exchange for labour, whereas the landless and especially migrant women engage in domestic work either as domestic household labourers, which provides them with lodgings and food and a salary which tends to be meagre, or on a daily basis which may be better paid but more unreliable.

With regard to **non-farm activities** a few women earn some income from petty trading, including road-side trading, running or working in small shops or cafes which have emerged in the village, and especially from preparing *areqe* (distilled alcohol) for sale in Kuyera and Arsi Negele. One migrant from Wolayta was working for an uncle's wife in Kuyera producing *areqe* but moved to Turufe where she shares her sister's house and where she is producing the *areqe* on her own account. Some women have been able to obtain **credit** from a private micro-credit institution for their alcohol business. There are a few women who have small businesses as traders or sewing clothes, and some young women obtain income from hairdressing.

Migration has become more important for younger women particularly with the emergence of the flower farms in the Rift Valley. Women who are involved in migration have been able to send remittances that have enabled their families to improve their wellbeing, purchasing grain or fertiliser and improving their housing and consumer goods.

Re/productive work

Women are busy with both domestic work and income generation; with increasing girls' education mothers have less help with domestic work, although the building of primary schools closer in Turufe and Wetera with a shift system does mean that mothers can get some help from children going to school. The starting of a zero grade class could also mean that they will have less child care work.

There have been major improvements recently in **water supply** since the hospital obtained its own water supply releasing the previous pipe entirely for the community and since the private taps were closed and communal water taps repaired. However, there have been concerns over epidemics of Acute Water Diarrhea, and the HEWs worry that the water in the pipes may not be free from germs and may be infected by river water. Women living near the centre and especially those living in close proximity to communal water points have much less far to go to collect water though they have to pay 10 cents per jerry can, except for the most destitute. Those living far away still rely on the rivers which are not clean.

The introduction of **electricity** has brought about a big improvement in women's work since the investor who partially paid for the electrification did so in order to install a **grinding mill**. This has meant that women and girls have much less far to go to grind grain.

There have been changes in the **family planning, pregnancy and delivery services** (see the health section below), with improved access to family planning first through volunteers trained by NGOs, from the mission and private clinics, and more recently through the HEWs. However, younger women may fear being seen obtaining contraceptives and since some husbands are against using contraceptives some women have been using them secretly whereas others stopped due to various illnesses. Some younger girls face extra-marital pregnancies and a case was mentioned by the older girls' group where the father did not acknowledge the child and the girl stopped her education and lives as a dependent of her parents. Women tend to deliver at home or at the hospital; antenatal and postnatal care is not yet properly set up in the HP and HEWs are not trained to deliver children, though some TBAs were provided with training. Complications with home deliveries led to two deaths: in 2006 a woman who delivered at home with the assistance of a TBA was taken to hospital but died. In 2008 a pregnant woman with malaria aborted and then died. Richer households are in a better position to get faster help in cases of complications in delivery accessing private services and transport to the towns. In one case a woman had complications and went to Hawasa for private medical care and survived after having a toe amputated. She believes she would not have survived if

she was not able to go to get private medical care.

In the 2003 baseline study it was mentioned that women having **miscarriages** sometimes come to hospital too late and die, and that pregnancies soon after abortions, especially if there are carried out privately without sufficient medical attention can run into complications. Some women use traditional medicines for **abortion**, and others go to individuals in Shashemene who can help; some become sick and go to the hospital. Young women who become pregnant were said often to want to have the child and live with their parents when the father denies the child.

Political involvement

The women's affairs department at the wereda level has been active in promoting women's right and in campaigns against HTPs. There have been significant improvements in women's land rights, rights on divorce, and regarding male violence and female circumcision. However, women's involvement in the political process seems limited and the women's association is not considered to be very active, and the role of women in the youth association is also limited. A vanguard women's league was formed in 2009. Wereda officials conceded that not much has been achieved on women's political participation. There are women on the wereda council and in sector offices but they are few, and there is only one woman wereda councillor; the officials felt that more needs to be done to increase the participation of women at the Kebele level, although they felt that Turufe is doing comparatively well with regard to the implementation of women's rights. The only woman on the Kebele is a HEW and she is only there since the structure requires that the HEW be part of the cabinet. Other than that there are no women in other committees except the women's association. Participation of women was said to be limited to attending public meetings and taking election cards.

Women's rights

Gender relations and women's rights are an area where there have been significant interventions and changes to cultural practices particularly in the past five years. The Oromia Region family law was ratified in 2004 by the Regional Council and measures were introduced at the wereda level in 2005 when a Women's Affairs Office was established. The law prescribed the minimum age of marriage to be 18, outlawed abduction, condemned female circumcision, asserted women's rights to land, and equal division of property on divorce, and discouraged polygyny. The campaign for gender equality and against harmful traditional practices became active through the wereda women's affairs bureau involving Kebele officials and HEWs. There was a campaign against HTPs, notably female circumcision, and an oath was taken by customary leaders to ban the practice of widow inheritance, and there were continuing campaigns about gender equality. A Legal Advice Committee was set up in 2007 with five selected community representatives who received training on women's and children's rights; the committee hears appeals and cases twice a week and sends cases they cannot resolve to the wereda. Two additional members were included in the committee in 2009. Awareness education meetings on women's rights were held at Kebele and *iddir* meetings. Some wives who found their husbands supporting a second wife and taking grain to her complained to the committee.

In the Wereda there are 32 Kebeles, and 7 adjacent Kebeles were organized together for the campaigns on women's rights. Wereda officials and Kebele community leaders, including Kebele officials and elders from each clan were selected and participated in the advocacy. From each Kebele seven persons attended the campaign to promote gender equality and fight against HTPs. The wereda officials suggested that harmful practices have been reduced and that "*abduction is almost history*". Likewise the marriage age is supposed to be enforced and female circumcision was said to have been stopped. The wereda officials also thought that women's associations and health workers are bringing about changes in attitudes. They suggested that men are beginning to share in domestic activities and making concessions on family planning, though they felt more change is required.

Since traditionally only men and usually the oldest son living with the parents inherited land in Oromo society, the question of **women's rights to land** became an important issue, involving the inheritance of daughters, and rights to land of widows and divorcees, especially since traditionally widows were 'inherited'; though divorce was rare, a divorced wife customarily did not have rights to any assets and could only take with her when leaving her clothes and the things she received as gifts from her parents which could include livestock. Some married daughters have been asserting their rights. One married daughter came back from Assela when her father passed away and asked for her share of the land. The family refused and she went to wereda court and won the case and got her share of land.

A major change that gave women greater rights came from the **land registration and certification**. Female headed households were able to have land registered in their names and there were cases where they were able to assert their rights against sharecroppers who tried to claim that they had bought the land from them. In one case a man presented a contract stating the woman had sold the land but she denied knowing about it and since land sales are illegal won the case and the man was taken to prison. Another woman who sharecropped her land for five years also got her land back but at a cost, since her son was beaten, and she incurred expenses arguing her case over two years at the wereda. As a result of problems with sharecroppers over land a number of female headed household now prefer to hire labourers rather than sharecropping or renting out their land. An elderly woman said that one indication of progress was that nowadays a husband does not contract out land without the consent of his wife. If she does not agree that contractual agreement will not be binding.

Widow inheritance by the deceased husband's brother which was a customary form of marriage among the Oromo known as *dalla*, and was viewed as a means of protecting widows and ensuring that the children were looked after. In 2007 the campaign against HTPs led to discussions between the Kebele and customary elders to hold an oath ceremony (*mehala*) that no one would practice widow inheritance. However, some were said to continue to practice it secretly, and it is not reported. Recently a widow who was inherited and had two children by her husband's brother but was neglected by him took her case to court and won the right to obtain land and was granted the right to obtain one *timad* of land to raise the children.

According to the wereda since 2006 **widows** have been the legal heir and not sons as in the past. However, a problem was encountered when husbands with more than one wife died, as it was difficult to share the land between two wives so as to uphold both their rights. In such cases efforts were made to consider the number of children and other assets of each of the wives and the land was divided taking the assets into consideration. One woman was able to take her case to the wereda when her husband married a second wife. Her daughter insulted the new wife and her husband tried to beat the daughter. He refused to give her a share of land and the social court did not give a prompt solution on the grounds that he wanted to continue the relationship with her. The wereda decided in her favour and she obtained a larger share of the land than him since the children are living with her whereas he is with his second wife.

The campaign against **female circumcision** through the wereda women affairs and the health officers who organised trainings had two aspects. First women who had not been circumcised were identified and held up as role models who could witness that childbearing was easier since they had not been circumcised. The HEWs and health representatives selected two married women who were not circumcised. These women explained the advantages of not being circumcised when they deliver a child. The campaign included other adjacent Kebele communities. Second those who were involved in circumcising girls were condemned and even fined and imprisoned. A former pensioned health worker who circumcised a girl was accused by the HTP committee and sentenced by the wereda to three months' imprisonment and a fine. It is said that female circumcision has more or less been stopped, although there are allegations that some households still practice it in secret, notably among the Kambata and Wolayta. It should be noted that there are two forms of

circumcision, the one practiced shortly after birth among the northern migrants, and the kind practiced at marriage among the Oromo and southern migrants. It was suggested that the former was less easy to monitor. In two of the interviewed households the older girls had been circumcised but not the younger ones.

Male violence

The awareness of more severe laws against male violence seems to have resulted in a change. Girls said they no longer thought that abduction was a serious problem. However, women domestic workers living in households where they work are subject to abuse and rape and fear to report attacks. In two interviewed cases the woman had children from sons of the household who would not acknowledge their fatherhood. In one of these cases the woman contracted HIV/AIDS as a result of sex with a man in the household.

There have been severe penalties imposed for violence against women. A man who abducted a girl and drugged her was brought before the wereda court and after witnesses were heard was sentenced to seven years imprisonment. In one case a woman fled from her husband taking her cattle back to her parents' house. The husband came to steal the cattle and when the mother-in-law saw him and shouted he attacked her and broke her hand. The case was taken to the wereda court and he was sentenced to three years imprisonment. The woman faced problems and had to ask for help from relatives to plough their land, the children are longing for their father and she is worried how they will live together when he comes out of prison; she felt it would be good if such problems could be resolved earlier by elders.

Policies and programme for the youth

Land shortage and lack of employment opportunities within the village are the major problems encountered by the youth. There has not been any redistribution of land since the Derg period. Furthermore the right of girls to inherit may have made the situation more difficult for male youths.

The wereda social affairs office has introduced a system of unemployment cards for job-seekers since 2005. First forms are filled in by job-seekers in the Kebeles, and the administration confirms that they are residents, and so not have a criminal record or involvement in anti-social acts. Based on this evidence or personal profile the wereda social affairs office gives the card for job-seekers. However, the wereda acknowledged that the provision of the cards on their own was not a solution to unemployment, although the wereda has sought to inform sectoral bureaus of the available labour supply. The wereda also tried to promote income-generating activities for the youth organized in groups; however, the numbers of unemployed youth are very high and few activities have been initiated. Wereda officials suggested that it would be good to encourage the youth to at least work on a voluntary basis and to start group credit schemes.

The allocation of **communal land for the youth** in Turufe came as a result of instructions from the wereda, which started by instructing the Kebele to register the landless and jobless youth. The Kebele officials, elders and influential people were involved in the allocation of the plots in 2008, taken from the communal grazing area, resulting in some initial opposition by community members. Kebele officials suggested that the measure would protect forest areas from intruders and enable planting of seedlings which would eventually bring income for the youth when they sell the trees, and suggested that they can expect to get some returns in about two to three years. About 150 to 160 youths who were ascertained to be really landless and jobless were organised into three associations. One group was organised for forestry, another for seedlings and the third for vegetable and fruit production. Most of the youths are men although there are some women involved. One of the beneficiaries explained that this intervention would enable them to earn an income rather than be dependent on their parents. A woman who is part of one of the groups said that it would prevent youths engaging in anti-social behaviour. However, she was concerned that apart from providing the land the groups did not receive an additional support and they were slow in getting organised.

Youth associations were reorganized in 2005 after the elections. In Turufe about 150 youths were organized into three groups to obtain land. However, most of the youth except a few who completed college are jobless and engage in daily labour in Shashemene and Kuyera. The **Youth League** was formed in 2009 to involve dedicated youth to be the vanguard in implementing development interventions prioritized by the OPDO party.

The involvement of some youth in gangs stealing crops and livestock and robbing people going to markets was a major concern expressed by many Turufe residents. There seems to have been some progress in reducing the problem through improvements in the security and justice system, though convicting individuals of theft was said to be difficult due to lack of witnesses and there were allegations that some of the thieves were protected as they had connections and were let off lightly, or that there were informers in the social courts so that the identities of people denouncing thieves was leaked and they could be threatened.

The elderly and Inter-generational relations

Traditionally there has been a strong culture of respecting the elderly. Older men with control of resources are able to command the respect and allegiance of their children and other community members, and Turufe is characterized by many large households in which older children remain with the parental household, particularly given land shortage. In the 2004 survey there were 5 percent of three-generational households and only 2% of elderly couples living on their own or with non-children.

However, due to land shortages and limited employment opportunities, and in part since richer households and migrants have invested in educating their children outside Turufe many youths leave the village. In one case two daughters who wanted to migrate to look for work left without telling their family presumably since they knew there would be objections. They later began sending remittances. The independent incomes of some youths who migrate and send remittances have been much appreciated by their parents.

There was a strong sense expressed that there has been a decline in respect for parents and authority among the younger generation. This was said to be due to less constraints on the youth, who nowadays enter drinking houses, take alcohol and chew *chat*. Some become victims of addictions and others become involved in anti-social behavior and theft, working less hard and/or creating problems for their families.

Couples are increasingly making their own decisions about getting married and inform their parents who are no longer as involved as they were in choosing marriage partners.

Some of the youth have been attracted to Protestantism and this has been a source of tension in the case of Oromo families in which the older generations are Muslims. The trend worried Muslim leaders so much that they asked Protestant leaders to hold talks about it which the latter refused to agree to.

Wealth and poverty

Wealth distribution

Table 3: Household Wealth Distribution 2004

<i>Wealth</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum %</i>
Very rich	8.8	100
Rich	9.2	91.2
Upper Middle	19.2	82.0
Lower Middle	21.6	62.8
Poor	24.0	41.2
Very poor	10.8	17.2
Destitute	6.4	6.4

Source RANS 2004 wealth measures based on productive assets.

Table 3 provides an estimate of the productive wealth distribution in Turufe in 2004. Just over 40% of the households in the sample were poor and 18 percent were rich or very rich. The survey was done before the full impact of the increase in opportunities due to urban-rural linkages and other livelihood changes described below was felt.

In 1995 perceptions were that the route to wealth for most people was through access to land and agriculture, though a few had become wealthy through trade. Constraints for the poor were considered to be lack of oxen and tools, health problems, old age, and bad luck, notably the loss of livestock. The rich were characterised as having better nutrition, with a more mixed diet and choice of foods and consumption of meat and milk not just for holidays. In 2005 it was suggested that hard work could allow people to become richer but that oxen or support from relatives were important.

The rich are characterised by better housing, including iron roofs (in 2005 41% had them), a separate food store (25%), separate kitchen (45%) and livestock yard (30%). They also have more household assets. The distribution of household assets in 2005 suggests that over a quarter of households have beds, and two-thirds have mattresses. Chairs, which were seen as an attribute of the richer households in 1995, were found in 82% of households in 2005. Gas lamps were found in 60% of households. Only two percent of households had sofas. Recent remittances from migrants were said to be used to improve housing including furniture.

Consumer goods and electrical goods are also indicators of wealth distinctions. By 2005 over a quarter of households had radios, and over a fifth had a cassette player. Whereas there was no electricity in Turufe in 1995 by 2005 one in five households had electricity, though these were households living close to Kuyera. However, only four percent were using electricity as fuel. Moreover, electronic goods were clearly indicators of wealth with four percent having a TV, and two percent each a CD player and fridge and one percent a satellite TV. In 2008 Electricity was extended to most households living in the village so not having access has become a sign of poverty, and some poorer households obtain a line from richer neighbours paying them on the basis of the number of bulbs they use.

In 2005 no households owned a mobile phone whereas by 2009 there were many households with them. According to the wereda the wireless telephone service was started in 2008 and 32 Kebeles obtained the service though 16 of these are waiting for missing parts, some of which were stolen. Turufe was not included since due to its proximity to the urban networks which have had telephone services for a long time and recently access to the mobile network. One business woman pointed out that it is not just those who have bought mobile phones who are using them but their neighbours, friends and relatives can make missed calls on the phones of people who have bought them when they need to communicate with them.

The rich have better access to health care being able to afford to go to private clinics avoiding queues at the government hospital and obtaining better treatment and drugs. There were a number of cases of richer households who went to private clinics in Shashemene and Hawassa for specialised medical care. The rich can also afford costs of private education, for pre-school and especially tertiary college education. Many of the richer household heads have positions in both the formal and customary institutions. The rich are also able to employ labourers often on an annual live-in basis.

The very poor are characterised by lack of land, livestock and assets, and often are labourers. Many of these are migrants who live as household servants, most of whom start off destitute and may remain so unless they find a patron who will support them to establish their own household. Some of the poor may have fallen off the ideal cycle due to death, divorce or other shocks, others lack helpers or may live alone, and yet others are old and in poor health.

Children living in poor households are at a disadvantage although due to the long-term nature of childhood the issue of childhood poverty is complex. Depending on socio-economic context the proportion of households where children are poor throughout their childhood varies but in many contexts children are not poor all the time experiencing one or more patches of poverty whose consequences for their life trajectories may be negligible or constitute a turning point. In some cases children are instrumental in helping their household out of poverty by working to provide household income. However children of migrant labourers often face serious disadvantages suffering from hunger and inadequate health care, and working as herders instead of going to school. In some cases this poverty may be inherited.

The poor and destitute are less likely to be involved in institutions and to benefit from interventions. Agricultural packages require payment for fertiliser, seeds and cross-bred cattle which the poor cannot afford and from which they are therefore excluded by default. The poorest and destitute often rely on charity and receive food at churches and mosques on holy days.

Pro-poor interventions

Interventions specifically targeted at the poor are limited. There was a system of health fee exemptions that seems to have broken down due to cost recovery policies and bureaucratic procedures. As one farmer explained:

The kebele used to write a letter of support to the hospital after three witnesses assured the poverty of the applicant in front of the public court. Then the poor gets medical service in the hospital. Since 2000 the medical centres and hospitals are ordered by the regional health bureau to implement the recently introduced health care financing system so as to cover their administrative cost by charging the clients. So, as the kebele officials disclosed that they don't write letter to the hospital and even if they write the letter is addressed to the wereda administration office and the wereda could write to the hospital. Because of this complex process that may not end in exemption the poor prefer to go to the hospital by themselves or prefer to use herbs if they cannot afford to pay.

Landless households do not pay taxes and community contributions. The destitute are also allowed collecting water without paying the charge of 10 cents per jerry can.

Ethnicities and religions

Ethnic composition

Turufe is a heterogeneous community with a majority of Oromos and minorities from Northern Ethiopia (Amhara and Tigrayan) and from Southern Ethiopia (Wolayta, Kambata, Hadiya and Gurage).

Table 4: Ethnic composition

Ethnicity	% of respondents
Oromo	55
Wolayita	10
Tigrayan	9
Amhara	7
Kambata	6
Gurage	5
Hadiya	4
Other, specify	1

RANS 2004

The 2005 survey showed that the Oromo made up 55 percent of the households, migrants from southern Ethiopia 26 percent (Wolayta 10 percent, Kambata 6 percent, Gurage 5 percent, Hadiya 4 percent) and those from northern Ethiopia 16 percent (Tigrayan 9 percent, Amhara 7 percent). This diversity can be explained partly by the history of migration of highlanders south during the imperial period in search of land. The establishment of a leprosy clinic in 1944 by Germans also attracted some patients to settle there a number of whom were from Kambata. Proximity of the wereda to the border with the Southern Region also no doubt accounts for the in-migrants from the south, where the highlands are densely populated. Established migrants have often sponsored relatives or facilitated other migrants to come and work in the area, and have sometimes helped migrants to become established. There has also been in-migration of women for marriage.

The migrant groups, particularly those from the North and especially those from Tigray, gained economic power in the imperial period through exploiting larger land-holdings and involvement in trade. The migrants' superiority continued during the Derg period with the Kambata, who had a strong political position, becoming particularly active with links to the ruling party. In 1991 after the defeat of the military regime the Oromo gained the ascendancy and most of the Kambata were expelled and their land taken over. At the time the Kambata represented over a quarter of the population (87 out of 413 households). Almost 40 percent of the Kambata left (34 out of 87 households). Some went back to Kambata and others were in a relief camp in Shashemene and then became daily labourers around Shashemene or migrated elsewhere. The land they occupied was provided to Oromo landless, ex-soldiers and those wanting to use more land, and some of the leaders were said to have benefited personally and sold some of the land. Apart from the Kambata some of the other migrants were attacked. A few of the Amhara and Tigrayans had their houses burnt and some lost part of their land in Wetera when the area was designated as a grazing area. A few Eritreans were also expelled at the time of the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and very few have remained. Several of the few traders are Tigrayan or Amhara. At the time of the 2005 elections there were fears among the migrants that they might face further threats of expulsion as happened to the Kambata when the Derg lost power in 1991, if the EPRDF lost power. Although expulsions have not taken place some migrants privately express feelings of insecurity and some have adopted a strategy of sending their offspring to live, study and work in local towns and in Addis Ababa. Positions in the *Kebele* Administration are fully controlled by the Oromo. Some migrant labourers have faced discrimination or employers not honouring payments, and there were attempts to restrict or ban migrant labourers. However, longer term migrants have been able to successfully claim land and many migrants have obtained resident identity cards as living with their employers.

As can be seen in table 5 in the 2005 survey Tigrayans on average had larger mean landholding while Oromo and Amhara mean land sizes are almost the same. Immigrants from the Southern Region on average have access to less land. There were no landless Tigrayans compared with 6% of Oromo, 16% of Amhara and 71% of Gurage (who are famous throughout Ethiopia for their entrepreneurial activities). In terms of livestock only one in five Tigrayans had no oxen compared to half the Oromo, Amhara and Hadiya, 58% of the Kambata and 72% of the Wolayta.

Table 5: Ethnicity by wealth

	Ethnicity of hh head %	Mean landholding Hectares	Landless %	No oxen %	No livestock %	Asset index score
Oromo	57	0.87	6	50	16	3.04
Tigrayan	10	1.29	0	21	4	3.46
Welayta	10	0.61	24	72	16	3.13
Amhara	8	0.96	16	50	37	3.67
Kambata	5	0.49	8	58	15	2.60
Hadiya	3	0.53	29	50	14	3.25
Gurage	6	0.42	71	100	64	2.00

Recent migrants form an underclass of domestic labourers who come to Turufe hoping to improve their lives. Many are sponsored by previous migrants. In some cases brokers in Shashemene arrange for them to find employers, in others people in the village contact potential migrants through informal networks. They tend to work in people's houses as domestic labourers, the men in the fields and the women in the houses. If they are hardworking and are lucky to have an employer who becomes a patron, they can improve their lives. The employer has them registered as a dependent with the Kebele so that they can obtain an ID card. The employer may allow them to sharecrop some land on their own account, through which the male migrant can obtain livestock, most crucially oxen. The employer may turn into a patron and help arrange for the migrant to marry and set up his own household and farm on his own account.

Migrant men tend to marry women who have migrated from the same region and in some cases women may be "brought" for marriage, as in the case of a Tigrayan migrant who had married another migrant, divorced her and then married another Tigrayan migrant through an arranged marriage. Women migrants work in houses doing the bulk of various domestic chores. Some migrants suffer abuses with little recourse. They can be sent away by employers if there is a quarrel and may even be denied wages. In one case a migrant has been working for an employer for five years and was sent away empty handed but fortunately fared better with subsequent employers. Women who have children find it very difficult to find employment as the employers resent the food given to her children and time spent looking after them. One such migrant from Wello who had two children was first employed for 15 birr by an employer who sent her away. She relies on charity and even begs during the threshing season for food and for money to take her child to hospital. Women may also face risks of rape by men in the household. In one case the woman had children by two of the sons, which the household members did not acknowledge. There is also a risk that the status of migrant domestic worker may be inherited. One migrant worker has a 10 year old daughter who does not go to school. Another is the daughter of a former migrant from Gurage who was also a domestic worker. She had a child from a son in the household and tried to poison herself. Women domestic workers with children are often desperate and one said she was thinking of giving her children for adoption.

Whereas the male migrants from the North (Amhara and Tigray) seem to want to establish themselves in Turufe through a strategy of first working for an employer, then sharecropping, purchasing oxen and marrying a migrant, an Oromo male migrant from Kofele has been saving the 700 birr annual salary he receives to send to his parents to rent land. He plans to save some more money and return to his home area to rent land and set up his own household. A woman migrant from Wolayta who was assisted by her sister who lives in Turufe has been producing *areqe* and sending the profits as remittances to her parents in her home area.

Religious composition and relations

Most of the Oromo in Turufe are Muslim, whereas most of the migrants from the North are Orthodox Christians and most of the migrants from the South are Protestants. Although there has been religious tolerance there has also been a rise in fundamentalisms, an increase in the construction of mosques with sponsorship from Arabia and Protestant churches with mission assistance. There have been some tensions between followers of different religions, particularly related to the youth and poor converting to Protestantism, partly due to dissatisfactions with lack of opportunities for accessing land and finding employment. In 2005 one person was thrown out of her *iddir* because her grandson converted to Protestantism. In 2008 there were tensions between the Muslim and Protestant leaders over conversions and the latter refused the request for meetings by the former. Protestant churches were also active in opposing customary festivals such as the *Ginbot Lideta adbar* festival in May, which used to bring people from different religions together, on the grounds that it involved animist rituals.

Occupational castes

Although potters and tanners and smiths were culturally despised there were only a couple of full-time leatherworkers from the Wolayta minority. Skilled workers such carpenters, masons, and tailors can become wealthy particularly by working as migrants.

Fields of action /domains of power in 2010

Livelihoods

People's livelihoods have depended on rainfed agriculture, producing cereals (wheat, barley, *tef*, maize, millet), pulses (horse beans), oil seeds (linseed), and vegetables (potatoes, onions). They also grow *enset*, *chat* and coffee. The main crops they produced for consumption and cash are potatoes, maize, wheat, barley and *tef*. The *kebele* supplies potatoes and maize to Addis Ababa through merchants both from Addis Ababa and around Kuyera. Farmers keep livestock, cattle (for ploughing, milk and manure), sheep and goats for meat and sale to cover other expenses, donkeys for transport, and chickens for consumption and sale of eggs.

Much of the agricultural work is based on household labour, with women assisting in weeding, harvesting and preparing food taken to the fields. However reciprocal labour groups at peak seasons are common, involving food and drink. Richer households employ labourers on an annual basis or at peak season on a daily basis. Female headed and poor households tend to sharecrop out their land.

A seedlings nursery was established by the wereda Agriculture and Rural Development Office in 2005 but only a few farmers whose land the rivers passes through have access to **irrigated land** and dug canals to irrigate land; since Turufe has enough rainfall it was not considered by the wereda to be a priority area for irrigation development, but there are plans to modernise and expand the irrigation scheme in the future. A man who had benefited explained that he was lucky that the water flowed past his land, but that there was not much potential for expanding it. A woman who benefited said that her family has been able to produce vegetables for consumption and sale. She thought it would be good if the irrigation could be expanded to benefit others. A man who would have liked to have irrigated land said that there was none available, and a woman that the rent would be too expensive.

Land

There has not been **land redistribution** since the Derg, and landlessness of the youth was mentioned as a serious problem by Wereda and Kebele officials as well as community members.

Concerning **commercial investment** the kebele management has allowed an investor to start a private farm by granting the individual about 15 hectares of the communal land, but the investor did not start to plough the land as he has to get the final permission from the wereda investment department. The investor is an Ethiopian from Canada and has returned there assigning an individual as his representative to follow up on the case.

The land measurement, **registration and certification** took place in 2006 with the involvement of the wereda Agricultural and Rural Development experts. In Turufe a committee with five members was established and trained to measure the land, carried out the registration and certificates were issued. The wereda officials asserted that the process took place without any problem and had achieved its objectives. Kebele officials noted that the process would ensure that weak people and women did not have their land snatched illegally. An elderly male beneficiary suggested that the registration would ensure that there would not be disputes over borders and family members would know the exact amount of land they have.

Asserting **women's land rights** was stated in the Oromia family law and implemented in Turufe in 2006. Both male and female children have right to inherit and women to their share of land on

divorce. Wereda officials noted that in the past girls and divorcees had no land rights and that at first men were not happy with the new legislation but that there was no problems encountered in applying the law. One married daughter returned when her father died and when her siblings refused to give her a share took the case to the wereda which upheld her right. There were also cases of second and inherited wives who were able to successfully claim land. Female headed households who had sharecropped out their land were also able to prevent male sharecroppers from claiming the land was theirs.

The allocation of some land from the communal grazing area for **landless youth groups** was unpopular and resisted but enforced. Three groups of 150 youths were organised for forestry, seedlings and vegetable and fruit production. Kebele officials suggested that the measure would protect forest areas from intruders and allow for planting of seedlings which would eventually bring income for the youth when they sell the trees, and that they can expect to get some returns in about two to three years. Most of the youths are men although there are some women involved. One of the beneficiaries explained that this intervention would enable them to earn an income rather than be dependent on their parents. A woman who is part of the groups said that it would prevent youths engaging in anti-social behaviour. However, she was concerned that apart from providing the land the groups did not receive an additional support and the groups were slow in getting organised.

Agricultural extension and packages

The wereda Agriculture and Rural Development Bureau has been promoting the use of **improved seeds** to increase yields notably since 2007. In particular selected seeds of wheat that were said to increase yields and be resistant to diseases were introduced by the DA. However, only 8 farmers bought the seed (none of whom were Kebele officials) and though many people had their doubts they were said to have obtained almost double yields. However, since the seeds are not provided on credit and farmers have to pay for them up front, only a few model farmers in Turufe have been able to do so. One farmer resisted on the grounds that *it is not new seed that improves the yield, but the farming method of individual farmers.*

Wereda officials noted that the Increase in **price of fertiliser and selected seeds** together with inflation has affected outputs. One woman who is a model farmer has benefited from the extensions services, mentioned that she is producing compost but can no longer afford fertiliser and selected seeds. She suggested that it would be good if fertiliser and seeds could be provided on credit as they are expensive when bought from traders, may not be available on time in the required quantity and there is also a question of quality since “forged or false” fertiliser is sold on the market. Likewise the DA mentioned that price increases of fertiliser and seeds are such that he felt that the government should supply them on a credit basis, since the majority of farmers cannot afford to buy inputs to improve their productivity.

Composting was introduced to model farmers to partly replace fertiliser in 2008; however, the wereda did not have any measure of its success since the work only involved awareness-raising and was not implemented through any incentives or coercion. Two Kebele officials were using compost, and Kebele officials estimated that about 10 to 15% of farmers have been making compost. A major constraint is that the composting requires manure and poorer farmers do not have much livestock or enough manure to spare.

An agricultural **research centre** in Ziway is carrying out some **experimental farming** and one interviewed household with access to irrigated land had benefited by providing land on which the project sowed seeds which they brought along with fertiliser giving the household the produce. The project also planted fruit trees notably apples on his land.

In 2009 there were three household that bought manual threshing machines and rented them out on an hourly basis.

Livestock extension and packages

Crossbred cows which provide about 20 to 22 litres of milk daily were introduced by the DA in 2008 with the help of wereda experts, and four cows were bought. There had already been initiatives during the Derg and more recently. However, the cows now have to be purchased in cash, so that only a few farmers could afford to buy them. Wereda officials suggested the measure might have been more successful if the cows could have been provided on credit. The farmers who bought them were able to sell milk for 5 birr a litre and there was a high demand from café owners in Kuyera. The DA explained that the livestock have to be brought from research centres ordered in advance with advance payments, that most farmers do not have the cash and that the extension services do not provide credit. The DA found it difficult to convince farmers to raise the money to buy the cows, and problems with the artificial insemination service were mentioned as a constraint since the professional comes to the Kebele by appointment which may not coincide with the ovulation period. The DA thought that the cows should be provided on credit or an instalment basis. There were also concerns that the feed for the cattle was expensive, that they are not resistant to diseases and that they might be stolen so that households have to guard them at night. One household that has benefited said the household sends about 12 litre of milk to Kuyera in the morning and 12 in the evening. They were selling one litre of milk for 90 birr per month. In the long run he thought that especially since there is grazing land shortage farmers could benefit from having less but more productive cattle. Both beneficiary men and women and those wanting to have cattle all expressed the hope that cross-bred livestock could be provided on credit. A woman who had benefited suggested that livestock feed such as molasses should also be provided on credit.

The DA has also recently been promoting purchasing oxen for fattening and a few households have bought oxen engage in fattening them to resell.

Food aid

Turufo as a surplus producing area has seldom faced severe food shortages. However, in 2008 there was drought and an epidemic of Acute Watery Diarrhoea. Emergency food aid provided by NGOs was distributed by the wereda Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Office freely. Kebele officials organised the distribution and representatives of donor agencies came to assess the problem. Some 156 households received about 100 kg per household for four consecutive months due to the drought. Edible oil was also distributed with the grain. There were initially some complaints from people who were not included. In the same year about 30 households who suffered from CZD were supported with balanced food aid in addition to medical care.

In 2009 pests affected grain crops and seeds were distributed to about 110 households to plant. Initially some households who had not lost crops tried to obtain seeds and there were complaints from some households that crops were distributed to those who were not affected by pests while some of the affected were skipped but the Kebele and wereda officials said they made a thorough investigation of the fields and only registered those who were affected.

Credit

There have been several initiatives to provide credit, including a savings and credit association organized by an NGO, loans from a private micro-finance institution and the government micro-credit organisation. The wereda has been organising savings and credit associations since 2007 throughout the wereda though this does not seem to have been mentioned in Turufe. The government micro-credit which is known as IMX involved a few men in the kebele in 2009. According to the regulations of the programme three or more persons have to organize themselves into a cell and have to guarantee each other providing group collateral to get a loan. However, apart from awareness creation so far no loans have been provided.

A Saving and Credit association by the name of Edo Lencha was organized by a local NGO known Arsi Development Program Kerara Family Helper and Community Development Projects (ADP). Initially

the NGO had focused on providing nutritional food for children from female headed or large poor households supporting the family of the children with grain educational materials, personal items, and by covering health care expenses. Later when the project was to terminate the NGO organized 72 household heads and gave them 12,000 birr start-up money with support from Christian Children Fund Canada (CCFC) to set up an association to which members contributed monthly. The members have deposited 150 birr each. Every month each member saves five birr. After 18 months members were allowed to take loans. People borrow 500-1000 birr based on their collateral. One beneficiary man said that he used the loan partly to generate income as well as for education and medical expenses. However, one woman who borrowed 500 birr lost the initial money and those members who made up the group were forced to pay in her name.

Busa Gonofa, a private micro-credit institution, has been providing loans to women for income generating activities since 2008. Only those that are believed to be able to generate income and return the loan are included and the numbers are fairly small. A total of 70 women were involved in three groups of 20 to 27. Each group has a leader, secretary, supervisor and treasurer. In the first round members are allowed to take loans of up to 500 birr, in the second 750 birr, the third 1000, and currently the maximum is 2000. Loans have to be repaid within ten months with a progressive interest (higher interest for bigger loans, for instance birr 15 per month for a 1,000 birr loan and birr 30 per month for a birr 2,000 loan). The organisers used to come to Turufe but now the groups have to go to Kuyera due to fears of theft of money collected. Most of the women have been using the credit to prepare *areqe* for sale. The credit is based on group collateral and elders are expected to enforce repayment. There were worries expressed that returning the loans can be difficult in cases of crop failure or when husbands waste money.

Human re/production

Housing

There has been an increase in the number of households building better houses with **corrugated iron roofs**. By 2005 over 40% of households had tin roofs and that number has no doubt increased significantly since then. A quarter of households had separate food stores, almost half had a separate kitchen, and almost a third had a livestock yard. Households obtaining remittances from children who have migrated for work have converted some of this into improvements in their housing and better furniture.

Drinking water

Turufe is considered by the wereda officials to be better off in terms of water supply than many Kebeles, particularly the lowland ones where water shortage is acute. There are four **communal water points** in the village. In the past people were paying 1 birr a month to the person controlling the water point. However, only two of these were functional, there were queues and the water points only obtained water once the hospital tankers were full; in 2008 people were buying water from neighbouring areas or even the town of Kuyera. Some six households installed private water taps, and began to sell water at a rate of 20 to 60 cents per jerry can. Poor people were suffering and some people living in the Keketo area through whose property the pipes to the hospital pass cut the water pipes twice that went past their property without them being able to use the water and to prevent the individuals from selling the water. Through the cooperation of the wereda the kebele officials mobilised the community and a water users committee was established in 2008 and the private water taps were closed, and a reduced fee of 10 cents per jerry can was introduced. The water supply improved also when the hospital obtained a new water supply and released the entire existing water supply for the community. The destitute were exempted from this payment. A woman who benefited from the improvements in the water supply said that since the water point was repaired in 2008 she has less far to go, although there is still a water shortage. However, some people living further from the main settlement area do not have good access to clean water, and

fetch water from the river. One woman living far from the main settlement area said she tries to collect water from the river very early in the morning before it becomes unclean. It is assumed that the outbreaks of Acute Watery Diarrhoea in 2006 and 2009 (both in the summer season) were caused in part by unclean water. The HEW suggested that the water pipes may have become infected with river water. During the epidemic the HEWs were giving people water purification chemical liquids but the provision has stopped and although the community is advised to use them people cannot afford to buy them. The HEW had the water examined in a laboratory in Shashemene and it was found to have germs and she suspected this may explain the prevalence of water borne diseases and cases of giardia and other stomach illnesses. She suggests there is a need to have a water container reservoir with chlorine and to repair the water pipes and increase the number of water points. In particular she stressed that the school at Melka Ferda has no access to piped water and the students are using river water.

Fuel and electricity

In 2005 most households (92%) relied on **firewood for fuel**, and only 4% used electricity, 3% charcoal and 2% agricultural residues. At the time the main source of lighting was from kerosene lamps, although about 40 households close to Kuyera Kebele 01 were able to extend the **electricity** supply from neighbours living in the town. An investor wanting to set up a grain mill agreed to contribute to the cost of extending the electricity supply to Turufe. He contributed over half the amount (32000 out of the 57,000 birr paid to the regional Electric and Power Cooperation) and land from the communal threshing area was given to him for the mill.

The wereda aimed to provide electricity to 15 Kebeles by 2010 and five have received electric supply since 2008, including Turufe. However, the wereda expressed concerns about farmers' ability to pay for the service, and suggested that payments by instalment might alleviate the problem. A rich farmer mentioned that there had previously been an attempt to raise funds to bring electricity to the village but that the collected money was embezzled. One of the benefits of electricity mentioned was that the consumption of firewood decreases as it is no longer used for light and that the costs of kerosene which used to be used for lighting are reduced. A rich businesswoman mentioned that those who could not afford to have electricity in their homes reached agreements with neighbours to extend the line paying them a fee based on the number of bulbs they use. However, a poor woman mentioned that her family could not benefit as they were living in a cattle house which did not have electricity; even when she began to sleep in part of the main house given to her by the owners she could not afford the electricity and would go to bed as soon as it gets dark. The owner of the house also prevents her from using kerosene for lighting on the grounds that it can blacken the roof. However, she has been benefiting from the electric grinding mill.

Health

Illnesses found in Turufe include hepatitis, tuberculosis, malaria, gastritis, leprosy, eye problems, colds, headaches, STDs, respiratory illnesses, gynaecological problems; children are affected by diarrhoea, measles, throat infections, coughs, intestinal parasites such as ascaris, and meningitis. People go to traditional healers for haemorrhoids, hepatitis, and an illness called '*mogn bagegn*', the symptoms of which are similar to malaria, which is treated through bleeding. There are also traditional healers who have specialised as bone-setters. Mothers take malnourished infants to healers who rub their bodies. There was a leprosy centre established by foreign missionaries in the area during the imperial period that attracted migrant persons affected by leprosy from different parts of the country who settled in the area.

According to the Wereda officials there are 22 Kebeles out of 37 that are most at risk from **malaria** and DDT is sprayed every six months. However, there have not been any severe epidemics. In 2006 a total of 99200 bed nets were distributed, though since Turufe is not a high risk area there was no spraying or distribution of bed nets. The wereda officials noted that there was some resistance from people who thought that the DDT would attract pests, and that some people were using the bed

nets as curtains, and tended to interrupt treatment once they felt better. Moreover some of the older drugs used are no longer effective. The HEW in Turufe believes that there is malaria in the site since several people fell ill including the chairman. She went to the wereda health bureau to try to get drugs but she was told that Turufe is not a priority area.

HEWs have been referring **tuberculosis** patients to the hospital and based on the prescriptions from the hospital have also started providing drugs free as has the Catholic mission, though according to the HEW the intervention does not seem to have been very successful. However, the daughter in a rich household went to the hospital for TB treatment and was cured.

Given the proximity of Turufe to urban areas and the urban-rural linkages, **HIV/AIDS** seems to be an increasing problem. Since 2007 an Adventist NGO (ADRA) has been training and funding two home-based care providers for Turufe and two for Elemo who visit sick people, wash their clothes, prepare food and provide psychosocial advice at least twice a week. At the time there were two bed-ridden women with AIDS who have since died. There are currently six to eight people living with the virus who have disclosed their status, two of whom are taking ART which can be obtained free of charge, and another who fears to do so as he thinks he will need to have quality food. On the basis of hospital records one of the Home-based carers suspects that there may be about 15 people who have HIV but have not disclosed their status. One of the PLWHA teaches openly. ADRA provided PLWHA with a sheep on two occasions. The PLWHA living in Turufe and adjacent areas have been organized into an association by Dawn of Hope, an NGO started by PLWHA, and a grinding mill was bought to provide them with an income generating activity. Four PLWHA in Turufe are participating.

There are two AIDS orphans according to the health workers and four according to the Kebele, all of whom are supported by families without external assistance. The older girls' group mentioned that the wereda health bureau officials sometimes come and teach them about HIV/AIDS. The campaigns against wife inheritance and polygamy and the HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns led by the wereda health bureau and several NGOs (ADRA, Africa Human Action and Compassion) involving awareness education through the HEWs and health promoters at Kebele and *iddir* meetings may have brought about changes in behavior; it is said that people are avoiding extra-marital relationships, and less men are said to be visiting commercial sex workers. The health promoters provide condoms on demand and people who are shy to do so can buy them from shops or pharmacies. Mobile VCT services have been organized at the centre of the village in 2008 and 2009, and there were suggestions that returning migrant should be tested. CCFC was also testing children along with parents, with a view to providing support. There was a concern expressed about risks from alleged increase in premarital sexual relations among the youth.

Turufe is considered by the wereda to be privileged in terms of **curative health services** due to its proximity to Kuyera where the Shashemene referral hospital is located. There are also Catholic and Adventist mission clinics as well as private clinics in Kuyera and Shashemene towns. The wereda has constructed three Health Centres in the wereda since 2008, and is planning to build two more. As Turufe is one of the largest Kebeles, there is a plan to locate one of the new HCs in the Kebele; a place has been selected and the community is ready to contribute in kind. There had been a plan to upgrade the Health College within the hospital in Kuyera to become a university and move the hospital to Shashemene. However the plan was resisted by communities in the area including from Turufe and their appeal to the Head of Oromia Region was successful and the plan was shelved.

Regarding **health-seeking behaviour** an elderly woman suggested that most people go to the hospital, and that they go to the Catholic mission clinic for eye treatment when foreign doctors come. However, she said she often relies on going to holy water. She suggested that sometimes obtaining a painkiller may make things worse as a serious illness may be overlooked or not identified correctly, and health workers may not give the correct dose of medicine. She also said that some old and poor people who cannot afford the cost of treatment face problems and do not get service, and she wishes there were free health care as in the past. A poor woman said she tries to take her

children to the hospital but sometimes lack money as she has contracted out her land and does not have grain to sell. She too suggested the need for free medical treatment for the poor.

Better off households may go to both the government hospital and private clinics, though people also make use of traditional healers and holy water. For instance a middle wealth man who had typhoid and his wife who had a heart condition went both to the Shashemene hospital and private clinics. They took their son who is disabled to the hospital, the mission clinic and to holy water to no avail. A wealthy household head who fell of a tree and suffered from a bone injury first went to a traditional healer and then to a private hospital in Awassa to see a bone specialist. A richer woman suggested that although the services improved when the hospital became a referral hospital in 2007 the service is not comparable to the private clinic, and there are only a few drugs and even shortages of these. Moreover, the hospital service became overcrowded and patients experience queues. Therefore patients have to buy drugs from private pharmacies. At the HP apart from painkillers there are rarely any other drugs, and even these are often not available. However, the HP has begun to keep drugs for TB. Richer families are often able to spend more on private health care. One woman aborted after loading a water jerry can onto a donkey and suffered haemorrhage. She was taken to hospital and the blood flow stopped but a few days later she became paralysed and the hospital could not do anything for her. She went to Sodo in SNNP to a private clinic and a toe that became infected was amputated and she was cured after spending about 7000 birr. She believes that if she could not have afforded private health care she would have died. She also suggested that some health professionals in government services give drugs that are not appropriate, as they lack appropriate equipment like x-rays, and since they want to refer patients to private clinics with which they have links. She noted with surprise that a private clinic was opened within the hospital. A group of younger boys noted an improvement in case of emergencies since the Bajaj three-wheeler taxis can be called by mobile.

Preventive health services have been expanded since the opening of the HP with the involvement of HEWs. According to a HEW they have been holding meetings on various issues including HTPs, sanitation, HIV/AIDS, STDs at community gatherings and *iddir* meetings. Although the entire community is targeted she noted that since both the HEWs are women and it is mainly women who visit the HP, men tend to think that they give priority to women. As the Kebele is large she suggested that it would be useful if an additional HEW was assigned, particularly since the work of volunteers employed by NGOs was being phased out.

A rich man suggested that people were taking better care of their families as a result of better services, and a rich woman mentioned that there had already been initiatives with the volunteers employed by the NGOs. She mentioned that in addition to the work of the HEWs people found out about how to protect themselves from preventable diseases from the radio and television. Moreover, her children tell her about what they are taught regarding illnesses and caring for siblings at school. A middle wealth woman quoted a rhyming saying that rather than suffering after falling sick it is better to be careful beforehand. She suggested that the facilities at the HP should be improved so that people could avoid long queues at the hospital. A poor man suggested that since he could not afford to pay for diagnosis and buying medicine, the preventative services can reduce his expenses. A poor woman said that due to lack of money and time since she is working as a domestic labourer she is not always able to put into practice what she learnt about preventive health care and does not have the time to take part in awareness raising meetings.

With regard to **nutrition** the wereda has been screening children and lactating mothers since 2006, and food has been provided for malnourished children. The problem has been more acute in the lowland drought prone Kebeles. The wereda also had a campaign against the cultural practice of feeding quality food for husbands rather than children, and Turufe being a less remote Kebele was said to be one in which attitudes were changing.

Vitamins have been provided for children every six months since 2007 by HEWs with the cooperation of health representatives of the Kebele on a house-to-house basis. Some mothers were not available at the time of visits, and it was suggested that there was a belief that if the children had the vitamins they would require quality food, so that awareness education was provided by the HEWs to counter this belief. One of the HEWs said that in their screening of children they relied on anthropometric measurements and did not take into consideration the wealth of the household. She felt that the support for malnourished children was not sustainable, and should be better organised and that lactating mothers should also be targeted as some do not get a balanced diet.

In 2008 due to the drought there were severe food shortages and the Disaster Preparedness and Prevention Commission (DPPC) provided **nutritious infant foods** for highly affected children who were screened at the HP through the Kebele leadership by the HEWs and volunteers of Africa Human Action. They were provided with supplementary feeding including milk, famix, plumpinut, and drugs. The HEW estimated that about half the families were affected. The selection committee which included the chairman, the vice chairman, the HEW and the AHA volunteers faced challenges in selecting who should get the support. An NGO called CDI² provided 480 birr cash per mother. A mother whose children had been receiving support mentioned that all children were given vitamins but oil and flour was only provided for those who were malnourished. A poor woman who was receiving support for her children from the Arsi Development programme said she received 20 kg of wheat and 3 litres of oil per month, as well as school materials such as exercise books, school bags and uniform. The organisation also assists children with schooling and has provided seed money for a credit scheme for parents, though the numbers of beneficiaries are small; the woman felt that it would be useful for the government to provide nutrition support for poor mothers and children.

The campaigns on **sanitation** and especially the digging of latrines were linked with epidemics of Acute Watery Diarrhea (AWD) in 2006 and 2009. Turufe was less affected than other Kebeles as it has a better water supply and once people were seriously sick they could be treated in the hospital nearby. In 2006 the campaign for latrine construction was stepped up with the support of the Zonal health office. CCF provided some flat wood and about a third of the community were involved in digging latrines on a campaign basis and those who did not dig any were apparently threatened with jail. However, according to the wereda officials people did not like using latrines as they argued that they smelt bad and as feces in fields was seen as useful as a fertilizer. A cultural reason mentioned was that women did not want to use latrines used by their in-laws. Two worrying incidents were reported. When one household dug a big hole to use the soil for house construction they planned to use the hole for latrine. Then the hole became full of rain water, and a three year old child fell in and died. Similarly, another household had dug a hole for a latrine, which filled with water, and a goat fell in and died.

However, when there was a second outbreak of AWD in 2009 those who were affected were mainly those who were not using latrines, and this was said to have brought about a change in attitudes; the wereda also organized a campaign involving *iddir* and religious leaders, elders and other community representatives; HEWs were given targets of graduating 60-75 households as model families. Latrine coverage in the wereda was said to have reached 95%. In Turufe there were said to be only two households still resisting digging a latrine.

According to the HEW although there has been a campaign to **wash hands after using latrines** most people are not doing so. She advised people to put a small plastic container with water near the latrine but when she visits she does not find people having done this, which she attributes to lack of knowledge about its importance. One wealthy household whose head is a health promoter said that

² Some respondents said this meant Central Development Institute, but others that the NGO was in fact the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

the members of his family are washing hands regularly. Another man who dug a latrine said that he advised his family to wash their hands with soap and if there was not any to use ash when they come out from the latrine. He suggested that his family is now accustomed to this. A younger girls' group suggested that almost all households use toilets, and that they learn to wash their hands after latrine use in school.

There have been several NGOs involved in promoting **family planning** in the Wereda. In 2000 Africa Human Action trained Community-Based Reproductive Health Agents, who started working with HEWs when they were deployed in the Kebeles. According to wereda officials there was initially resistance from husbands and especially Muslims due to religious values and from some women on the grounds that they feel a burning sensation, though over time attitudes have been changing and the use of family planning services was said to be better in Turufe than in some other Kebeles in part since they are close to the hospital; since the HP was constructed coverage was said to be 50%, though some people prefer to come to town rather than get services from the HP.

The HEW mentioned that she has been collaborating with the volunteers trained and funded by Africa Human Action and Adventist Development Programme. Different kinds of family planning services have been introduced including Norplant, loops, dipo, pills and condoms, depending on the clients' interests and health conditions. Some of those who graduated from the family training programme have been sharing their experiences with friends and neighbours to encourage them to use family planning. In 2009 the HEWs were involved in a campaign to encourage the use of Dipo contraceptive implants. Until then AHA volunteers were only providing pills. The HEW suggested that about 50 households have been using the service. At first there was resistance due to religious values particularly among men and Muslims, and some women have been taking contraceptives secretly. She mentioned an example of a woman who came to the HP to obtain contraceptives and was followed by her husband. When he asked why she came she told him it was to obtain paracetamol for a headache.

A rich woman with a large family said that there were different forms of contraceptive available including pills, condoms and loops. Although she has been using contraceptives she felt pain when taking the pills and stopped taking the contraceptives and did not manage to limit the number of children and has delivered 10 children. Another women who had 10 children stopped using contraceptives due to chest illness and had an 11th child. A rich man with a small family said that people with smaller families can look after, feed and educate their children more easily. A rich woman with a small family gave the same reasons and added that she has also been able to look after herself better. A poor woman with a large family said that she tried to use contraceptives but since she has goitre she stopped on the recommendation of the health workers as it could have side effects. A woman from a poor small family said she preferred to obtain the family planning services from the volunteers training by AHA rather than going to the HP which is further from the centre, or from the hospital where there are queues. She said there were still women and especially men who were resisting using contraceptives as they did not understand its importance, and she felt it would be useful for those who are using contraceptives to share their experiences with others.

In theory the HEWs were supposed to be providing **pre and post-natal care** at the HP. However, in practice the service has not yet been organised. Women prefer to go to the hospital and Catholic mission clinic as there is a lack of equipment in the HP and they lack confidence in the HEWs. Training was provided to TBAs through AHA. However, selection was based on their past performance, and some who did not assist to deliver frequently were not included. There have been a number of cases of women facing complications and even reported deaths. According to the head of the Health Centre unlike in the past, since 2008 the health extension services have been advising TBAs to bring women for deliver at health care centres rather than helping them to deliver and assisting them at home only if the labour pain is severe and until the woman reaches a health care centre.

Overall the emphasis of the health care system has been to develop preventive extension services. The HEWs were deployed in 2007, and have been providing education on various issues including sanitation, family planning, HTPs, notably female circumcision, HIV/AIDS and STDs. Wereda health officers sometimes come to the kebele and provide awareness training, and leaders of the sub-kebeles mobilise community members to attend meetings, though the officials complained that people are often not punctual and attendance is poor. Three NGOs have been working for several years on awareness education. AHA volunteers have been mainly involved in family planning, ADRA on HIV/AIDS and CCF on Harmful Traditional Practices. Volunteers have been giving education in public and at *iddir* meetings as well as through home visits. The NGOs have been working in collaboration with the HEWs since these were assigned and their programmes have been phased out in 2010. The Health Centre deputy head said that they had been providing education through cooperation with local institutions such as *iddir* on the need to avoid unnecessary traditional medicine.

The HEWs complained that the **health post** lacked even painkillers, did not have malaria pills and faced a shortage of contraceptives, which puts them in a difficult situation. As one of them put it: *“When we say we don’t have medicines the farmers say that ‘it is better to close the health post’*. They also lack equipment such as scales to weigh children, and there is no electric light which would have been important for deliveries at night and no fridge to store vaccines.

The **Health promoters** seek to create awareness among the community on health care, HIV/AIDS, sanitation and hygiene. One of them mentioned that they go to *iddirs* meetings, create community conversation centres at different vicinities and teach the community. She said one of her main achievements was presenting girls who were not circumcised from Turufe at regional level in 1995 at Shashemene. However, she said they no longer get the 75 birr monthly salary and clothes that were given twice a year, and she feels that promises have not been fulfilled.

According to the wereda there were less people applying for **free health care** in Turufe since the Catholic mission clinic and the Shashemene referral hospital only charge small fees. The wereda officials were also concerned that people who could afford to pay were applying for exemptions. The wereda prepared a room for poor women from remote Kebeles facing complications in giving birth, though since Turufe is close to the hospital women from this Kebele were not using the service, for which there is not sufficient budget anyway.

The wereda notes that there are a number of **NGOs working with disadvantaged groups** including orphans and vulnerable children, persons affected by leprosy, people living with HIV/AIDS and street children. However, the wereda officials felt that most of the NGOs prefer to work in urban areas with easier access and tend to neglect problems of vulnerable groups in rural areas, especially in remote rural areas.

Education

Educational opportunities in Turufe have improved considerably in terms of **access and choice of private education**. There are three primary schools in the Kebele, out of which two are first cycle (1-4) and the other one is first and second cycles (1-8). There is also a primary school with a good reputation and a private kindergarten in Kuyera. There is also a high school in Kuyera near the referral hospital. In 2007 this school was expanded to preparatory level (grade 11 and 12). Shashemene Senior secondary school and technical and vocational school are also accessible, though the grades required for the TVET restrict entrance. There are also a number of private colleges in Shashemene.

According to the wereda education bureau NGOs (notably KHCADO, CCF, CDI and Light of Hope) constructed **primary schools** and about 17 **ABE centres** in various Kebeles. The ABE centres were phased out and handed over to the government, and the wereda also took over several primary

schools. The total number of primary schools has increased from 31 in 2007 to 41 in 2010. In Turufe an ABE that had three levels was changed to a formal school and those who completed level 3 joined grade 5. Since the Kebele has access to three primary schools ABE is no longer considered useful. However, there has been a shortage of teachers and budgets. The wereda also took over a **pre-school** last year run by Kind Hearts Child Aid Development Organisation (KHCADO) in Kuyera town. However, there is a shortage of trained pre-school teachers and there is no government training centre for them so it is difficult to assign teachers.

There has been an overall shortage of teachers in the wereda (the ratio is 1:81) and limited budget, and the community has contributed at least to cover the costs of school guards and public hired teachers. Wereda officials felt that since Turufe Kebele is vast there was a need to push parents to send children to school. Although most children are assumed to be going to school the wereda does not have statistics to assess the numbers **dropping out** or who never attended school. Turufe is considered comparatively better off in terms of the distance children have to walk to school. The wereda officials suggested that the main problem with dropouts was in the lowland Kebeles during the hot season when people migrate. The wereda solved the problem by allowing children to join schools in different Kebeles. One problem encountered everywhere was that some parents had difficulty covering the costs of school equipment at the beginning of the school year in September when they did not yet have income from harvests.

Two **primary schools** built by NGOs in Turufe (KHCADO and CDI) in 2006 on communal grazing land provided by the community which also supplied wood and labour were taken over by the government. According to one mother there was initially resistance to building the school as there is a shortage of grazing land. The school contribution paid along with the land tax was used to hire public teachers and guards. Turufe residents no longer had to send children to the Kerara Edo school in Kuyera which required uniforms and school fees, which are not required by the school in Turufe. The Wereda and Kebele suggested that the NGOs did not entirely fulfil their promises when they left and handed over the schools to the government.

Some parents complain that the new school lacks **quality** and continue to send their children to the Kerara school in Kuyera. A richer man and a richer woman both mentioned that they sent their children to the Kerara school, as the school facilities and quality of the teachers was better. However, a middle wealth man was sending his children to the nearby new primary school; though he appreciated having the school close by he thought that the quality of education and qualification of teachers was an issue that needed addressing and that certain privileges for teachers should be considered by the Kebele. A middle wealth mother said that whereas some parents resisted sending their children to school when they had to go to Kuyera most were now doing so, since the children did not have to waste time travelling and could help their parents at home after school since it is a shift system. She also mentioned that the school being close meant that teachers could contact parents easily for instance if children were absent. One poor woman who works as a domestic labourer mentioned that even though one of the new primary schools is near the house she works in her ten year old daughter does not attend as she works as a herder for the family.

Since 2009 the wereda has been promoting the opening of **zero grades** within the formal schools for children aged 4 to 6, and about 3700 children have been attending, including in Turufe. Wereda officials believe the programme will be useful as children of that age are not able to help in the households and can be exposed to education early. The wereda faced budget shortages and did not employ additional teachers, but arranged for teachers to increase the numbers of students so that some classes have up to 80 students. The wereda officials thought it might be best to separate the children aged 4, 5 and 6 but for the moment there are not enough teachers or resources. The Catholic Church covered the salary of a teacher.

A male teacher said that his two children were going to one of the schools and a female teacher that some of her relatives were benefiting. However, she noted that the new schools lack **facilities**: there

is no playground/sport area, piped water, and the classrooms lack light, chairs and tables and are not clean. She also complained that the public teachers hired by the community sometimes do not come to the school as they give priority to their own work since the salary is small. She suggested it would be good if the government were to hire sufficient teachers.

The head teacher noted that the PTA decides on community contributions and salaries for public hired teachers and guards. He suggested that there was a problem of **dropouts**. For instance for grade zero the number of students enrolled at the beginning of the year was about 50. But now those who are learning are about 30. He also expressed discontent with the publicly hired teachers since they have other work on their farms to which they give priority since their salaries are low, so that they are sometimes absent from class.

The primary school in Wetera has been upgraded to include grades 7 and 8, which has meant that children do not have to go to Kuyera after grade 6. Teachers were not provided immediately after the classes were completed, and the school lacks a water supply. The Catholic mission assisted with a constructing a fence.

The wereda is planning to upgrade three primary schools to **secondary preparatory** level though none of these is in Turufe since the students from the Kebele can attend the preparatory school in Kuyera town and Turufe students have less far to go than those in more distant Kebeles. The Kuyera school was expanded with grades 11 and 12 in 2007 with the cooperation of the Wereda Education Bureau and Christian Children's Fund of Canada, while the community provided money and labour. The main reason why the numbers of children going on to preparatory school is low is that children start school late and are unable to reach the proper grade level by the time they are 17 and most drop out after grade 9 to look for work. The wereda has therefore been campaigning to get children to start school at the age of 7 and promoting the opening of zero grades.

Children from Turufe with good grades and whose parents can afford the expenses go either to Kuyera Kerara Edo School or to Shashemene for **secondary** school. A rich father said he had two children who were at secondary school, and he hoped that the government would be able to open two or three more secondary schools in the wereda even if it is not possible to have one in each Kebele. A rich mother said all of her children had had the opportunity of secondary education and currently three of them were in grade 9 in Kerara Edo school at Kuyera. A middle wealth father had a daughter at Shashemene secondary school, but complained that it was very expensive as he has to pay house rent, food and clothing, and transport. However, he thought the investment in education was important, and that the future of the Kebele could change with more educated young people. A middle wealth mother had a daughter who completed grade 10 in 2008 in Kerara Edo, and another daughter in grade 9 who dropped out to find work. An educated man said he had a son at the Shashemene School and a daughter at Kerera Edo in Kuyera. The son of a middle wealth household is studying in Shashemene living with his sister who had migrated and married there. A woman said she completed grade 10 and was selected to become a HEW, trained, graduated and has been working in the village since 2007. Although she benefited personally she mentioned that a number of youth drop out of school to look for work.

The wereda has opposed the proliferation of private teaching colleges since the quality of teaching is poor as the colleges are business minded, and students have been encouraged to go to the Teachers Training Centre in Robe, which has a good quality but involves living and transport costs. According to wereda officials students are not keen on going to Awassa or Wondo Genet Forestry College as teaching is seen as more likely to provide employment. However, there are 642 applicants trained as teachers who have not yet obtained jobs, in part since the quality of their training is questionable. The wereda has been able to insist that only private colleges that meet the standards are able to operate.

There is only one **TVET** in the wereda in Shashemene which officials consider to be insufficient to meet the demand. The entrance grade point average has increased making the competition more difficult and it seems that though a number of Turufe students have completed grade 10 none have attended TVET so far.

According to the school director and teachers very few students from Turufe have attended university. A few people had been attending the nursing school extension evening programme but this was closed in 2008. However, a few men including the Kebele chairman, the school director and other kebele officials have been studying at private colleges at weekends. One woman attended a private nursing college and graduated with a diploma, but has not found a job yet. A few children from richer families have gone to private colleges in Shashemene and are employed in Awassa town. CCFC has supported a few children with private college education, covering their fees and expenses. One woman whose daughter attended private college obtained a job and has been assisting her family. Another family had a son who graduated from a private college, got a job and has been supporting his younger siblings. The household sold livestock to cover the educational fees and expenses.

A female teacher was the first in her family to benefit from college as had her husband who became a DA. However, she mentioned knowing of four educated unemployed youth who had been to private colleges. The private colleges offer opportunities for employed people to improve their education at weekends. However, private education requires investments, and can deplete a household's assets. For instance a rich household sold an ox when a son graduated from a private college using the money for his clothing and other necessities; they sold another ox to sponsor the education of a son and a daughter in private colleges in Shashemene.

Social re/production

Turufe inhabitants invest much of their energies in their livelihoods and families; however, they spend considerable time, material resources and energy constructing, reproducing and changing community-initiated social institutions, relationships, networks and organisations. One function of these is to provide social protection to those in need for shorter and longer periods. They are also to different degrees involved in externally-initiated organisations such as schools, health centres, and kebele structures creating webs of interactions, communication and shared knowledge linking 'community' and 'government.'

The **household** is a key sub-system or organisation. There are different types of household with varying capacities for independent living with some following an ideal pattern of formation and development and others falling off the track due to shocks. Households are linked in more or less mutual relationships based on neighbourhood, friendship, family and wider kin connections.

Cooperation with other households is based partly on the need for sharing of household and agricultural implements and coming together to accomplish tasks that a single household cannot complete on its own or not in the available time. Men cooperate in agricultural activities particularly at peak periods for weeding, harvesting and threshing, often involving a group of four to five people in rotating *wenfel* arrangements which are also common for house building. Households also lend each other agricultural and household implements, cooperate during holidays and ceremonies, and share happy and sad times together. Women borrow implements from each other and also help one another for ceremonies and prepare food when husbands work in groups on each other's fields in turn.

People visit relatives in other areas in cases of sickness or death. When households face a crisis they rely on help from neighbours and relatives. For instance a middle wealth household obtained a loan of grain from relatives when they lost their crops due to pests which they paid back after the harvest. They also got help from relatives when their daughter got married. The head of a rich household wanting to send the older children for private education received 1500 birr from a cousin

and 1000 birr from a brother.

Households who have children living in the nearby towns may get some assistance from them. For instance a middle wealth household whose daughter lives in Shashemene sends them sugar, soap, coffee and other household items, and visits them on holidays. Also she supports her brother going to school and living with her. Several people said that with increased cost of living households were tending to cooperate less.

Assistance from **neighbours**, who are sometimes brothers, is very important particularly for labour support, and sometimes grain, but much less for financial support. Neighbours are particularly supportive in times of bereavement. If a household's ox dies people contribute money. There are also some more formalised cattle *iddir*. The elderly, particularly women rely heavily on the support of neighbours and their children particularly when they become less mobile, for all needs including fetching water and wood, for grain and cooking food. However, people try not to ask for help as everyone faces problems, and when facing difficulties those who have animals sell small stock.

Assistance from **relatives** may depend on whether they live close and have the means to help. Relatives may help if the matter is serious and beyond the capacity of neighbours to help out. Many men have relatives within the community some of whom are neighbours with whom they cooperate regularly. Women may not have relatives in the community as they tend to marry away from their parents communities. However, relatives living further away may visit each other in times of sickness and for weddings and funerals.

Quite a few households in Turufe benefit from **remittances** from family members who have migrated to towns, flower farms, or to the Gulf countries. For instance remittances from two girls working in the flower farms, enabled their family to purchase oxen, seed and fertiliser and improve the household assets and housing conditions notably putting a corrugated iron roof and buying good quality wooden sofas and a table. Likewise an average wealth female headed household has a daughter who went to work in the flower farms in Ziway and married there. The money she sent enabled her mother to buy seed and cover the rent of oxen, though it was not enough to purchase oxen. Her daughter also bought her a mobile telephone with which they keep in touch.

Most households are members of *iddir*, funeral associations and some may belong to more than one. For instance in a middle wealth household the husband is a member of one *iddir* and the wife of two. Likewise, a rich household head is the leader of an *iddir* and his wife is involved in three. The *iddir* have written rules specifying contributions and payments, and some are considering changing their bylaws and opening bank accounts. In one *iddir* the contributions are two birr per month and 25 kg of wheat per year which is kept with the treasurer. If a household head or spouse dies they are given 800 birr and if a child dies 400 birr. If the father or mother die the *iddir* provides one birr per member, i.e. 54 birr since there are 54 members. If a stranger spending the night in the person's house or a visiting friend dies the *iddir* will only provide equipment.

Some *iddirs* have also been providing loans to members with interest. In one *iddir* members can take loans of up to 1000 birr, and if it is for more than four months they pay 10 birr interest per month for every 100 birr. The *iddir* committee assesses whether they think the person is capable of paying back the loan. For instance one man asked for a loan of 1000 birr as he wanted to send his daughter to Sudan. However, the *iddir* leaders decided that since he has a large family he might not be able to repay within a year and only gave him 500 birr. The *iddir* also provides loans of grain which are to be repaid after the harvest with 25 kg interest on 100 kg.

The *iddirs* in Turufe played an important role in the mobilisation of the community against the plan to move the referral hospital in Kuyera to Shashemene and to transform the existing nursing college within the hospital into a university. The Turufe *iddirs*, along with *iddirs* in neighbouring Kebeles, contributed money for per diems and accommodation for elders going to Addis Ababa to appeal to

the Oromia regional government, and the appeal was successful.

In Turufe there are also cattle herding groups known as cattle *iddirs* since they also have monthly contributions to be given to households that loose cattle. These were set up after the villagisation process during the Derg and each member household allocates a person to herd all the cattle in turn; this was said to have been important in ensuring that children can go to school. The four cattle *iddir* all are named after ethnic groups, (Tigrayan, Amhara, Wolayta and Oromo respectively). However, only the Tigrayan cattle *iddir* has members only from one ethnic group, whereas the others have members from more than two ethnic groups. The members of the *iddir* keep the cattle of co-members in turn. Currently in one of these cattle *iddir* with 30 members each household contributes one birr per month, and when a person loses an ox they are given 400 birr, 300 birr for a cow and 160 for a calf. There is a fine of 5 birr if someone misses their turn.

Most of the Orthodox Christians belong to **Mehaber**, religious associations associated with a particular saint usually with around 12 members. They meet monthly to celebrate the saint's day taking it in turns to prepare small feasts, with food and *tella*, also given to the poor.

There are a few *iqqub* (rotating credit and savings associations), which tend to be rather small and are mainly started by traders. One of these that started off as a women's only *iqqub*, had 10 members in 2005 when it began but three of them resigned as they were unable to pay, and it now has 14 members, as seven new members joined including two men. To join members must have a guarantor among the existing members, who has not received their share. The *iqqub* does not have written rules and is organised by the founding member who also acts as the secretary collecting money and managing it. For this work she has the privilege of choosing when she obtains her share. Those who do not pay in time get their share towards the end of the cycle. The members contributed 10 birr per week in 2005 and this has increased now to 30 birr; members receive 420 birr when it is their share based on drawing lots. Recently the members added a contribution of two birr for coffee or oil to be provided to a member in case of mourning in a family.

In Turufe there are also associations of women who pool butter when a member is going to have a wedding, and other associations that raise money for celebrating the Meskel festival in September by slaughtering an ox. Members contribute two birr per week, with fines of 50 cents for late payment on the day and one birr for later payment. In the week before Meskel Muslim members are given their accumulated share whereas the Orthodox Christians buy an ox together, slaughter it and share the meat.

Mosques are important social institutions in Turufe where the majority of the population are Muslims. There are six mosques in the Kebele two of which have been built recently. The leader of the main mosque said they had 750 members who came to worship. There is a Kebele Muslim affairs committee with 9 members; all 6 mosques have representatives, and collect contributions for annual holydays and almsgiving. The committee has seven members and two auditors, and employs two guards. Kuyera town wanted to take 2.5 ha of land from the mosque close to the town boundaries, and the committee successfully appealed to the wereda to prevent this from happening.

There is also a Protestant church in the village and an Orthodox church just beyond the Tutu River. Some devout Orthodox go to the church in Filicha, the neighbouring Kebele.

Both the Mosques and the Churches play an important role in providing alms to the poor on annual holidays. One destitute migrant orthodox Christian woman said she goes to churches in the towns of Kuyera and Hamus Gebeya on the major saints days.

The youth and poor seem to be attracted to the Protestant Kale Hiywet church, and some of the young Muslim men have been converting. There have been tensions between the Muslim and Protestant leaders over conversions and Muslim leaders requested to meet their Protestant counterparts to discuss the issue but the latter refused.

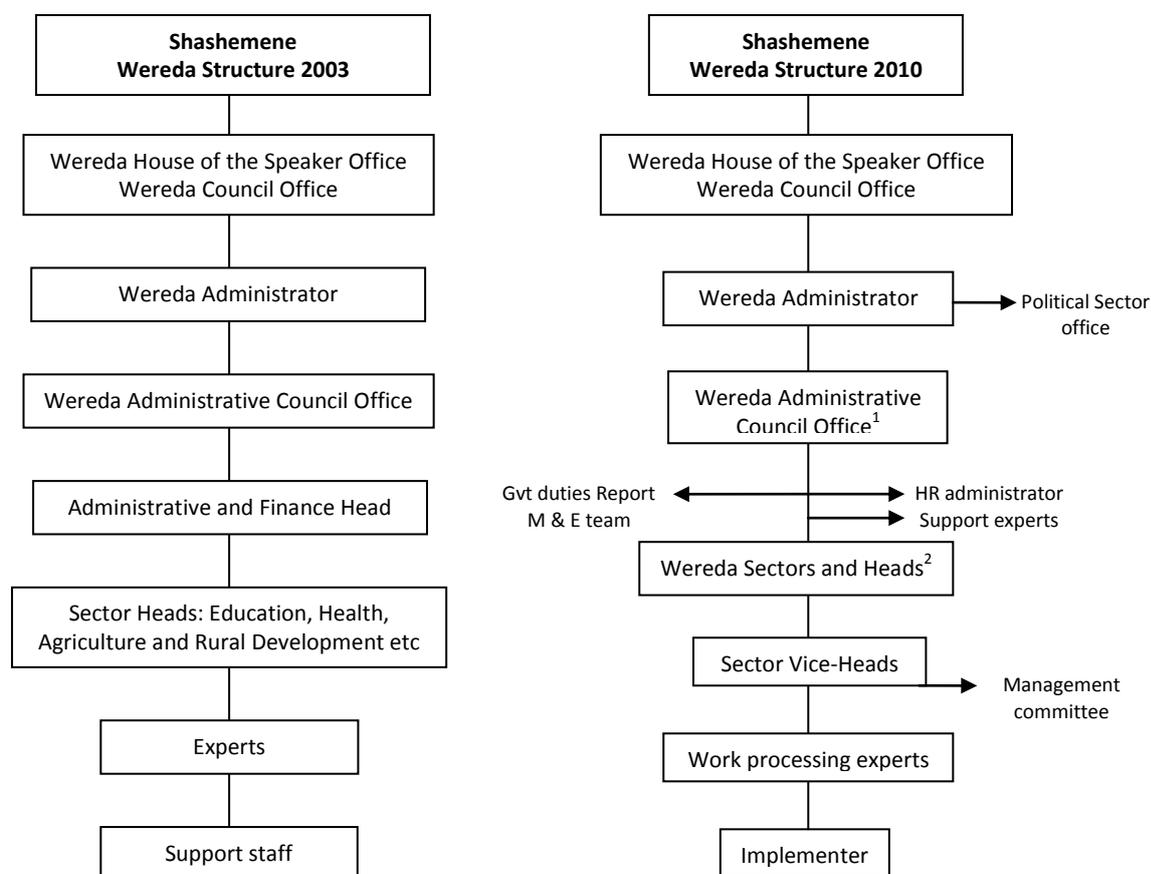
Community management

Turufe-Wetera-Elemo Kebele is currently one of 37 Kebeles in Shashemene Wereda of Oromia Region. In 2007 Shashemene wereda along with four other weredas gained the status of a zone (Western Arsi Zone) and four kebeles were added to the wereda taken from SNNPR after a referendum making Shashemene Wereda into a very large wereda. In 2008 the four Kebeles that were in SNNPR were made into a new wereda called Wondo merged with parts of two Kebeles and another entire Kebele taken from Shashemene wereda.

Wereda Structure

The current Wereda structure involves the council, the cabinet, standing committees and sector bureaus (see diagrams below). A change from 2003 is that the sector heads have vice-heads.

Figure 3: Shashemene Wereda Structures 2003 and 2010



¹ The wereda council includes 2 representatives from each *kebele* and the wereda administrative and sector heads and vice-heads-heads

² Sector heads have minimal rights to decide on matters concerning their sector. Every head has a mandate to make decisions on matters except financial issues.

With the Business Process Reengineering (BPR) process in 2009 the Administrative and Finance office was restructured. The Administration office was replaced by Human Resources Administration while the Finance section was put under the direct command of the wereda administrator and vice administrator. The vice administrator is also the head of the wereda Capacity Building Department. Parallel to the wereda Administrator is the Political Branch Office. Under the wereda Administrator comes the wereda Council. Then follows the sectors with their heads. Under the sectors are the vice chairs of the sectors (*mikitil halafiwoch*). The heads of the sectors are mandated to decide up to

certain amounts of budget. They can decide on other issues that concern their sector and have a seal of their own. Under the sectors there are the professionals of each sectors (*yesira hidet balebetoch*). Then there are implementers (*fetsamewoch*). Under the wereda administration there are higher experts which are divided into supporting force (*degaf sechiowoch*) and government task report process evaluator and follow up team (*ye mengist sira report afetsatseme gemegemana kititil*).

One of the **Wereda councillors** representing Turufe has a Diploma in Law from a private college 2007, and had served as a deputy wereda administrator, as wereda prosecutor, and as wereda cabinet member and head of peace and security. He was elected to the wereda council in 2008. He says he plays a role in ensuring that security and justice issues are taken seriously and that a person held by the police is brought to the court within 48 hours. He has raised the question of training of community police and militia at Kebele level and the need for uniforms, arms and ammunition. His suggested work involved frequent travelling to Kebeles, with little time for his own work, family, social responsibilities and leisure. One of the achievements he mentioned was catching thieves who stole a lorry with onions and sold it in Addis Ababa; they were sentenced to 7-15 years prison. Another wereda councillor has a diploma from a private college in Shashemene in social sciences. He started a degree course in sociology in the extension programme of a private college in Shashemene but dropped out as he was working as Kebele manager and did not have the time. Before that he had also worked as an assistant DA and in the wereda agricultural bureau. He was involved in mobilising funds for the construction of the wereda hall. Model farmers were to contribute from 1000 to 2000 birr. Some *iddirs* contributed 100 to 300 birr. He also mentioned that there was good participation for the construction of the HP and school in the Kebele. He was concerned with the low attendance and participation in meetings and the problem of theft which it had been more difficult to address since the policemen had been reassigned to work on the question of the separation of Wendo and Shashemene weredas. He was overburdened with work as he is councillor and Kebele manager, which involves a lot of work. However his role as Wereda councillor is not all that demanding as it only involves four or five days ever two or three months. His parents and siblings live in Wetera and he sometimes visits them though he does not have time to socialise. He noted that representatives to the council are often absent and feels that there should be incentives to energise the people's representatives.

Kebele structures and personnel

The Kebele structure has changed since 2003 as there is now the speaker of the Kebele council and the Kebele manager. There is also a vice chairman and whereas in 2003 there were only 3 committees, there are now five sectors: health, education, development, peace and security and political organisation (see charts below)

Figure 4: Turufe Kebele Structure 2003

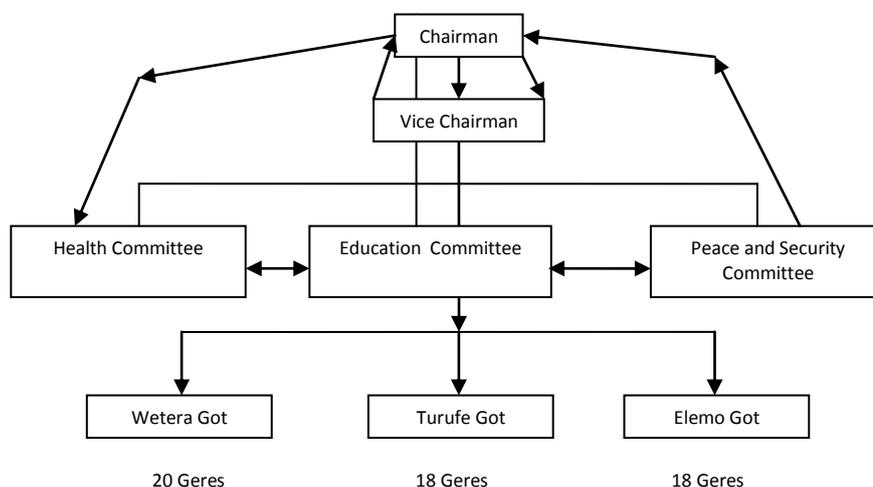
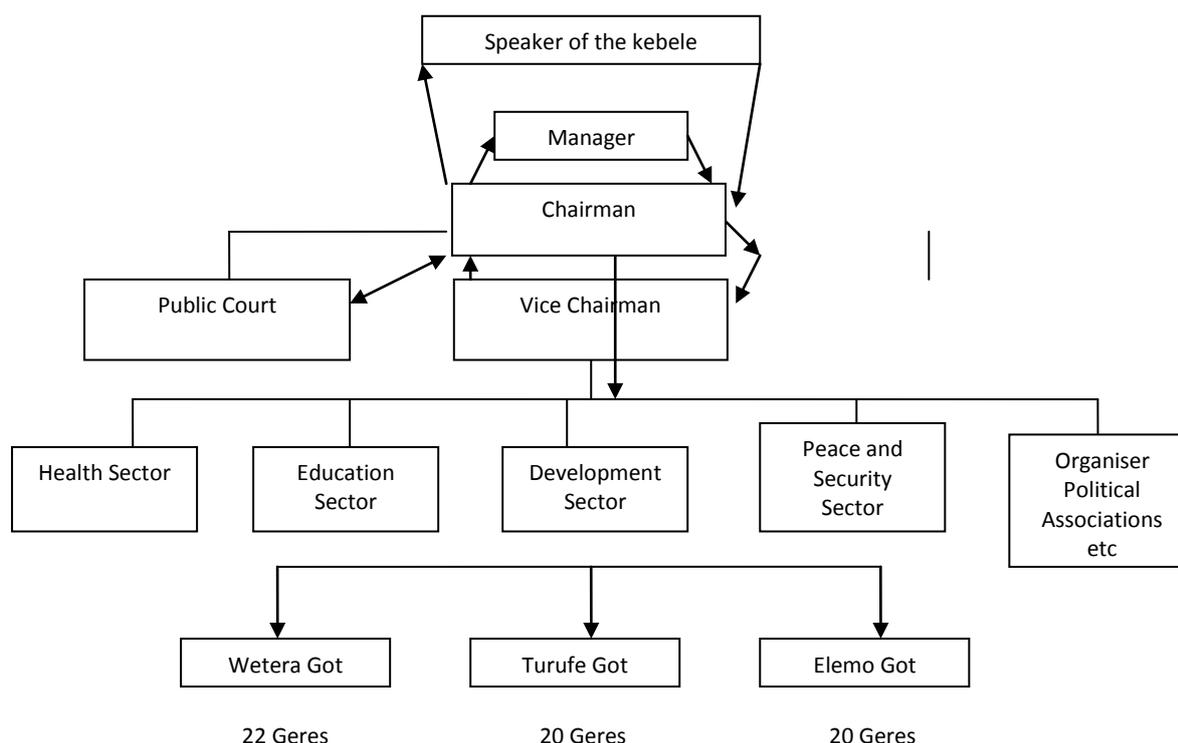


Figure 5: Turufe Kebele Structure 2010



At the **sub-Kebele level** there are three further levels. The first level is the *gots* that are territorial and residential divisions, of which there are three corresponding to sub-areas. The *Gots* are sometimes referred to as zones, with two *gots* within them. Within each *got* there are a number of *gere*, the second level of teams through which development activities are organized. The number of *Geres* has increased slightly as there were between 18 and 20 and there are now between 20 and 22. The third level are cells which include about ten households.

The Kebele **cabinet** used to have four members but since 2007 has seven positions, five of which are named positions: the kebele chairman, DA, HEW, School representative and the manager. The **Kebele chairman** has completed 12th grade and was trained as a DA; he worked as a public hired teacher and assistant DA in another Kebele. He has been taking a course at a private college in Shashemene in human resource management. This was his second time in office, and he complained that he did not have time for his own work and that whereas the Chairman used to have a salary, now on the cabinet only the Manager and HEWs have salaries. He tries to work most days but is mainly available in the office on Mondays and Thursdays. He said he would rather work as a DA as they get salaries. He saw as major achievements the construction of two primary schools and the HP through community contributions and with support from NGOs. Making the four water point functional and distribution of communal land to the youth were other significant achievements. Among constraints in his job he mentioned lack of resource even of stationery, men not coming to meetings, especially at harvest time, and women due to household work and fear of speaking in public, lack of credit and in particular, unlike in the past, no credit for fertiliser and selected seeds. He says he is overburdened doing his job as chairman, farming, studying at weekend, and looking after his family and relies on the vice chairman for some work. He suggests that since the Kebele is vast it should be divided into two to reduce the burden of work on the cabinet.

The Kebele vice-chairman has completed 9th grade, and has worked as the head of the social court, a militiaman, and was chairman of the Kebele, but left the job as he was building a house in Shashemene and he was imprisoned for five days for refusing to work. He said the main role of the

vice-chairman focused on development work, collecting taxes and contributions and replacing the chairman as needed. Among his achievements he mentioned facilitating the construction of a bridge between Turufe and Filicha Kebeles, and the collection of money for the electrification. His current concerns include raising funds for the road from Kuyera to Kofele and addressing the problem of youth unemployment. He would also like the government to take more stringent measures against criminals. He would like to continue the education he interrupted and become involved in trade in towns such as Shashemene.

The **Kebele manager** has been in place since August 2007. The current manager is from Wetera but lives in Kuyera. He has a diploma in social sciences from a private college, has been an assistant DA and agricultural officer. He is also the wereda councillor. He became a manager since he now gets 800 birr almost double his previous salary. According to the chairman the Kebele manager can make decisions on all matters except financial issues. Community members no longer need to write applications to the Kebele. There are different formats ready in the kebele and the applicant is only asked to fill in a short note in the appropriate format and put a signature. If the applicant cannot write, the manager fills the format and makes the applicant sign. Then if the matter doesn't need the decision of the chairman the manager can give a decision immediately and send the applicant back. Throughout the weekdays the kebele office is open unless the manager is called for a meeting. The Kebele manager mentioned that he prepares the Kebele plan which he discusses with the cabinet and presents to the community and modifies based on their comments. He works closely with the extension workers. For instance he was involved in using the *geres* to mobilise children to go to school, and supported the DA on his interventions. He has been trying to convince *iddirs* to open bank accounts and have grain stores. The main achievements he mentioned include starting a filing system and simplifying the applications procedures and mobilising the community for school building. Among challenges he mentioned lack of resources such as stationery paper to draw graphs, which he buys from his own pocket, lack of a transport allowance since he lives in Kuyera (he has bought a bicycle); resistance to the building of schools and the HP, limited community attendance at meetings, requiring warnings that people will be punished or not get services if they do not attend. He mentioned that wereda officials sometimes complain that development activities are not well done and assume this is due to weaknesses of the Kebele officials rather than community resistance. He complained about lack of annual leave and lack of anyone to cover for him if he falls sick and suggests it would be better if there were two additional persons assigned who could write application letters and do other work. He plans to leave the job if he finds a better one and would also like to resume his studies.

The Kebele has four **sub committees**: Education, Health, Anti- HIV/AIDS and Peace. The number of members for each sub-committee ranges from 5-7. Leaders are elected and each sub-committee is led by one cabinet member or at least one kebele official. In some sub-committees like the Anti-HIV and education sub-committee women are involved. They are supposed to meet every month but may have extra meetings. Minutes tend to be kept in the homes of the secretaries. The Anti- HIV sub-committee has held awareness raising campaigns among the community members in 1998, 1999 and 2000. The education sub-committee has successfully mobilised the community to contribute for the building of a new school. The Health sub-committee has gone from door to door and has taught about HIV and AIDS, family planning and sanitation.

Justice and governance

At the wereda level the customary **Aba Gada institution** was formalised as a committee, which sends members to kebeles to settle disputes even some that ended in death. Wereda officials considered that Turufe was doing relatively well in this respect, and two persons from the Kebele were elected to serve on the wereda Gada institution.

The **Social court** has three members who were elected in 2009. The court deals mainly with interpersonal conflicts for instance over land borders, family conflicts, and return of loans. They deal

with cases involving up to 500 birr, and more serious cases and especially ones involving murder are dealt with by the wereda. The customary institution of elders has been supporting the social court in its work.

There is a **militia** composed of 60 men who were recruited and provided six days training but no further action was taken and they do not have uniforms, shoes, arms or ammunition, and lack remuneration except for the per diems they get when they take criminals to the police station. A group of older girls suggested that their work has resulted in a decline in theft and antisocial activities. One person who used to be known as a thief was said to have changed his behaviour. However, the older boys group suggested that theft of grain and livestock was continuing.

The **community police** was established in 2009. The wereda was aware that Turufe experienced problems with theft and banditry and the community police was supposed to establish security zones corresponding to the *gere* structure, although the role of the community police has not been functional due to lack of resources.

There had been a **peace committee** established in 2005 with five members headed by the Kebele chairman who controlled the activities of the militia but it is reportedly no longer functioning. A woman working on the legal advice committee mentioned that the Kebele manager sends cases relating to women and children to the legal committee. If the committee cannot resolve the case they send it to the social court, which sends it on to the wereda if it cannot resolve it.

There seems to be a general dissatisfaction with the conditions relating to **justice** among community members. In particular the problem of theft has been serious although some improvement was mentioned. A middle wealth man suggested that though they elected people for community policing they did not get enough training and are not doing anything. The **militia** lack armaments or these are old or they lack ammunition. A middle wealth woman complained that although the number of thieves has decreased, the militia are not available on time when youths perform anti-social acts. She also suggested that because the perpetrators have supporters action is not taken against them. A poor man complained that cattle and crops are stolen and the militia and community police are powerless and have no armaments to defend themselves let alone the people. He claimed justice can be 'bent' and that reporting cases to the Kebele **social court** can sometimes backfire through inside information and the perpetrators could threaten a person who denounces them. A poor woman mentioned that it was difficult to get thieves convicted as the police require witnesses. A woman who had had crops stolen said that one of the thieves had reformed his behaviour and is living peacefully whereas another died.

According to wereda officials, compared to the other kebeles, the community in Turufe pays land **tax** on time and willingly. Other cash contributions which are paid at the same time as the land tax once a year include for Oromia development, schools, sport, and road building. The wereda was also able to build a meeting hall for which contributions were collected. Market taxes are obligatory for a person when he/she sell sheep, cow or oxen in the market. Cash contributions for schools are made every year with the land tax since 2008. The contribution is used for school building, running costs or facilitation, and the salary of public hired teacher. The Oromia development contribution has also been paid since 2008 with the land tax. The amount of the contribution depends on the size of the land holding. The road building tax was to build an all-weather road from Kuyera to Aredano Shifo. There are sometimes additional contributions required such as for the wereda assembly hall for which Turufe has contributed 11,000 birr in 2008. There are also contributions expected for the women's association, women's league, youth association and/or league.

Among community members there seemed to be an appreciation of the need for taxation among the better off, though a desire for more consultation about the amount and use of contributions for development. A rich farmer stated: "tax can be decided by the government, but before other contributions are fixed from the federal government or regional government the people have to discuss and fix the amount of the contribution. I think the community has the right to know

government programmes and has to prioritize their needs accordingly". A middle wealth farmer said that many people complain about the contributions along with the tax. However, labour contributions are not carried out much these days. A middle wealth female headed household suggested that taxes and contributions could be improved if community needs were taken into consideration. She argued that if their needs were given more consideration they would be interested to contribute on time. She felt this was particularly important for labour contributions. A poor female headed household suggested that a committee or a group of individuals should be selected from the community to follow up on what activities the contributed money has been spent. A poor farmer complained that even though the tax is based on land holding sizes the poor find it difficult to pay. Likewise a poor female headed household said that as she was sharecropping out her land she sometimes did not have the money at hand. The tax collector explained that they collect taxes after the harvest but that people still complain although the amount is fixed by higher bodies. He suggested that the land tax can be a guarantee of land holding. He felt the system could be improved if the community was involved in planning, prioritising and implementing the development interventions and in deciding on the amount of contributions.

Other structures and positions

The **women's association** has not been very active. Contributions of three birr were collected and given to the wereda though in 2006 three members from Turufe and 30 from Elemo resigned. According to the head of the women's association they also raised voluntary contributions of five birr in case a member's house is destroyed by fire. However, since people were not paying contributions, *gere* leaders were used to go from house to house. Due to the delay the association leader sometimes pays the remaining contribution from her own pocket and then gets it back when people pay. She mentioned that women are dissatisfied since the association is largely inactive and has little to offer and the plan to obtain loans from the wereda failed. The chairperson is also involved in the legal advice committee twice a week, the HTP prevention committee and is also the secretary of two *iddirs*. She mentioned that women are often afraid to report violence or cases that concern them to the legal advice committee. She added that although abduction, early marriage and rape are no longer prevalent domestic servants are at risk of abuse, and do not report cases. She said that female circumcision is no longer practised openly but some people are circumcising girls secretly. Overall she felt that the kebele do not give due value to the women's association, and has only provided them with a room and no assistance to organize or strengthen the association which exists only by name.

The **youth association** has 600 registered members but few pay the contributions of 3.25 to the wereda. There has been a high turnover of leaders since they tend to go to zones to find jobs; for instance three elected members in 2009 left seeking jobs. One young man in his late 20s said that the wereda came to register the landless youth and hold elections, but since nothing much happened thereafter and there were no regular meetings or teaching the youth leaders began to leave to look for work. Members do not come to meetings since there is no place for them to meet and the association shares a room. The head of the Youth Association completed 12th grade and teacher training college and has been a teacher and director. When the school run by an NGO was taken over by government he was not accepted to continue with the work. The major activity of the youth association has been to organise three groups of youth and obtain land from the communal grazing land despite some community opposition; one group is planting seedlings, another working on a forestry area, and the third producing vegetables and fruit. A young woman who is part of one of the groups expressed concerns that not all the group members may be fully committed which might affect the success, or that it may take time for the group to develop a sense of responsibility and a good collective working spirit.

The youth association has been involved in a wereda initiative to provide unemployed youth an ID card certifying that they are jobless, live in the Kebele, have not committed crimes, have a good character and are looking for work. However, some respondents mentioned that the card on its own

does not really solve their problem, and that they would hope that income-generating activities would be promoted. There was scepticism expressed about the role of the YA. One young man in his late 20s said that they only collect fees and do little else, whereas a woman in her late 20s said that all the initiatives were in urban areas, and apart from the communal land for a few there were no other initiatives; she added that they would like skills training and loans. Another woman in her teens felt that NGOs should be more involved in helping the youth with educational opportunities and training rather than just supporting children. She felt that only youth from richer families were able to have further educational possibilities and that if the government provided training and income-generating opportunities as is done in urban areas the youth would not have to migrate away.

The role of NGOs and missions

Due largely to its proximity to the towns of Shashemene and Kuyera where NGOs and missions have established bases, Turufe has benefited from some interventions from non-government sources. Already in the imperial period a leprosy centre established by foreign missions attracted a number of migrant persons affected by leprosy who settled in the area, some of who are still there. According to the wereda the Catholic mission has been supporting the community in development works including building schools and erecting a bridge that connects the Elemo area with Turufe. The Kerara Children and Community Aid project also known as the Arsi Community Development Project supported children through a sponsorship programme funded by the Christian Children's Fund. The project provided vitamins and protein rich food and education materials, and assistance to children with tuition fees and support for the extension of Kuyera high school. When the project was about to be phased out the NGO organised the families of children it supported providing them seed money to set up a revolving credit fund. Other NGOs and donors involved in education included Kind Hearts Child Aid Development Organisation which built a school in Turufe, an NGO called Compassion which helped children providing exercise books, uniforms and clothing, some pre-primary education support and covering of tuition fees, as well as some support to the families of the children. CDI provided support for building a school. The Catholic mission provided support for iron sheets and a fence for one of the schools. Several NGOs have been involved in health care with a focus on reproductive health and HIV/AIDS. African Human Action trained health promoters focusing on family planning, HIV/AIDS and HTPs. The Adventist Development and Relief Agency also focused on similar issues. The Catholic mission has a clinic which is popular with Turufe residents, particularly for eye treatment when the foreign doctors come, and they also provide occasional support in cases of emergencies since they can be contacted by mobile and for instance sent a car to take a woman to hospital. World Vision was said to have provided some support when the rains failed last year.

Ideas

Repertoires in Turufe

There are a number of contrasting and sometimes allying or competing cultural repertoires that inform the values, beliefs and knowledge of Turufe residents and underlie some their actions.

In the **local customary repertoire** households are led by older male heads and there is a clear gender and age hierarchy. Households seek to fulfil the ideal of becoming self-sufficient by having enough land and a couple of oxen to feed the household, raise children and give them endowments for marriage. Both boys and girls should be circumcised, and households devote much energy and resources to celebrating life cycle events, especially marriage and death and religious events.

However, Turufe is a community that has several sub-communities with some common and other different values within the customary repertoire. Generally patriarchal values are common. The main distinctions are between the Oromo and southern migrants on the one hand and the migrants from the North on the other, although there are also cultural differences between the Oromo and

the southern migrants. Differences are also in part related to and overlap with religious distinctions. The differences between the northern migrants and the rest relate largely to family structures and marriage patterns. Among the Oromo who are predominantly Muslim the ideal household pattern involves a successful senior male household head marrying a second wife later in life and having a second family, with three-generation households. Moreover, according to Oromo custom when a husband dies his wife is 'inherited' by his brother. Girls are circumcised shortly before marriage, and considerable bride wealth livestock payments to the father of the bride from the groom's family are customary. In contrast among the Amhara and Tigrayan migrants girls as well as boys are circumcised shortly after birth, parents seek to endow children on marriage, divorce and remarriage is not uncommon, and three generation families rare. Household and marriage patterns among the southern migrants are largely similar to those among the Oromo. This repertoire highlights shared values of family and customary religious norms and shuns a focus on individual interests and achievements.

The local **modern repertoire** involves a greater engagement with the external world starting with education which is seen as a potential means to leave the land and the farming world and find jobs preferably in towns. The proximity of Turufe to the towns of Shashemene and Kuyera make the attraction of this repertoire strong particularly among the youth. This repertoire advocates adopting new technologies, working closely with extension services using fertiliser and improved seeds and breeds, adopting modern medicine, rejecting customary medical practices and beliefs, and using contraceptives. The modern repertoire also highlights gender equality and women's rights and condones rather than represses individualism. It celebrates individual rather than group achievement and values forms and expressions of enrichment that are not defined in traditional terms of increasing livestock but rather in acquiring modern consumer goods, food and improving housing, with corrugated iron roofs, separate livestock sheds and kitchens, aspirations to better household furniture and symbols of wealth and prosperity expressed in the possession of electronic goods such as tape recorders and TVs.

The competing religious repertoires are based on **Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Protestant Christianity**. There is a large degree of overlap between religious and ethnic repertoires with the Oromo being mainly Muslims and the Amhara and Tigrayan migrants being largely Orthodox Christian. Among the southern migrants most though not all are Protestants. However, there are exceptions as well as some interethnic marriages as some conversions, particularly among the male Oromo youth attracted to Protestant churches causing concern among the Muslim elders. There have been signs of considerable religious tolerance. For instance savings groups for the Meskel festival include Orthodox Christians as well as Muslims and whereas the former purchase and slaughter an ox together for the festival, the savings of the Muslims are given back to them to use as they wish. However, there have also been signs of growing fundamentalisms among all three major religious groups. Muslims have built additional mosques with external funding and built links among the Muslim community. Assisting those in need is strongly embedded in the ideologies of all the religions with the Orthodox Christians providing charity at churches and food to the poor at monthly *mehaber* and the Muslims at mosques and during annual festivals. Protestant groups have been assisted by NGOs particularly focusing on child sponsorship. There are also Adventists and Catholic missions that have provided support to the community.

Repertoires of **Ethnic belonging** are largely linked to native and migrant statuses. Migrants tend to seek to marry from among migrants from the same ethnic group and men among the migrants may 'import' wives from their native areas. As noted in the outline of the religious repertoires there is a high degree of overlap of ethnic and religious repertoires with the Oromo being mainly Muslims, the Amhara and Tigrayan migrants being largely Orthodox Christian, and the southern migrants often Protestants. There have been a number of interethnic marriages particularly between Oromo men and migrant women from the south who have a reputation of being hard working. Some forms of organisation did take on an ethnic garb. For instance the cattle herding groups were formed partly

on the basis of ethnicity and the four groups were known by the name of the dominant ethnic group and in the case of the Tigrayan cattle herding group only included Tigrayans. Ethnic identity has also been related to political power. The Kambata had been associated with the Derg regime and with its downfall most of them were evicted. Under the EPRDF with regionalisation linked to ethnicity the Oromo became dominant in positions of authority, and access to the few jobs available was dependent on ethnic identity. The migrants, particularly those from the north, felt insecure at the time of elections fearing that they might become victims of expulsion if opposition parties gained power.

Revolutionary democracy as advocated by the government and party involves developing the human resources of the peasants to escape poverty and improve their living standards. The main activities are infrastructure development, modernising smallholder agriculture and livestock rearing, a preventive health service to reduce diseases, vigorous promotion of education with a focus on primary education, and developing a modern security and justice sector. The collective rights of the people are important, including the rights of women; the rights of individuals are associated with perceived injustices and inequality between social classes. Mobilising people through campaigns down to small cells of a few households is viewed as the major means of achieving these objectives, and participation is often equated with following directives and emulating models of achievement at community, household and individual levels. This has involved working with, recompensing and giving prizes and certificates of recognitions to model farmers and other social categories who adopt packages and are highly successful in their productive and reproductive activities.

Donor models in Turufe are largely mediated through the presence of **NGOs and missions**. These have been working mainly in the fields of education, health, gender and HTPs. Some of these initiatives have gone along in tandem with government initiatives. However, on the whole some of the NGO initiatives took place prior to government interventions and were then taken over by government structures. Thus the government took over the schools that the NGOs initially established and the HEW took over the work of the Health promoters trained and funded by NGOs to work on family planning, HIV/AIDS and HTPs. In some of the work on gender and HTPs in particular there was coordination between the wereda and NGO activities, as there were shared concerns to bring about changes to values anchored in the local customary repertoires.

We have seen that in some respects certain repertoires overlap with others and some form alliances against others. Thus the government and donor/NGO repertoires share common premises on the need for changes in gender relations in opposition to the local customary repertoire, and the former took over certain activities of the later. The religious and ethnic repertoires have a strong overlap and are partly related to the local customary repertoires, although the differences between religious and ethnic groups can be fault lines between sub-communities, which become more apparent in times of uncertainties. The Protestant values also tended to be identified with the modern and NGO repertoires, in opposition to the local customary repertoires and the other religious values.

How the government acts on the field of ideas

The government acts on the field of ideas through a range of means and specific interventions that have the potentials to affect for how people think about things and the actions they take.

The main way in which government ideas are promoted is through the **extension programme** in which the extensions workers are the lynchpins and play a key role. In Agriculture the deployment of **Development Agents** was strengthened with a model of three in each Kebele, one specialising in crops, another in livestock and the third in natural resources. However, in Turufe there was no DA assigned for natural resources and the one for livestock was assigned to a neighbouring area. An important tool of the extension programmes has been to work through **model farmers** to promote ideas and practices in particular the packages. The rationale is that the extension workers cannot cover all the households and that working with a few more enlightened farmers is the best way to encourage a demonstration effect. In many cases the model farmers tend to be among the

wealthier, literate, the better connected and are usually male. Model farmers tend to have close relations with the DAs to the extent that some other farmers complain that they are privileged, received extra and special support and even that the extension services are only aimed at them. Some even go so far as to suggest that the government agents are promoting the model farmers for their own benefit. Many of the model farmers are dynamic, progressive and committed to change. Model farmers are given certificates and sometimes prizes and used to get preferential treatment when in-kind services were provided with or without credit. However, the DAs no longer go around to work with model farmers as they used to but rely on demonstration plots. The DAs also no longer are involved in providing credit for fertiliser or seed since these are provided through the unions to cooperatives. As one farmer put it: *“Model farms become models through their own efforts not through government support as they buy the fertiliser and seeds on their own, though the DA does provide expertise”*. One linked further element of the model approach is the establishment of **Farmers Training Centres**. Although the one in Turufe has been built, it lacks equipment and materials and in practice is closed and currently is not being used.

In the health sector a major change has been the introduction of **Health Extension Workers** with two female Health Extension Workers in each Kebele focusing on preventive health care. Since Turufe is a large Kebele it has been assigned two HEWs, one of whom is the head of the HP (a in mid-2010 two further HEWs were assigned in Wetera so that the two assigned to the Kebele now work only in Turufe and Elemo). **Health promoters** had already been sponsored by NGOs to work on family planning, HTPs, and HIV/AIDS, and they continued to work with HEWs that took over some of their roles since the NGO programmes were phased out. In Education the government took over the schools established by the NGOs. The schools and the education curriculum is of course in its own right a key tool in the promotion and diffusion of ideas.

Another concept that has gained prominence in the government discourse is **graduation** from packages and programmes, as a measure of success. Farmers are said to graduate out of poverty, and households graduate from health extension packages by completing digging latrines, improving weight of children through nutrition programmes etc. Extension workers have tended to be evaluated on the number or percentage of people that completed packages and graduated, placing pressure on filling **targets or quotas** often set by the Wereda by sector, although there has been a move for plans to start at the Kebele level and be negotiated with the Wereda. The pressure to “graduate” farmers and households was a concern of extension workers and some pointed out that graduation did not necessarily mean acceptance and conviction.

Other ways in which ideas for development have been promoted include **training** of both extension staff and model farmers in various activities. All the extension workers had been on training courses on a range of topics for different durations lasting from a day to several weeks beyond their formal training for the jobs. Another approach advocated is **experience sharing** visits to model areas where particular programmes have been successful. Selected farmers who were considered influential were involved in trainings in Shashemene and in exchange visits to surplus producing weredas.

At sub-kebele level in particular, **party structures** have been important elements of mobilising people for **campaigns**, for collective labour and raising resources. The sub-kebele structure of *gere* has been instrumental for mobilisation for political and development purposes. However, an attempt to use the *gere* structure to organise collective labour at harvesting faced popular resistance.

Another major way in which the government has sought to promote and achieve its objectives in a way which has a long history in Ethiopia is through **campaigns** often designed at a federal level, sometimes adapted at a regional level, and then taken to a Wereda level and implemented at the Kebele level. The most important campaigns in Turufe related to gender relations and the topic of harmful traditional practices. This issue received much publicity and strong campaigns particularly relating to women’s rights. The wereda established HTP prevention committees in each Kebele,

comprising five persons, including women's representatives and elders. The committee also provides legal advice and members participated in trainings once a year organised by the wereda women's affairs bureau. The committee provides services two days a week. The wereda officials felt that since the committee members are short of time and have other commitments it would be useful if they could benefit from incentives, and if penalties for those guilty of committing offences were more severe. The campaigns focused on specific issues, notably polygyny, widow inheritance and female circumcision. According to the HEW in the campaign three selected women from different kebeles, including Turufe, who got married without being circumcised were presented and spoke of the advantages of avoiding circumcision when delivering children. The objective was to present the selected women as models so that others would be encouraged to ensure that the next generation and their children are not circumcised. The selected women were given prizes. Some key community members attended the campaign and later taught the community at different meetings. Moreover, a pensioned former health worker who was found circumcising a girl was imprisoned and fined. In one wealthy large household whose head is a health promoter only the oldest daughter is circumcised whereas the second aged 21 is not.

Social interactions in 2010

Extra-community

Interactions between Turufe and surrounding areas are related largely to the market and employment opportunities in the nearby towns of Kuyera and Shashemene. The towns are places in which many among the younger generation find work mainly in the informal sector and where some have settled. These urban-rural linkages are also important for access to services. Particularly among the better off residents of Turufe access to better quality private education both in terms of pre-school and secondary and tertiary education in the towns is important and relatives in the towns are able to house and look after children going to school. Likewise wealthier Turufe residents go to the town to access private health care.

The Turufe community has been able to mobilise with neighbouring communities on issues of concern such as for instance the opposition to moving the hospital from Kuyera to Shashemene. For the campaign funeral associations from Turufe and other Kebeles in the area sponsored the representatives who went to argue their case at the regional level.

With regard to external interventions the community was keen on gaining access to electricity, and raised part of the money for this. Obtaining piped water and improving the supply was also an important priority particularly for those living near to the centre. In terms of agriculture there is limited potential for irrigation, although some households with land near the seedlings nursery benefitted. A few households bought cross-bred cows and some purchase fertilizer and improved seeds, whereas others have learnt to produce compost. A change in attitudes towards using latrines dug through campaigns seems to have been given a boost by two epidemics of Acute Watery Diarrhea, and those using latrines after the first outbreak were said to have been less affected the second time round.

Turufe has been a scene of much promotion by government and NGOs of women's rights and in particular campaigns against HTPs; there seem to have been changes in attitudes and behavior over women's rights to land and violence against women, notably in relation to female circumcision and abduction. There has also been an emphasis on family planning with NGOs training reproductive health workers and the HEWs promoting a range of contraceptives, though the extent to which this is resulting in changes in behavior remains to be seen. NGOs have also been involved in assistance to poor children and their families, providing support with education and setting up a savings and credit scheme.

Intra-community

Within the Kebele of Turufe-Elemo-Wetera, the central part of Turufe, which was villagised and has access to electricity and communal water points, the Kebele centre, two new schools, the Health Post and the grinding mill, is clearly better off in terms of access to services than the rest of the Kebele. During the villagisation at the time of the Derg it is said that many of the settlers were migrants. With the collapse of the Derg many of the Oromo were said to have returned to their farm areas further from the centre.

Turufe has been known as a place where there is insecurity due to groups of youths stealing crops and livestock; there have also been attacks on people going to market. There seems to have been some improvement in security with thieves brought to justice, although there has been a sense that it is difficult to catch and convict wrongdoers without tangible evidence, and there have also been allegations that some youths involved in anti-social behaviour were protected by people in power. Landlessness of the youth and limited employment opportunities have been a source of tensions which may in part explain the problems with theft and banditry. The provision of some land for youth to engage in forestry, the production of seedlings and vegetables and fruit did cause some conflict as they were given land from the communal grazing areas. This has provided some opportunities for three youth groups including some 150 youths; however, this may be unlikely to offer adequate solutions given the continued lack of opportunities for the younger generation, and there is a sense that support and initiatives from the wereda are rather limited.

Internal conflicts within the community did surface between some richer households with connections to the leadership who put in private water taps, and charged people higher rates for accessing water. The issue came to the attention of the wereda and the private taps were closed and converted to communal ones. Ethnic differences do not seem to have raised serious problems recently although in the past the association of the Kambata with the Derg created a context for their expulsions. Some of the migrant groups have been successful in gaining access to more land and assets, and on average migrants from the North are somewhat better off. To some extent migrant groups stick with people from their own group for certain activities such as joint herding, though some forms of association are also based on religious interaction and neighbourhood work groups. The migrants as a whole did express a sense of uneasiness about their status in 2005 at the time of the elections, fearing possible further expulsions should the opposition come to power. However, many longer term established migrants have had their status as residents confirmed through gaining land certificates, and even more recent and more temporary migrants have been able to gain ID cards through employers for whom they work as labourers. Some of the more established migrants tend to seek to develop links in urban areas and to send their children for education and work to towns.

Differences in religion did not lead to serious tensions until recently and there were associations such as funeral associations and savings groups that involved people from different religions. However, all three religions have been subject to external fundamentalist influences and there have been tensions such as a case of a woman expelled from a funeral association because her children converted to Protestantism and more recently concerns among Muslim leaders about conversion of young men to Protestantism.

Social actors

Two investors have shown an interest in Turufe. One of them paid part of the costs for bringing electricity to the village, and installed a grinding mill. The other was given 15 hectares of land from the communal grazing area but has not sorted out the agreement to start using the land and had returned to Canada where he lives leaving a person to act as his representative. Some people from Turufe have emigrated to neighbouring countries and the Gulf states and a few have sent remittances. Some youth particularly young women from Turufe have started working on flower

farms and have been sending remittances, which have enabled their families to improve their livelihoods.

There are a number of households led by energetic and dynamic heads who have become prosperous through production and sale of agricultural produce, and a few who bought cross-bred cows and are earning well from selling milk. There are also a few households who have also prospered from trade and some men with skills such as carpenters can earn well as migrants, and some women earn good income from the production of distilled alcohol sold in the towns. A few of the wealthier households have built houses in the towns. An influential farmer opened a bar in Kuyera town.

Other successful men have gained status and some influence among community members through involvement in modern institutions of the government in particular the Kebele, with its Cabinet, and the Council, the militia, the Social Court, the Community Police, the Parents-Teachers Association, the various Kebele committees, and at the sub-kebele level the *gere* system through the party structure.

Among the elders some men are recognised and respected as customary and/or spiritual leaders with a following. They may be leaders of the *iddir* funeral association, among the Muslims leaders of the mosques among the Orthodox Christians involved in running *mehaber* associations dedicated to particular saints, and among the Protestants involved with missions. One of the Muslim religious leaders was a former wereda administrator and a head of one of the mosques.

With the expansion of extension services the presence of government employees has been another area where external influences have been felt. There is the Kebele manager, a Development Agent, two Health Extension Workers (and since mid-2010 four), a principal and several teachers. Some of them have been involved in passing on skills to community members such as with the health promoters and model farmers. The extent to which these workers, many of who do not see themselves as belonging to the community are involved in community affairs and influence peoples' values and beliefs remains to be seen.

The society in Turufe is fairly inclusive though there are many poor people. These households are often characterised by lack of land, livestock, limited assets, poor housing, and sometimes have fallen off the ideal household cycle, or suffered from economic shocks, such as crops losses or livestock deaths, social shocks such as divorce or death, and health shocks such as injury and disability. They are also characterised by less involvement in community formal and customary institutions. There are youth who have not been able to set up their own households due to poor endowments, and elderly who do not have relatives to support them. Though the poor are less involved in customary and formal institutions and benefit less from interventions, there are no truly excluded groups and the poor and destitute obtain help from neighbours and charity from religious institutions.

Migrants living as household labourers are among the poorest. They may work for very little pay, and in particular the women may be subject to sexual abuse. If they have children they may find it particularly difficult to find work, and their children may not go to school, suffer from hunger and be condemned to a similar life of dependency and subordination as their parents. However, a few migrant labourers are able to succeed to set up their own households if they are fortunate to find an employer who will sponsor them and act as their patron.