

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

COMMUNITY SITUATION 2010

DINKI, AMHARA REGION

STAGE 1 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 2



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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 Dinki in North Shewa, Amhara Region in 2010 using a number of different perspectives. The fieldwork which produced the database from which the report was written was undertaken in January and February 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). 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

Dinki was a Kebele in its own right in the early 1990s. It is currently one out of five *gots* (sub-kebele units) in Hagere Selam Kebele, the other *gots* being Addis Alem, Aygebir, Saramba and Gendawiha. Zego and Hagere Selam used to form one Kebele with nine *gots*, but the Kebele was very vast and Zego was made a separate Kebele in 1994.

Map 1: source WIDE3



There are 21 Kebeles in Ankober Wereda. In 2004 Dinki *Got* had a population of 169 registered land tax paying households and 689 people, though there were at least 15 landless female-headed households. Currently there are over 900 tax-paying households in Hagere Selam Kebele and a fairly large but unknown number who do not have land. Dinki got gained prominence due to its position near the river with the same name, although recently Chibite in Genda Wiha *got* has become the administrative centre where buildings have been constructed for the Kebele administration and extension services notably the Health Post and primary school have been located.

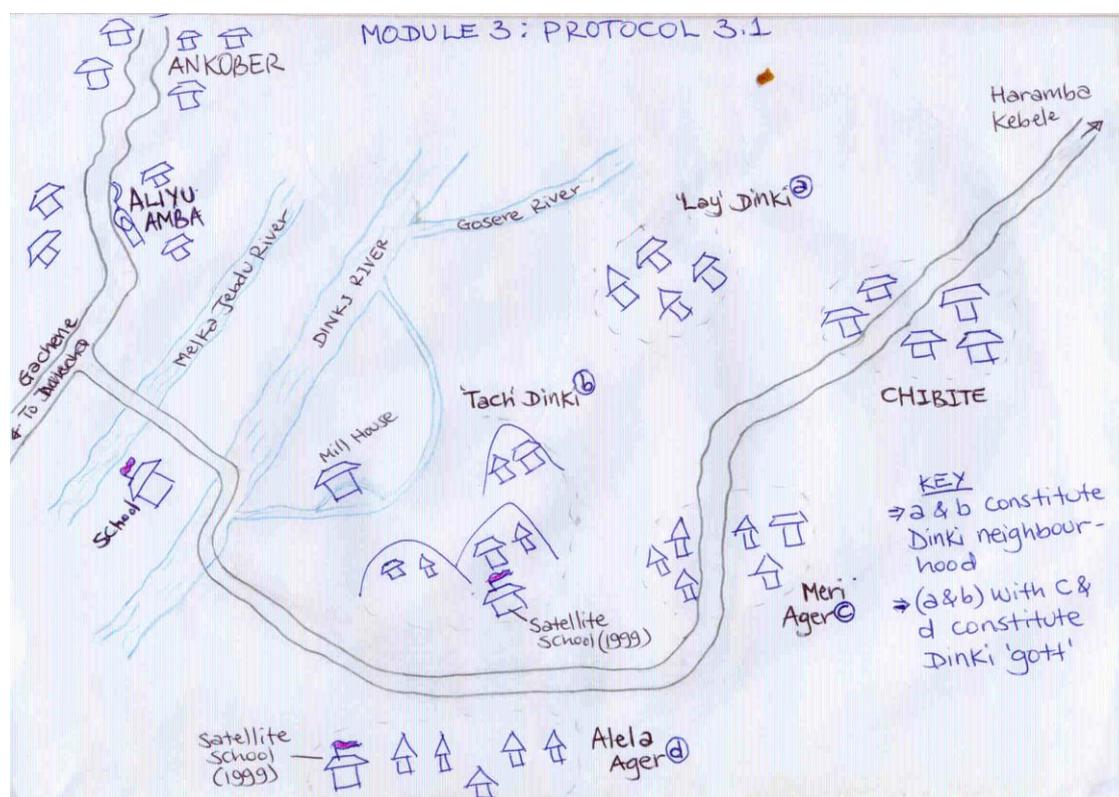
The area is located on the lower edges of the escarpment down to the Afar lowlands and was gradually settled by migrants from the highland plateau in the twentieth century, particularly during the late imperial period. Hagere Selam has a mixed population with about two-thirds being Argobba Muslims and one third Amhara Christians. Though the settlement pattern is mixed, the Amhara Christians predominantly occupy the western, northern, and part of the north-eastern edges of Dinki, beyond which lies the main Amhara population area, from where the sub-group descended and settled since the Imperial time. The middle, southern and south-eastern parts are settled by the majority Argobba Muslim sub-community, beyond which the area settled by the core Argobba population up to

the border of with Afar Region which includes an Argobba Special Wereda bordering on Hagere Selam Kebele. Over 20 percent of the households are headed by women and over half the population is under the age of twenty.

The topography is rugged and hilly and households are established in small scattered hamlets perched on the hillsides. The Kebele is larger than many – resulting in complaints from extension workers having to walk for several hours to get to the more distant *gots*. The kebele is bisected by Dinki river and the road to the Kebele crosses the Melka Jebdu river.

In terms of climate the Kebele being on the lower escarpments of a drought prone belt that runs north-south through the floor of the Rift Valley has a hot and fairly dry environment except during the main rainy season, and the area is dependent on production from the main *meher* production season since the short *belg* rains are not dependable, and often fluctuate in time and intensity, although there is a perception that even the long rains have become shorter and less intense.

Map 2: Source WIDE3



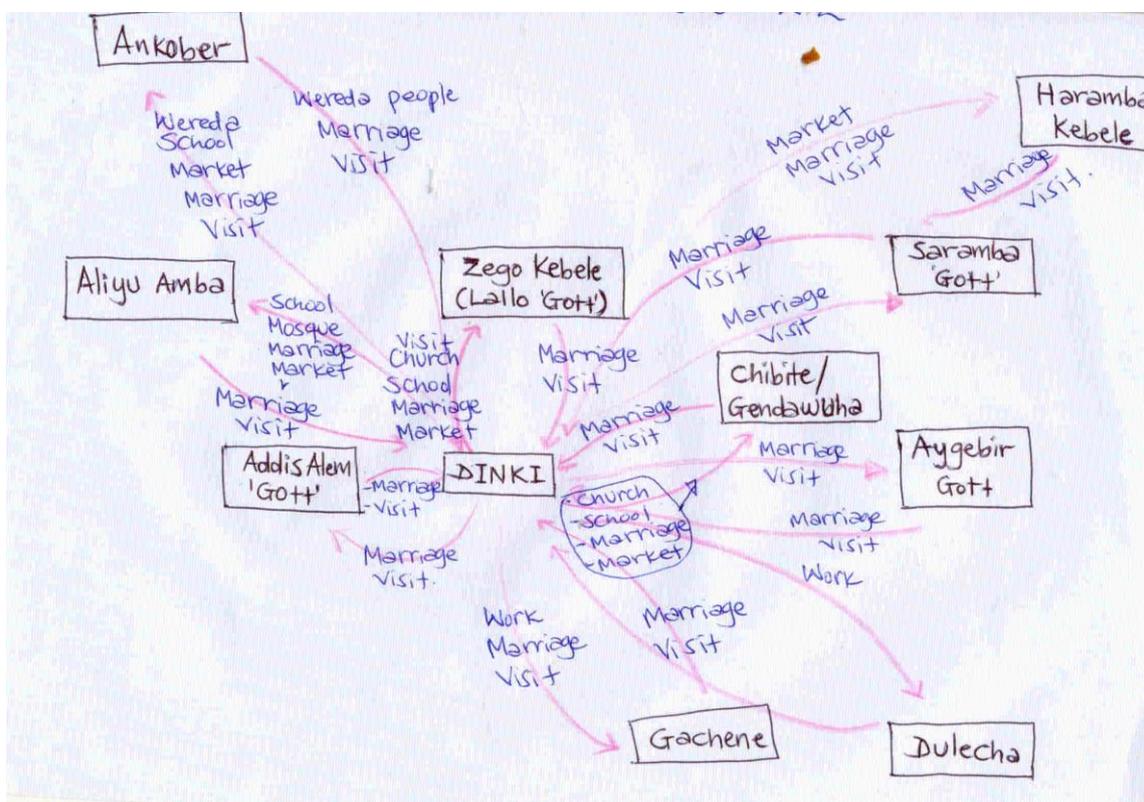
Farmers produce grain crops, mainly *tef*, sorghum and maize on rainfed land, as well as chickpeas, sunflower, sesame, soya beans, niger seed and cotton. There were droughts in 1984, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2008 and 2009, with those in 1984 and 2002 being the most serious, but seemingly and recent decrease in the periods between drought years. There have been a few good rainfed harvests since the early 1980s. The area has not been included as part of the PSNP since only seven of the Kebeles are considered drought prone. Food aid was provided in 2002, 2005, 2006, 2009 and 2010. However, the Wereda decided that food aid should be replaced for food work and a significant part of the community has more or less depended on food aid and food for work for part of their livelihood for many years.

In Dinki *got* there is good potential for irrigation for those with access to irrigable land near the river, who represent about a third of the households. They have been able to earn significant incomes from the sale of vegetables, especially onions, and fruit such as bananas, avocados and mangoes, and from the production of *chat* and coffee. The irrigation has meant better food security, improved

nutrition, and income for those with access, although it has meant more work often involving child labour. Some households have been affected by erosion that has eaten away their irrigated land. There is also a nursery near the river that provides seedlings including experimental varieties of spices and has been a source of wage labour for some households. Access to land is considered better than in some other kebeles in the Wereda though there is shortage of communal land for grazing and attempts to transform hillsides into forestry so far have been successfully resisted. Farmers keep cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys and chickens. A few wealthy households have recently bought some camels used for transport. There are limited local non-farm opportunities in the area; one person is the head of the nursery which providing some wage labour paid for in cash or through food for work. Some men are engaged in weaving and women in spinning, and exceptionally a few women also weave.

There is a dirt road off the road from Aliyu Amba to Dulecha in the Afar lowlands. The road to Dinki and beyond the river to Chibite has been maintained through food for work and there are plans to upgrade it with gravel, particularly given the proposed involvement of a Catholic NGO in irrigation development in Chibite. There is a satellite phone in Chibite which has not been working very well and in 2010 there was for the first some limited mobile phone access in a few areas as the wireless service started in Ankober. Given its scattered settlement pattern Hagere Selam is not on the Wereda priority list for electrification. There is a primary school in Chibite and two satellite schools were built in 2007. There is a Health Post and a Farmers' Training Centre in Chibite, and a veterinarian and a nurse have been stationed in the Kebele centre. The rivers are the main source of drinking water, though a spring in Chibite which was piped in 1992 by the Lutheran World Federation, broke down but has been fixed.

Community in context



Map 3: Source WIDE3

Dinki is eight kilometres from Aliyu Amba and 25 kilometres from Ankober, the Wereda capital. From Aliyu Amba it is three kilometre to the junction of the road to Dulecha and the Afar lowlands,

but a further seven kilometres to the Dinki River and *got*, crossing the Melka Jebdu River that does not have a bridge. However, since there is no regular transport inhabitants walk to Aliyu Amba using a short cut that takes them about two hours. The road is maintained from time to time through food for work and is due to be upgraded in part to exploit irrigation potential at Chibite.

According to Wereda officials, although Hagere Selam Kebele presents challenges due to the hilly terrain and rivers, and the vulnerability to drought and malaria, it is considered as having relatively better potential, given the irrigation, the seedlings nursery and improving infrastructure. However, the potential has not been developed to its full, partly since the road has been in a poor condition, though there are plans to improve it to exploit the irrigation potential in Chibite. Recent growing of cardamom was said to have the potential to bring significant profits. The main challenges relate to drought, water shortage, poor access due to limited transport and a difficult road, lack of water and malaria. There is no bridge on the river that crosses the kebele restricting access during the rains.

NGO involvement is not very significant in the Wereda, and their presence is very minimal in Hagere Selam Kebele; with the exception of the Catholic organization which has started to develop the irrigation in Chibite, no other NGO is involved on a longer term basis. ANFEE (Adults Non Formal Education in Ethiopia) constructed two classrooms and one room for an office for the school in Chibite. Carter Centre was involved in distributing bed nets for lowland Kebeles that are susceptible for malaria. Amhara Development Association (ADA) is working in family planning, and HAPCO is helping children who lost their parents to HIV/AIDS.

Dinki remains remote as it is off the road from Ankober to the Afar lowlands. There is some potential for expansion of irrigated agriculture though market linkages are still poor. Map 3 shows the marriage and economic linkages which people in Dinki have with other places.

In comparing the Kebele with others, Wereda officials mentioned its relative distance from the centre. Kebeles with greater access are doing better, whereas some are worse off than Dinki. However, the maintaining of the road last year and the plan to cover it with gravel this year will help. The remoteness also means that Hagere Selam is less attractive for extension staff. The Wereda officials point out that there are also differences within Hagere Selam Kebele. Two *gots* (including Dinki) have access to irrigation and are therefore in a better condition than other lowland areas. Two other *gots* face severe water shortages like other lowland areas.

Regarding sectoral activities Hagere Selam Kebele is considered better off in terms of employment opportunities, health services, and water, and average in terms of food security, education services, infrastructure; as with other kebeles there has been improvement in terms of governance and peace and security though according to the Wereda officials the people tend to expect to receive food for work; the two ethnic groups are perceived to be living in good harmony.

Key sub-systems: households in 2010

Household structures

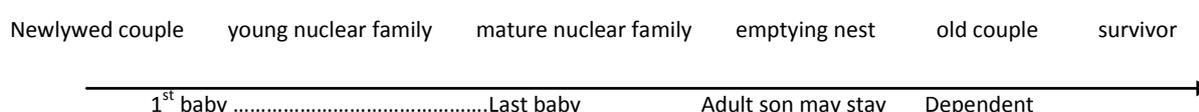
Households in these rural communities are small systems with three economic functions: to produce livelihoods; to reproduce household members on a daily basis, and, at certain stages in the household development cycle, to produce and raise children to work in the future. Their position in the local development 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.

Dinki is an ethnically and religiously mixed community comprising about two-thirds Argobba Muslims and one third Amhara most of whom are Christians (87%).

Ideal household cycles

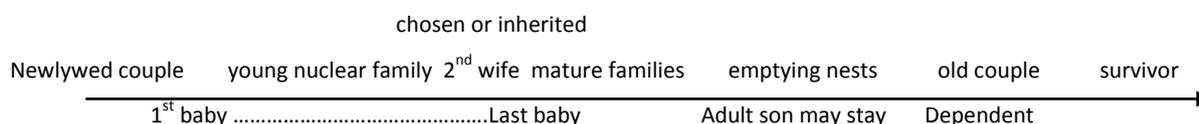
Among the Amhara of Dinki the ideal-type household development cycle begins with the establishment of a new household by a young couple (new household), has a period where the first children are born and dependent (young nuclear family), moves into a period where children provide household labour (mature 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).

Figure 1: Ideal-type household cycle - Amhara



Among the Argobba, the ideal-type household development cycle is initially similar to the Amhara model but, in principle, when the household is in the mature nuclear phase, the head could marry a second wife. While Argobbas are permitted more than one wife only two household heads in the community reported having more than one wife. One aspect of the Argobba culture is that ideally women should be confined to the homestead and not work in the fields. Among Amhara women have more independence. (Pankhurst and Bevan 2007).

Figure 2: Ideal-type household cycle - Argobba



Falling off the cycle

There are fewer female-headed households among the Argobba (11.7%, as compared to 22% overall) though they seem to be poorer and some even destitute. Most women heading households in Dinki are either divorcees or 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 Argobba divorce is frowned on and marriage with a divorced woman unwelcome. Divorce and the re-joining of the ideal-type cycle through remarriage are common among the Amhara. 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.

Table 1: Dinki Household Types 2004

	% of households	No of households in sample
Young couple (under 30) no kids	5.9%	10
Young nuclear family (oldest child under 13)	23.1%	39

	% of households	No of households in sample
Mature nuclear family (oldest child 13 or more)	13.0%	22
Polygynous male head with Wife 1	1.2%	2
Nuclear family with old parent	2.4%	4
Emptying nest	0.6%	1
Mature/old couples living alone or with non-children	9.5%	16
Couple heading three generational household	4.7%	8
Widows/divorced/separated women with (grand) children and maybe others	16.0%	27
Widowers/divorced/separated men with (grand) children and maybe others	1.8%	3
Stepfamily	7.7%	13
Siblings (+)	1.2%	2
Female alone	5.3%	9
Male alone	7.7%	13
Total		

Source: RANS 2004

In 2004 a WeDE survey suggested that almost 43% of households were off the ideal track.

Examples of households

A large Amhara Christian household, most children still living at home, richer than most.

JW lives with his wife EN, six children, a godson whose mother got divorced, and a daughter-in-law. JW grows *tef*, sorghum, maize, chickpeas, and sometimes haricot beans and sesame. He obtained improved maize as a loan and plants in rows as instructed by the DAs, which improved his harvest, on the irrigable but lacked enough water on the rest of the land. He used a water pump for his irrigation and has earned well from selling onions, enabling him to buy livestock including camels, and build a house in Chibite. He mentioned that he has his livestock vaccinated every six months and considers that the assigning of a veterinarian at Chibite has improved the service. The household is involved in networks for agricultural activities and house building with neighbours including his brothers. He works on Food for work on NRM activities and is also involved in mobilising people for the constructing terraces and preparing land for tree planting and road maintenance.

EN the wife works in the fields planting onions, weeding and harvesting when she is not looking after the children, or the livestock while the children are at school. In particular she is responsible for the chickens, including the two improved breed. She mentioned that all except two of these died and they did not cover her expenses. On the other hand after the vaccinations of livestock, despite the disease the cattle did not die. Because the children are at school, the household hires daily labourers for weeding, and sometimes the children work when they are not at school or occasionally might be absent to help. They sometimes organize work parties for instance for spreading manure on the farmland. They have also hosted DAs and researchers in their house.

JW has been the head of the seedling nursery for a long time which brings him into regular contact with the DAs. His wife has also worked in the nursery on daily labour. He was selected as a model farmer for the last four years, and follows the DAs' instructions. He is treasurer of the re-established cooperative, which provided fertilizer and pesticides to members. He said:

The co-operative is beneficial since it provided fertilizer and pesticides to members and the service is therefore available within the community. If more members join the co-operative, its capacity will increase, and hence the services it renders can be improved.

EN mentioned that the weed killer they obtained damaged the sesame and sunflower. She also complained that fertilizer had become very expensive and water shortage during the dry season means that crops are sometimes damaged.

JW was elected to the Kebele council in 2008 and joined the ruling party paying his contributions and mobilizing people for community work. He takes part in meetings and believes that the building of the satellite school was obtained through discussions with the government. He said:

Participating in meetings without any embarrassment is one of the reflections of good governance.

JW is treasurer of an *iddir* funeral association, and the grain contributed annually is stored in his house. He is also a member of a *mehaber*, which provides food and drink to poor people during their feasts, and he pays annual contributions to the church. The household also made a contribution when the Medhane Alem Church was constructed. He is also involved in dispute resolution with the peace committee, and says he abides by the rules of the irrigation committee.

Regarding health interventions the household used the health post in Chibite a few times when their children were sick. But usually they go to Aliyu Amba as the health post is not as effective. The Health Extension Workers were working with them to dig latrines, to use smokeless stoves and to improve their personal and environmental hygiene. EN mentioned that the stove being higher off the ground is easier to use and requires less firewood; she said the latrine is useful at least during the rainy season, and when someone rises late, when a person has a stomach ache, and when the crops are in the fields. However, EN remarked that the holes for burning dry waste and disposing liquid waste filled up. She mentioned that bed nets were distributed and were useful, even killing flies. EN mentioned that the household has often used traditional cures. For instance one daughter had an earache and they put melted butter in her ears. She also had a broken hand and a misplaced ligament and her grandfather gave her a massage. Another daughter had tonsillitis which was treated with honey, and a son had a toothache which was cured with salt and ginger. For headache EN goes to holy water, and likewise JW for his cough goes to holy water and used butter and honey. EN complains that she does not have confidence in tablets and prefers injections and would have liked the health centre to be nearer. She said:

Earlier they used to give us injections when we were sick, but now we are given tablets instead of injections. But the sickness of our community does not heal with tablets.

JW says his family benefited from contraceptives to limit the number of children, though having a large number of children has not harmed his wife. EN says she has been using contraceptives for two years as she already has six children although they would like to have one more though her husband worries she will become sick as when she had their fifth child.

Regarding nutrition EN mentions that last year the household faced food shortage and coped by buying grain by selling a small camel, working on food for work in the nursery and road maintenance, eating boiled grain and combining sesame with flour. The Food for work enabled them to survive July and August without consuming the grain they needed for seed. The household had also reduced the amount and kinds of consumption, eating bread for ceremonies, not having chickens for all ceremonies as they used to, reducing their onion consumption, avoiding eating lentils frequently, and reducing on meat consumption.

The household had benefited from education services. One son is in grade 9 in Aliyu Amba living with relatives. When he was in grade 4 he caught malaria and was forced to drop out but returned to school after a year. If the school had not been upgraded he would have been sent to Ankober and would have had to live in a rented house and in a cold place. The expansion of the school grades has therefore reduced time, energy and costs. The building of the satellite school has enabled JW's last child to start attending school earlier. EN would like the satellite schools to include higher grades.

The older sons are given *guulma*, (livestock or a piece of land) on which they work for their own gain, while helping their parents at the same time. This is to motivate them to work for the household by allowing them to benefit themselves. They plant vegetables if they can get irrigable land. They might be given a piece of land when they are married. They also buy small camels and they give transport services for goods; they also sell the camels when they mature. For the marriage of his first son JW spent over three thousand birr, despite the government view that people should not spend a lot on feasting he thinks that holidays should be respected. He said:

We did not listen to the government regarding ceremonies but it would be very good if all the people implement what the government says. I do not have any interest in avoiding holidays. There are things that are done on holidays, so work is compensated. We are not idle even on holidays. The government is not realistic.

His wife concurred:

We do not lack anything because we observe holidays. The things obtained by working on other days are enough. If we work on holidays, our ancestors get angry and the work we do will not be blessed.

He considers the changes in gender policies as important and says:

Women were unfairly treated previously. Arrogant husbands were known to mistreat their wives. Girls were abducted and men dragged them. But now the rights of women are observed. This gives me confidence for my daughters as they are now respected

However, EN does not believe that female circumcision can be abolished; her daughters are all circumcised and she believes that a girl who is not circumcised will not find a husband, and may become barren. EN mentioned that her sister was imprisoned for hours and she went to visit her, and she remarked that the work of the militia is not good as when they are angry they rush into beating people.

A middle sized Muslim Argobba household, most children at home, average wealth

DR is 54 and lives with his wife AZ and four children. His oldest daughter got married and has left to live with her husband in Gachene. The household does not own land but grows *tef*, maize, sorghum, sesame, sunflower and cotton on sharecropped land giving a third of the produce to the landowners, and the head also seasonally works for wages. They have some irrigable land planted with bananas which they sell. He said that the price of fertilizer has risen out of his reach. His wife does not work in the fields as she is alone working in the house, and the children look after the livestock. She spins cotton for sale in Aliyu Amba, which she uses to buy soap, and sells chickens and eggs she breeds. The household sometimes sells eucalyptus to make ends meet.

DR has had his livestock vaccinated, though he lost an ox despite paying 13 birr for medication, and people in the neighbourhood contributed money to help him out. He has worked for food for work for 3 kg of wheat per day; however, he suggests that the amount received "is not correct", and said:

We work eagerly but when the day comes for us to receive the grain everyone is sad because they are not given the amount for which they worked. All people working in this area are thieves.

The household received some maize flour and oil for food for work, but AZ said that the amount was so small that it was hardly satisfactory.

DR does not agree with the attempts to reduce expenses for ceremonies. He held a feast for his eldest daughter's wedding and a celebration when they built a new house with an iron roof. He said:

Though it was built earlier we did not celebrate it as the harvest was not that good. This celebration cannot be stopped, as it is similar with life. Unless people celebrate this, they will not

be blessed. We incurred over one thousand birr for this celebration. We slaughtered two goats estimated to cost 400 birr.

Regarding health household members have been affected by malaria and were given pills and injections at Aliyu Amba as the health post in Chibite did not have the medication. They were told to dig latrines and bury other waste but have not put this into practice. AZ explained:

We did not benefit anything from the latrine. We are not using it; we dug it for the sake of the Health Extension Worker. We are not using it because we are not used to it. We do not even want to use it when we go to towns. We prepared everything because it was mandatory.

They were also given bed nets a year ago, and DR said these were especially helpful for women who gave birth. However, AZ said they were using it like a curtain and that it creates heat when the weather is warm.

The household has built a house with partitions and a corrugated iron roof and have a separate kitchen. AZ mentioned the advantages:

There is no smoke in the main house now. When visitors come they do not see what is being done. And we are able to serve them without them seeing the process of preparation.

DR has been using family planning reluctantly owing to his religious beliefs. He said:

The government was saying that there were so many children and that their number has to decrease. But we were reluctant to use family planning saying 'how could we tamper with the work of the Lord with medication'. However, as being pregnant and being sick does not allow women to do as they please we have been using family planning for the last three years.

His wife AZ does not want to have more children; she says took injections for three years; she stopped using contraceptive as she became ill and weak when travelling and lost her appetite and had heavy menstruation. For the birth of one of her sons she was sick and taken to Aliyu Amba and was brought back on a stretcher. All her children were born at home without problems with the help of neighbours.

The presence of the satellite school in the neighbourhood has enabled their youngest daughter to go to school earlier. One son is going to Muslim religious school, and another attended Alternative Basic Education in the first grade, though he quit after a year.

DR is part of the peace committee. He is a member of the *iddir* and the utensils are stored in his house and he ensures that they are returned after use. He is involved in trying to build a mosque. His wife mentioned that it would have been good if there were a separate Muslim *iddir*, but the numbers were too small.

DR does not believe in equality between men and women. He said:

There is no equality between men and women in Argobba. Only Christians treat women equally. The Sharia law and the book say that men are superior. I have reservations on the current laws. Nothing happened to me but there are Muslim women who took part of their husband's land in other areas.

AZ believes said that even if it is said that men and women are equal their religion does not allow it. For example women cannot share property on divorce. AZ does not believe female circumcision is harmful saying:

If girls are not circumcised, it is not good; they are considered to bring bad luck. They are circumcised not later than the seventh day after birth. If the blood is washed with urine, they will not face any problem while giving birth. The people in the community hate a girl that is not

circumcised, so being uncircumcised is very difficult. All are circumcised and it will even continue to granddaughters.

Both DR and AZ believe that holidays are important but AZ suggested that those of Christians are too numerous. She said.

For the holiday *Arefa*, children do not work for one week and adults do not do anything for three or four days. For *Ed al Mubarek*, only one day is considered as holiday. These holidays are passed on from generation and they cannot be cancelled. However, the Christians have a lot of holidays. If they do no work poverty will come. Therefore, work has to be given emphasis.

DR expressed reservations about credit as a means of development for all; he said:

There are some people who took credit and improved their conditions but there are others who lost it. It required the people to have knowledge and hard work. There are people who lost their land because they were unable to repay the credit.

AZ said her children were less engaged in household chores because they go to school. She said:

My daughter used to fetch water, sweep the flour and make coffee for me. My two boys used to help me in collecting firewood, but one of them is now learning in another area, he is not doing it. My fifteen year old son usually works on the farm, and my workload increased. But he helps me when I cannot do different things.

AZ suggested that the improved roads are useful even if there are not many cars.

Since we do not have camels and since the cars do not arrive by the time we want them the significance of the road is not that much. But it is better even to walk on foot. This is true especially for my husband, my first son and myself.

An Amhara Christian household with young children, average wealth

EH is 32 and lives with his wife HA and two young children. He sharecrops irrigable land growing onions, tomatoes and peppers. He pairs his ox with his brother, and says he has benefited from the veterinarian assigned in Chibite, as he has two heifers and ox and a donkey. A sick calf that was vaccinated recovered. He has one *timad* land that he got from his father and two sharecropped *timads*. He mentioned that people were told to take photographs of both the husband and wife for the certificate, though HA says she does not know what it is for. By paying tax he feels he is able to ensure the land is his. He did not plant in rows as suggested by the DA since the land is very small, and he did not follow the crop calendar as he cannot read. He has bought fertilizer and received chickpeas seeds. He sometimes works in the nursery and as well as on daily labour for rich farmers at peak seasons. He has worked for Food for work whenever available. HA said they obtained maize flour and peas as food aid; they added the maize to wheat to make bread and the peas for stew.

His wife HA is involved in weeding, harvesting and picking crops, and planting and hoeing onions, though she stopped working when she was pregnant. She also brings grass and fodder for the livestock, looks after the ox and calves and breeds chickens. She used to prepare *areqe* but stopped when her pot broke, started again but stopped once more when the ingredients became expensive.

HA went to a private clinic when she had anaemia, and also took her baby girl to a private clinic in Aliyu Amba when her body was swollen and was given medication and syrup. She took another daughter who had fever to the health post and was given tablets and also went for herself for headache and was given tablets. She said the private clinics give a much better treatment.

EH said his family has not been using family planning as they only have two children and want more. They have dug latrines, and were given bed nets, and EH had been suffering from malaria but no longer does, though HA is unsure if that is due to the bednet. HA says the latrine is very good, adding:

It is very difficult to urinate in the field, as it smells very bad while weeding

HA said she does not want to have more children; she had started taking contraceptives but stopped under pressure from her husband. She said:

What would we give to our children; we do not have enough land. My husband is happy if I give birth to many children. I gave birth to my first child after five years of my wedding. I started to use contraception last year in February, and I used it until January this year. I benefited because my children were able to become stronger before other children came into being. It enabled me to create a gap. If I did not use the contraceptive I would give birth to more children one after the other and I would damage my own body. I stopped taking it because my husband told me to stop. Initially he allowed me to take the contraception, but now he wants to have more children.

EH believes that the Food for work is useful, and that people should engage in free community labour as it is in their interest. He has not used a telephone and does not even know what it looks like. He has a radio but it is not working.

EH said he would like to join the cooperative if it is successful. He is a member of the *iddir*, but says he does not have the capacity to join an *iqqub*. He makes an annual contribution of 24 birr to the church. He is a *got* militiaman, giving letters to people summoned to the social court.

Regarding female circumcision HA said she had heard that the church and government were against it but was worried that not being circumcised might give women problems when giving birth; she said:

I heard that the church banned the circumcision of girls. We also hear that on the radio, until our radio was no longer working well. I think it must be stopped if it is said that it must be stopped. But if it poses problems for women while giving birth, it has to be cancelled again. If it is banned from above no one can say anything. But it will be known when it reaches here. My daughter is circumcised, but if it is banned I can have my daughters uncircumcised in the future.

Regarding other harmful practices HA added:

If my children are affected by tonsillitis I will not get their epiglottis cut, but I will take them to the health centre. This is because it is prohibited.

Regarding gender equality HA had this to say:

Gender equality is natural since we toil together and shoulder responsibility equally; we deserve to have equal rights over the wealth as well. We have a difference in our potential. A man does not have to enter into preparing food; and I cannot go to meetings and talk, because I have to look after my children and the livestock.

A household of an elderly Amhara Christian couple living with grandchildren, poorer than most

GR is an elderly man of 70 living with his wife HA aged 66, a son, and six grandchildren (three of whom are from a deceased daughter, one from a daughter living in Aliyu Amba, and three from a son) as well as his daughter-in-law. His son had been living in another area with a woman who attacked him and broke his skull and was hospitalized in Debre Berhan for a month and he has since been unwell. GR suffers from haemorrhoids, and is unable to work well and his wife has a heart problem. His wife has been to Debre Berhan as she had typhoid and had to stay in bed in Ankober for two days.

GR's household has some irrigated land on which they grow bananas and coffee, and they also have some land on which he grows *tef*, maize and sorghum. He got improved seed of maize from the DA and the harvest was very good. However, he felt that the DAs did not have anything new to teach him, and that "*things apart from fertilizer and seed are rapidly forgotten*". He says he cannot afford

fertilizer. He has one ox which he pairs with others. He got tablets for internal parasites and injections from the veterinarian. He was given a land certificate last year and told it was useful to ascertain land holdings but he said he did not know anything further. He was not keen on the water harvesting saying he had heard that animals and people had drowned elsewhere. He mentioned that new irrigation canals were being dug but that there was water shortage for irrigation requiring negotiations. HA works in the fields but has been unwell and even stopped milking the cows, and stopped keeping chickens as the hawks were taking them.

GR is a member of an *iqub* credit association in Aliyu Amba paying 20 birr a week, and also member of an *iddir* in Zego Kebele. Since it is far it is difficult to get labour support and people are telling to become a member of the *iddir* in Dinki and he is currently considering it. He does not want to belong to a *mehaber*, which he says often involve quarrels among relatives and prefers to celebrates holidays on his own and invite poor people. However, his wife had been a member of a *mehaber* in the past.

GR is critical of the food aid/food for work saying

There is flour and oil in the support but the people who distribute say it is not sufficient for all people and they sell it. The distribution is not done fairly. It is not done in a transparent manner.

GR contributed labour and wood for the primary school, and the children have benefited from education, which he sees as the future for everything. Four of the children are at school in Gendawuha, where the quality is good though it is far. One grandson is attending the satellite school which is near but where the quality is not good. However, HA feels it would be good if the satellite school was extended up to grade 6. Some of the older boys did not go to school as Chibite was far and they would have had to go through a forest when there were military campaigns.

GR has bought syrup from the health post for two children who were coughing, and has been to the health centre for headaches and found out he had high blood pressure. He was impressed with the improvements in the health centre but since he is not better was thinking of going further for medical care. The Health Extension Worker told them to dig a latrine which they did not do as he is thinking of moving his house. His wife mentioned they are using the hole to store grass for making a roof and fodder for animals. GR thought there was not much new that the Health Extension Workers were saying about personal hygiene. HA said the smokeless stove has spared her from the direct heat of the fire and from smoke. She said the bednet killed flies, mosquitoes, cockroaches and bugs but that now it is old so when the house was damaged they used it on the wall to prevent the wind and cold from coming in.

GR said he might become a member of the cooperative if it does well and is improved. He thinks it would be good if the cooperative were strengthened and people were made to pay as it would be good in the long run, as long as it does not suffer from the same problems as the food for work. He said:

Otherwise, it is going to be a support for the committees of the co-operative, like the support that comes for Food for work. The amount of money that comes to Food for work is very large.

His wife HA mentioned that they got 60 kilogrammes of wheat this year, while she was sick and unable to work and this enabled them to bake bread. She said the distributors cut grain support for one day but promised they would give it to them by selling the flour.

GR is a chairman of elders resolving disputes before sending them to the social court, but thinks that the peace committee is only important at times of water shortage, saying:

This committee was set up when there was a water shortage. It only works for a while. It is soon forgotten when rain comes. It is not a serious issue. It is good if people have their disputes resolved in this way, before other dangers come to them.

GR mentioned that the Kebele has not been calling them to meetings. He said;

We were not called to the Kebele by anyone for the last two years. If one goes without being called, there is a question – “why are you here?”

GR believes that the gender laws have benefited women; he said:

This has protected women; no one can touch them without their consent. This is respected as the punishment is severe. Girls in the house benefit from these laws.

HA said all her children were ‘naturally circumcised by Mary’, and that some of her grandchildren were circumcised. She said:

I am not against my culture. The culture we came from is better. What use does a girl have if she is not circumcised?

The household spent a lot on funeral expenses for his daughter. GR thought that such expenditures will begin to decrease as people cannot afford it.

These days people are giving less attention to ceremonies and the expenses incurred are also less. People are doing it because they consider it as paying a debt of others. This is going to cease, not because of the force of the government but because the people would not be able to afford it.

GR does not believe that not working on holidays is a good thing. He added:

Since we are living as Christians, what is our symbol? If people work on holidays, Saturdays and Sundays, I do not think they will succeed. It was said that work is better, but the result was not good.

HA also wants to continue observing holidays and said:

I observe the holidays for my own sake. If the government insists that we have to stop, I will not stop. If I do not observe holidays, I will quarrel with my God. Since I am getting old, what I need is to observe holidays, not to work.

GR finds useful information from radio; he said:

Radio Ethiopian does not reveal things other than agriculture and weather. VOA and other channels are good.

HA said she does not listen to the radio as it gives her a headache.

GR is critical of the Kebele fining people without giving receipts. He said:

The Kebele officials sometimes fine people, but they do not give receipts for the payment. I have reservations about this.

An elderly poor Argobba woman living on her own

AD used to live with her son but left since she did not want to live with her daughter-in-law; her daughter prepares food for her since she is too ill to do so herself and her son gives her grain. Though AD describes her household as middle wealth this must be referring to her son’s household as from her description she is dependent and poor. She used to breed chickens but they died except for one which she says she keeps for preventing disease. AD’s son had a couple of oxen and is involved in food for work and they obtained maize, wheat and oil. The land certificate is in her name; she said:

It is my son who uses the land. But I am certified to be the owner of the land. I did not know the benefit but the government ordered us to take pictures and we did. It is my picture which is put on the land certificate.

AD used to have close relations with neighbours, but now stays at home *“sitting beside the stove, simply watching”*. Her neighbours help her, as well as some relatives in Aygebir. Her son is a member of an *iddir*. Her lack of mobility even stops her from going to the health post.

AD's household dug the latrine but do not use it. She said:

Our country is suitable, and it is very depressing to use latrines. We dug latrine just to observe government order. We are not using the latrine.

They were given a bed net which she said was effective against mosquitoes and flies. She sent people to buy medication for malaria from Aliyu Amba, but did not find it useful.

Though she said she does not know much about the government's model of development she approves of their concern for the poor and said she trusted the government:

I do not know much about government models development. But the government stood by the side of the poor. Therefore we trust it.

A poor single Argobba woman living with her daughter

YZ had moved from Dinki to Aliyu Amba, and spun cotton for sale. Though there were advantages of being close to the market and mill house, she did not receive the *Zeka* charity support, house rent was expensive and there was shortage of firewood and water. So she returned to Dinki in 2007, but fell ill with heart problems and has relied on support from her son and charity, and some grain as aid. She does not have any land and is in too poor a state of health to work for wage labour. Her main source of support was assistance from community members but when the harvest was poor in 2008 this declined and her son had to sell goats to support her. She bred chickens for sale, and has one left which she did not have vaccinated hearing there would be a payment, and she also got a goat recently. She spins cotton with the help of her daughter for sale *“to soothe my coffee addition and buy shiro and berbere”*, though her daughter in Aliyu Amba had refused to do so *“seeing the girls in Aliyu Amba”*. She tried to send her daughter to do food for work but they sent her back saying she could not work.

Neighbours assist YZ giving her food, lending her utensils, and helped her with domestic work until her daughter grew old enough and they also look after her goat for grazing. However, she says that with food shortage assistance has declined. YZ is not living in her natal community and does not have relatives nearby. Her younger sister who visits from Addis Ababa sometimes sends her clothes, but her brother in Aliyu Amba does not help her. She lives on land given by a neighbour and when her daughter was raped there was no one to come to her assistance, and her neighbour was implicated. She said:

My child was raped; I did not have any witness and she was sick. I was afraid that they would attack me and I did not even tell to my son, because I was afraid that he would quarrel with people. I am living in people's community and on people's land. What if they come and threaten me during the night. *The researcher noted that she did not divulge this at the first interview fearing that the neighbour who was involved might hear.*

YZ was never asked about joining an *iddir* as she put it since everyone assumed she could not pay. She does not go to the mosque as *“only men are allowed to attend the ceremonies”*

YZ needed the assistance of her daughter and begged that she should not have to go to school. She said:

They told me to send my daughter to school. I begged them not to take my daughter, as I am usually sick. They found me on bed every time they come, then they left her.

The Health Extension Worker gave her a bednet but cockroaches damaged it and she is afraid of malaria. She has not used any health facility in the past four years, and could not pay for having her ears cleaned and used traditional means. She said:

In 2010 I was asked 20 birr to clean my ears. I was unable to pay and I used a traditional technique. I applied butter from a goat's milk. When I applied the butter the sharp pain left but it did not open my ears.

YZ is not very aware of interventions, and she attributed this partly to not having a husband. She said she heard about the elected people after a long while, and she was not even aware of the Food for work, and only heard about it when people came back from working.

Regarding interventions YZ felt that there should be market development, that people unable to do food for work should be supported, that there should be land redistribution for those without, that irrigation should be expanded, and that communal grazing was needed as the rich fence their own grazing land and buying fodder is not sustainable. For her the main problem is land.

Households and development interventions

Male-headed households

The large household, most children still living at home, richer than most

JW is involved in a wide range of development interventions. He has a key role in the seedling nursery, and was selected by the DAs as a model farmer. He uses fertiliser, improved maize, and adopted row planting, and is aware of the crop calendar to produce three times a year. He is the treasurer of the cooperative from which he obtained fertiliser and pesticides. He had his livestock vaccinated every six months and treated for external parasites once a year. He is involved in the NRM terracing, tree planting activities and road maintenance through Food for work. His household has also benefited from services. His children are at school, with one son in grade 9 at the school in Aliyu Amba living with relatives, and the smallest attending the new satellite school and the second youngest having moved from the satellite school to the one in Gendawuha. For health care they sometimes go to the Health Post at Chibite but do not consider this as very effective so tend to go to the Health Centre at Aliyu Amba. The household has an improved stove promoted by the Health Extension Workers that uses less wood and they consider the latrine they built as useful, at least during the rainy season so that they do not have to get wet going to the fields. He mentions that changes in women's rights gives him confidence for the future of his daughters. He had heard about the telephone in Chibite but never used it.

The middle sized household, most children at home, average wealth

DR has also used improved maize seeds as well as chickpeas and sorghum seed obtained through the DA, although the sorghum was not productive, and he did not sow in rows, and the fertiliser price is out of his reach. Likewise DR has had his livestock vaccinated, though one ox died after receiving medication provided by the veterinarian in Chibite. DR has been involved in the terracing though he claims that the full amount of 3 kgs of wheat per day was not given for the Food for work, and blames those involved in the distribution. He is a member of the peace committee. DR has also engaged with some other services. He has been using contraceptives in the last three years somewhat reluctantly given Muslim leaders' opposition. He says the bed nets were useful for women who gave birth. His household was told to dig a latrine and refuse pit but he has not done so. His children are at school including the youngest daughter at the new satellite school. He expressed reservations about the gender laws, mentioning that in other areas Muslim women had taken part of their husband's lands. He has never used the telephone and heard it was not working properly.

The household with young children, average wealth

EH has had less involvement with interventions. He mentioned that he was given the crop calendar but could not read it, that he did not plant in rows since his land is too small. He was happy with the training on compost and is eager to produce it but it takes time. He was pleased with the closer veterinary service as he used to have to go to Aliyu Amba for medicines. He is a militiaman and takes letters to people who are summoned to appear at the Kebele court. He says he might join the cooperative if it proves to be doing a good job. EH is not using contraceptives as he has only two children and wants more. His household did dig a latrine; he is grateful for the free bed nets as they used to suffer from malaria. He believes that the food for work is useful as the grain is compensation for labour, and even thinks that free labour is good since the benefit is for the people.

The household of an elderly couple living with grandchildren, poorer than most

GR pointed out that he cannot afford fertiliser, though he got improved maize from the DA and had a good harvest. Apart from fertiliser and improved seed he says other things raised are soon forgotten. He knew of the DA's teaching about soil management but did not think there was anything new to learn. He approved of the improved veterinary service and obtained tablets for internal parasites and injections for his cattle. GR did not like the water harvesting and had heard that in other places animals and people had drowned. He felt that the food for work payments were not done transparently and fairly as the people who distribute the flour and oil say it is not enough and sell it. The road building is good since it means the sick can be taken to hospital on animals or by passing cars. Regarding the cooperative he will wait and see whether it is successful before joining though he thought it would be good if the cooperative were strengthened. He said they had not been called to the Kebele by anyone in the past two years. He was told that he would obtain his land certificate later this year and that it would strengthen land holdings but he will wait to see. GR has been engaged with a number of services. He was favourable to the improvements in health and education. He contributed wood and labour for the primary school. He went to the Health Post for his children's coughs but there were not enough supplies. He went to the Health Centre in Aliyu Amba for a headache and was given medicine for high blood pressure. He was pleased with the improved facilities. However, he plans to go to better medical facilities for his illnesses. He was told to dig a latrine by the Health Extension Workers but has not done so on the grounds that he is planning to move house. He says the sanitation education is good though nothing new. He believes that education is an opening for the future and his children went to the alternative basic education school in Addis Alem when they were small. He believes the girls in the house will benefit from the gender laws as no one can touch women without their consent and this is respected as the punishment is severe. He used the telephone in Aliyu Amba to greet people and heard that mobiles started. He was critical of Ethiopian radio that reveals little beyond agriculture and the weather, whereas other channels are more interesting. He does not believe in the attempts to get people to work on holidays, as people doing so will not succeed better. He was critical of fines imposed by the Kebele without providing receipts.

Female headed households

Both the female headed households have limited experience with interventions. One of them was forthright in her rejection of the need for latrines. She found the bednet useful but not the medication against malaria. She approved of the government's concern for the poor and said she trusted the government. The other woman needed her daughter's labour so could not send her to school. She also could not afford health care, found the bednet useful but it was damaged by cockroaches. She said she was not aware of many interventions and heard about them later for instance elections and food for work. However she had clear ideas of what she would like which included land redistribution, market development, irrigation, and communal grazing areas.

Dependent adults

Male dependents

The six male dependents are between the ages of 20 and 30; none are married and they are all living with their parents, five of whom are of middle wealth and one rich. Four are Amhara Christian and two are Argobba Muslim. They are all involved in farming for their parents, though some are farming or involved in other activities on their own account. Most are involved with some extension activities though almost no interventions are aimed specifically at the youth.

A son in his twenties living with middle wealth Muslim Argobba parents

BC who is 25 lives with his parents who are middle wealth Argobba Muslims. They used a small amount of fertiliser and obtained a better harvest. He says the improved roads through food for work are useful as they mean people walking can avoid thorns. The household dug a latrine as they were taught. He has been sick in the stomach for four years and went to Nazareth to seek treatment where relatives helped him but did not recover so can only look after livestock. Since the household is close to a spring they do not need the water harvesting. He believes that if parents pay the land tax the children can inherit.

A son in his twenties with middle wealth Amhara Christian parents

CA who is 20 lives with his parents who are middle wealth Amhara Christians. He is involved in sharecropping; he found the use of fertiliser useful and the veterinarian helped him when he faced problems with his goats. For a stomach illness he was treated in Addis Ababa when he went to see relatives. He represents his family on food for work for road maintenance which he considers valuable and the grain is useful for the household. He considers latrines useful only during the rains since it avoids having to go to the fields. He has taken sick members of his household to the Health Post. He was involved in giving voting cards to people for the elections.

A son in his twenties son with middle wealth Argobba Muslim parents

EC who is 25 lives with his parents who are middle wealth Argobba Muslims. They do not have land of their own though he has taken over the chat and banana plot of his brother who migrated. He planted tomatoes following model farmers but they suffered from disease. He used pesticides this year and his livestock were bathed in medicine to kill parasites, though he heard that some livestock elsewhere had died from licking the medicine, so he prefers to leave the parasites or pick them off. Sometimes he works on food for work. His household dug a latrine so they do not suffer from bad smells. He fell ill with herpes zoster and his father paid 400 Birr for a traditional medication that enabled him to recover after one month.

A son in his twenties living with middle wealth Amhara Christian parent

AC who is 25 lives with his parents who are middle wealth Amhara Christians. He represents his household in food for work activities and considers the roads and canals to be useful and the grain important for the people. He believes latrines to be good for health. Though he had to drop out of school from Ankober due to poor eyesight, he is happy that there is now a satellite school close by to which his younger sister goes. He has used the phone once to call his uncle when he got back from visiting him in Addis Ababa. He views teachings to avoid excessive feasting as useful to avoid waste. He regrets that he was not able to pursue his education.

A son in his thirties living with rich Amhara Christian parents

DD who is 30 lives with his parents who are rich Amhara Christians. He farms onions, provides transport services with camels and had bought a house in Zego. He finds the teaching of the DA to plant in rows useful. He says the seeds and pesticides the DAs bring are available from elsewhere but

the ones brought by the DAs are available on time. The vaccinations of animals has benefited him especially for his camels. He regularly works on food for work and believes the road maintenance, terraces and canals benefit the community. Sometimes there is food for children but it gets sold as the farmers do not trust it. He believes the land certificate may secure his and his siblings' rights. The construction of schools close by is useful as his siblings can learn and help the family after school. The teaching of Health Extension Workers about latrine and waste disposal avoids disease. Regarding interventions for youth he said: *"People from the Wereda once came and told the youth that they would be planting castor plants and benefit from the product but nothing was done afterwards"*.

A son in his thirties living with middle wealth Amhara Christian parents

FH who is 39 lives with his parents who are middle wealth Amhara Christians. He farms for his family who depend on him since his father lost his eyesight. He sowed maize and onions in lines though he said it is difficult and time consuming, but he obtained 2000 birr from onion sales. He would like to become a cooperative member, as he does not want to be different from others, but did not have the money to join when it was re-established. He gets his livestock vaccinated sometimes but not sure if it really helps. The cooperative provides fertiliser and pesticides though these can be obtained from merchants. He represents his household on food for work terracing. He has contributed wood and labour for the satellite school. The household does not use the latrine they dug as it does not have a roof. His family had taken credit but when he went to return it he was imprisoned for three days while helping carrying luggage for someone who was considered suspect. After that experience he does not want to take credit again. He says paying the land tax is an indicator that the land belongs to them and that otherwise the certificate would be taken. He does not agree that circumcising girls is bad, though he thinks it is good that early marriage is prohibited.

Female dependents

All six female dependents are daughters living with their parents, four of whom are in their late teens and two in their twenties. Two of these are Argobba Muslims and the rest Amhara Christians. Only one is divorced and returned to live with her father. Three live in poor households and three in middle wealth households.

A daughter in her late teens living with middle wealth Christian Amhara parents

BE is an 18 year old Amhara Christian woman living with her parents whom she rated as middle wealth (though they could afford eating pasta, using white flour and sugar, and a sister in Awasa sends remittances for holidays). She assists her mother, sold chickens, and has produced *tella* for sale, and worked in the nursery. She hopes to go to Awasa where her sister is and work there.

A daughter in her late teens living with her poor Argobba Muslim mother

GT is an 18 year old Argobba woman living with her mother who is a female headed household. She does domestic work, raises chickens, looks after a cow, works in the nursery, and sells bananas. When her father died apparently from spirit possession, they incurred a lot of expense for the celebrations and thereafter had to give their land to a sharecropper. Her mother started living with another man, who had visitors and incurred expenses, so she separated her room and grain, and does not do any of the housework. Her cow has received vaccinations for only 50 cents. She has worked on terracing but does not know its use. She thinks that improved seeds are used by the people in office to favour their relatives, and that if officials came from the Wereda to observe it could be fairer. As a child she was healed by a *tenqway* spiritual healer who only requires an animal or glass beads which she thinks is fair. She feels that the social court favour people with influence; she had taken a case to them when their harvest was eaten by a goat but no action was taken. She also went there when she wanted to separate her share of the house from her mother and the court

acted fast apparently since her sister's husband was with her and has a chat farm and gave them some. She feels confident she can get her share of the land whenever she wants. The contract for some land that her father had rented out was renewed by the Wereda at their request. She received 1kg of corn flour as food aid but it was too little so she baked it and gave it to her dog. The latrine has avoided having to walk far, and the bed nets kill flies and mosquitoes. She feels they have not got justice and assistance as a female headed household, without influential relatives, though the Wereda protected them when it came to the land. She has the ambition to become a successful banana and *tef* merchant, breed goats, and build a house for rent in Aliyu Amba. She hopes for better transport service for selling produce, and would like credit to make her dreams come true.

A daughter in her late teens living with her middle wealth Christian Amhara mother

KB is a 17 year old Amhara Christian woman. Her mother left her grandfather and uncle to get married, so she had to do the housework and dropped out of school; her mother eventually returned. For her tonsil inflammation she received traditional treatment with a hot knife which worsened the condition and she went to the health post but the medicine did not help, so she then went to the health centre where they gave her an injection that did not solve the problem so she went back to the traditional healer who told her the injection made it worse. She does not believe that cutting the tonsils is bad, saying "*what would happen to me if it was not cut?*". They do not use the latrine because it is not completed. The bednet killed cockroaches until it was washed. She had the cattle vaccinated and thinks it probably helped to prevent disease. She wants to remain close to her younger brother and does not want to migrate. She resents having interrupted her schooling and would have liked adult education opportunities.

A daughter in her twenties living with her poor Amhara Christian parents

DJ is an Amhara Orthodox Christian woman aged 20 lives with poor parents. She is involved in selling and buying grain, and works as a wage labourer for rich people and in the nursery, and road construction food for work; she also spins cotton for sale. She had an affair and a child whose father would not accept responsibility though she obtained compensation through the social court due to the favourable laws. Since she has a child she does not feel she can go to a town as she was planning, but hopes to get married and will keep working on food for work to bring up her child. She said that digging a latrine has protected them from having to go far.

A divorced daughter in her mid-twenties living with her Argobba Muslim father

LG is 27, an Argobba Muslim living with her father; after getting divorced she came back with her children. She commented that as she is Argobba she did not get any land rights. She has been weaving to support her children (the younger one being deaf) and does the domestic work as her sister got married. They have a plot suitable for irrigation but give it to sharecroppers as the children are too young to work. She had a tonsil inflammation and an old man gave her the injection and her leg swelled up. She commented that there are now young competent health officers and she obtained headache pills. She has been taking contraceptive so as not to have another child out of wedlock, as the person who got her pregnant left her three years ago. The household dug a latrine in the compound and she does not have to go far. They obtained a bednet and trachoma preventive medicine, which they just took without knowing its use as it was given to all. She would like to improve her weaving but caring for her deaf child takes a lot of time.

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 Dinki in 2004. Almost half the population are under the age of 20, roughly equally divided between the sexes. There is a slightly higher proportion of adult women, with lower proportion of men in the twenties and women in the thirties.

Table 2: Dinki Demographic Structure Estimate 2004

Birth era	Age	M (%)	F (%)	All (%)
2003/4	< 1	1.9	1	2.9
2002/3	1-2	3.8	2.2	6
1999/2001	3-5	4.1	6	10.1
Under 6		9.8	9.2	19
1992-1998	6-12	9	11	20
1988-1991	13-16	5.4	3.8	9.2
1985-1987	17-19	2.2	1.2	3.3
Working Youth		16.5	16	32.5
Under 20s		26.3	25.2	51.5
1975-1984	20-29	6.2	9	15.2
1965-1974	30-39	7.1	5.7	12.8
1955-1964	40-49	2.9	2.6	5.5
1945-1954	50-59	2.2	3.3	5.5
Adults		18.4	20.6	39
1935-1944	60s	3	3.2	6.2
1900s-1934	70s	2.3	1	3.3
Ageing		5.3	4.2	9.5
		M	F	
		50.1	49.9	100%
Total		50.1	49.9	100%

Source: RANS 2004

Growing up male in Dinki

Around a quarter of the Dinki population are males under the age of twenty. Boys are circumcised a few days after birth. Boys from the age of about six 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.

Boys going to school will help when they return home, though some from poorer or labour short households and in families with irrigated land may not all go to school, as their labour is needed. Some boys from poorer households or ones where a parent dies or there is divorce may be sent to become herders in richer households. Boys at school may have to help out on the farms more during peak agricultural periods, particularly weeding and harvesting. The establishment of satellite schools and alternative basic education has meant that children may start school younger, and the building and extension of primary schools in Chibite has meant that children do not have to walk to Aliyu Amba and can help their households, and the upgrading of the school in Aliyu Amba has meant that boys going for secondary education may help during weekends, rather than having to stay in Ankober as in the past. A few boys from devout Muslim families receive Islamic education and some of these migrate for further koranic learning.

Adolescents boys are taught to be able to look after themselves and to protect their households and inter-personal conflicts are not uncommon. In serious cases of murder blood feuds between households may last generations. Some boys may own an animal of their own or obtain independent income from selling fruit or cash. One of the dependent sons took over his migrated brother's irrigated area growing vegetables and fruit. Another has a camel and is involved in trade. Young adult males today are less easily able to form their own households as there is no limited access to land. Most young men continue to work for their parents and may gradually be given some land to exploit themselves. There are very limited off-farm and non-farm opportunities for the youth and promises from the Wereda have mainly come to nothing except for the provision of space for a few who could raise the credit to open kiosks in Chibite.

Growing up female in Dinki

About a quarter of the population in Dinki are females under the age 20. Girls are circumcised not later than seven days after birth. Despite criticism of female circumcision, most people still think it is normal, that it is unnatural for women not to be circumcised, and that if they were not circumcised women would not find husbands. However, among the boys opinions were divided with some of them thinking that it was a bad practice whereas other viewed it as appropriate.

Girls begin to help their families at an early age; they often will herd livestock especially if there is no brother of the right age. They begin to help their mothers and sisters with simple housework tasks. From about the age of 7 they also begin to fetch water and wood, and from about the age of 13 help with baking *injera* and cooking. Young girls (and boys) are particularly at risk from diseases such as measles and meningitis, and in poorer households they may be at risk from food shortage.

Girls are now **going to school** with about equal enrolment. However, girls are expected to work in the home on household chores and with looking after younger siblings after returning from school and at weekends. Girls from poorer homes or ones that lack labour are more likely to have to work or be absent during peak periods, and face risks of lack of basic needs such as food and clothes, lack of educational opportunities and exploitation of labour if they work for others outside their parents' home.

Adolescent girls face the risks of **abduction** and unwanted pregnancy. Though the government has introduced severe penalties in cases of abduction elders tend to convince the family not to take the matter to the police and settle it with compensation which will be less than the courts require but will not involve imprisonment and an agreement that the woman will live with the man. Although there was a case of a woman who received money by filing a rape charge, girls from poor and female headed households are more vulnerable and may be subject to rape even by neighbours, and not be in a position to do anything about it.

Early marriage is considered a norm from about the age of 15, and one case of a girl aged 14 being married was noted by the researchers. Girls from wealthier families may be more sought after earlier, though wealthier parents are beginning to value girls' education. There is social pressure to marry off girls and parents may be keen that their daughters get married to avoid potential abduction and unwanted pregnancies. Also not getting married is seen as a potential risk for girls. Some parents wishing to marry their daughters off below the official age of 18 which prohibited by the law may say that she is older. Some women suggested attitudes are changing, whereas some men said there was no change and a group of young men thought that the law should be enforced.

Choice of marriage partner is usually arranged by parents, taking into consideration the family's reputation, and sending elders to negotiate a deal involving some endowments. Only recently are young men and women choosing their own partners, even Muslim women, though parents are not happy about it. Most girls do not reject their parents' suggestions as their parents' house remains their second home. Unlike in the past nowadays women married off against their will may leave their husbands.

Being a man in Dinki

The primary activity of men as noted in the 2004 survey was agriculture, with some men herding and working as agricultural labourers. There were a few weavers, a couple of religious workers and a trader. Secondary activities of men included herding, fetching wood and water, weaving, agricultural labour and manual work. There were a couple of smiths, a leatherworker, a traditional healer and a lawyer. A few men used camels for part time trade. One of the case household heads is the head of the seeding nursery.

Richer men with access to irrigable land produce vegetables and fruit for sale, and some have built houses in Chibite. A few men acquired water pumps in groups but some of these broke down rapidly. Poorer men tend to sharecrop land and/or work for wage labour at peak agricultural seasons, or in the nursery. At least one male member of most households work on food for work on road maintenance or natural resource management work when it is available. The poorest migrate out to work as agricultural labourers or in towns, and a few become household labourers working for rich households or are sponsored by richer households for whom the work most of the time.

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. There are also a few militiamen.

Being a woman in Dinki

The 2004 WeDE household survey suggested that 23% of the households were female-headed. Though there are a number of different types of female headed household, depending on stage in the life-cycle, reasons from becoming female headed, networks and community assistance, and external interventions, many face problems of access to male labour, and if they have land have to give it to sharecroppers, and a number are poor or destitute, these often being Argobba.

Livelihoods

Apart from the female headed households, most women are housewives/homemakers, spending much of their time on domestic tasks, fetching wood and water, cooking, child care, and looking after livestock, bringing them fodder and milking cows. A number of women breed chicken and sell eggs. Many women especially among the elderly are involved in spinning and surprisingly given the prevalent occupational gender division of labour a few are weavers. Women among the Amhara are also actively involved in agricultural work especially at peak periods of weeding and harvesting, and prepare food for work parties in the fields. Women are more involved in field work in households with irrigated agriculture as there is a lot work required in planting and hoeing vegetables and harvesting crops. Among the Argobba women are not expected to work in fields although that is beginning to change for some, particularly among the poorer women.

With regard to **off/non-farm activities** some women are involved in wage labour on farms at a rate of 15 birr per day during weeding and in the seedling nursery at a rate of 10 birr. Some women participate in food for work activities in road maintenance or natural resource management, though one female headed household sent her daughter who was not allowed to work. A few women earn some income from petty trading, from selling fruit such as bananas, from preparing alcoholic drinks, and others from selling livestock. A few women have migrated away and one of the case women had moved to Aliyu Amba town with her daughter and was earning her living from spinning but returned to Dinki, relying on assistance from her son and charity from Muslim community members.

Women's potential **access to land** has improved. The land registration and certification process has entitled not just female-headed households but also wives to land rights and a share of the land in the case of divorce. There was resistance particularly among the Argobba to having the names and photographs of their wives on the land certificate on the grounds that the Sharia law does not entitle women to an equal share of land but rather to a payment on divorce. Those who did not produce photographs were not given certificates. Some men suggested that attitudes of men towards women are changing since they fear having to divide their land in case of divorce. Some women pointed out that divorce is not that easy and claimed that asserting land rights for women who have married into the community and do not have kin may be difficult.

Re/productive work

Involvement of households with access to irrigation in cash crop production has increased the work load though it has also brought about increased income and better nutrition. Girls' education has also meant that mothers have less help with domestic work, although the building of a primary school closer in Chibite as well as two satellite schools even closer for younger children has allowed parents to obtain help from children after school. Households use wood for **fuel**, dung being precious as manure. Health Extension workers have been promoting fuel-saving stoves which some households have adopted and consider useful and less dangerous for children. The main source of lighting is kerosene lanterns, though the use of torches has become widespread since they are now cheap and in 2009 some households began to use the new technology of connecting light bulbs to batteries. An increasing proportion of households have jerry cans. There was a mill owned by the cooperative which was looted in 1991 and is no longer working and currently there are a couple of private ones owned by one household that closed one of them as the amount of water decreased due to increased irrigation usage and/or s there were not enough customers for both mills.

Pre-marital pregnancy and abortion are rare; contraceptives are readily available and used including by teenage girls who are able to have pre-marital sex; **contraceptives** were said to have disguised extra-marital affairs. Most husbands agree with their wives taking contraceptives but even if they do not women can obtain them from the health post when they go to Chibite for meetings or markets. There is some opposition from Muslim husbands though in one of the case households the husband mentioned that he had reluctantly agreed to it. In another case household the husband pressurized the wife to stop talking contraceptives as he wanted to have more children. However in yet another case household the husband was worried about his wife's health if she got pregnant again though they would like to have a eighth child . Abortions may be disguised from men as miscarriages, though some men said they had heard of women going to Debre Berhan for an abortion.

Political involvement

The involvement of women in political affairs is very limited. Some women even suggested that it had decreased. The number of women who attend meetings is limited and they do not get involved in community level decision-making. Some men suggested that though women are now on the Kebele council, they are there nominally, and they do not think that women have the capacity to speak in public. They say that those who talk are the educated women from outside, such as the teachers and DAs, whereas women in the community just attend. However, the only Wereda councillor who lives in the Kebele in Chibite is a woman who is also the head of the women's association, a cabinet member, a representative for ACSI as well as a female head of household. The Kebele chairman suggested that though women know their rights they are reluctant to use them and do not attend meetings much. Some men said women only take cards to vote when there are elections, but do not participate in other things to any meaningful degree. Women often say that the public domain is for men.

Women's rights

Wereda official considered Hagere Selam more passive than other Kebeles with regards to women's rights; and only a few women were willing to be part of the association.

The **land registration process has included wives in the certification** in 2007; however, some men and particularly Muslim Argobba resisted bringing their wife's photograph to include in the certificate. A group of older girls though that the laws introduced to avoid abduction, rape and other actions that deprive the rights of women enabled them to pursue their education; however they thought that more teaching about women's rights should be given. A group of older boys suggested that the problem was with the Muslim men and that a lot needed to be done to teach about gender equality and women's rights. A Kebele leader mentioned that his sister was able to take her divorce case to the Wereda and obtained half the land. Some farmers said that the major

beneficiaries were Argobba women who lacked rights previously, and there was a report of Argobba women getting land in Aygebir got despite the sharia rules, although an elderly woman expressed skepticism that Argobba women would be able to defy the sharia law.

There seems to be a more progressive attitude towards women's rights among the youth including among boys. A group of younger girls felt that the laws protected young girls from abduction and enabled them to pursue their education. A group of younger boys suggested that women and girls are now more secure. However, they did not think that women being able to obtain land on divorce was necessarily a good thing, as stepmothers might take half the land and living with them was not easy. The group felt that the government should take stronger measures to enforce girl's rights and that parents who give their daughters in marriage before the age of 18 should be questioned.

Male violence

Abduction is said to have decreased, largely as a result of potentially severe punishments. Women mentioned that the abductors usually convince the woman through elders not to go to the police and to say that she loves the man. Some men mentioned that there were three abductions in the last two years but that this was much less than before. A man whose daughter was abducted said that he took the case to the Kebele, which told him to take the case to the Wereda. While he was going to the Wereda elders stopped him in Aliyu Amba telling him his daughter might say that she went with the boy willingly and that his effort might be in vain. So he decided to settle the issue. Though elders insist on compensation this would be less than the courts would require.

Regarding **rape** women said that ever since a woman received money by opening a charge against a person who raped her men have been afraid even to touch a woman against her will. Some men mentioned the case of a woman who said she was raped when she was pregnant and the boy was imprisoned. The case was taken to the elders and the parents of the girl demanded four thousand birr compensation and the elders decided on two thousand birr. If the case had been taken to the Wereda the fine could have been higher and the boy would have been imprisoned. However, not all girls are safe from abduction and rape. Girls from poor, small and female-headed households are more vulnerable. The daughter of one of the case households was raped but as she has not got relatives or supporters and since her neighbour on whose land she was living was involved she was unable to appeal. The woman felt she could do nothing about it and did not mention it on the first visit of the researcher for fear that the neighbor might overhear.

Policies and programme for the youth

There is a strong sense that there has not been very much done to address the problems the youth face notably with regard to lack of opportunities for access to land or employment. Wereda officials mentioned that beyond registering youth, the only action was to provide some youth places to construct kiosks in Chibite. Trainings were held by the Wereda to sensitise the youth to the risks from HIV/AIDS and provide opportunities for VCT; however, according to Wereda officials the youth were bored with the training in the hot weather. They added that the VCT services were in the market but some people were going there drunk.

The former Kebele chairman mentioned that the youth were called to a meeting and there was the suggestion that they should be registered into an association but nothing was done thereafter. The current Kebele chairman also felt not much had been done. He suggested that this was causing a lot of discontent and said that even those young men who want to work and change their situation are forced to engage in theft; he claimed that there were youth who had quarrelled with parents and even cases of youth who killed parents and siblings.

The chairman of the Youth Association said there were 400 members registered in 2007 starting at the *got* level and fees of one birr were collected in 2008 but that the association was not very active because nothing is done after the meetings. In 2009 discussions were held with the wereda and

kebele officials for the youth to transport sand to market and quarry red stone for construction, but nothing happened. According to the former Kebele chairman they were not given a permit. The Wereda promised credit for beehives, chickens, bull fattening, sheep and goats but none of these ideas were put into practice.

When the association asked the wereda for land for tress they told them to go to the Kebele that gave them a small plot of two *timad* on the mountain that includes more than 100 people. However, three individuals claimed the land was theirs and cut down the trees. The association took the case to the wereda; the trees were returned to them but the three men got the land and the Kebele leader would not support the youth association. So the association abandoned the case.

Recently the kebele gave space for shops for seven youths in Chibite. They were promised credit to buy commodities but that did not materialise. Only those who could borrow from relatives were able to open shops. If the rest do not use them the shops will be taken away. The youth association chairman is disillusioned and would like to see land on mountains for tree planting given to the youth and the promised credit to be provided. However, he mentions that when the youth ask for land, people say it is needed for their livestock. Likewise a group of older boys expressed scepticism about interventions for the youth because of broken promises. They mentioned another suggestion that they would be organised to become involved in silk worm breeding but nothing came of it.

Both male and female youth expressed a sense of frustration that the various suggestions for them to be engaged in productive activities and the promises of credit and employment opportunities such as mining sand and stones, silk worm production and livestock breeding, did not result in concrete action. One young woman in her twenties mentioned that the HIV/AIDS teaching was useful but that she wished that they received training for some of the other proposed activities such as beehives and silk work production.

The elderly and Inter-generational relations

Respect for elders and the household head are part of the cultural heritage and patriarchal values are strong. Elderly men often have important societal roles particularly in associations such as *iddir* and *mehaber* as well as in dispute resolution. Elderly men in good health also tend to control the household wealth. However, if the household is poor or they become weak or disabled control over property and assets rapidly transfers to sons. Elderly women may also be respected for their roles as home makers and carers. However, elderly women without relatives are among the most vulnerable, depending on neighbours and their children for all types of support, and even basic assistance with fetching water, wood and cooking.

Despite the norms of respect for elders tensions over inheritance and land shortage mean that the youth are often frustrated. This is compounded by the lack of other opportunities for young men and women for income-generating off-farm or non-farm activities. According to the former Kebele chairman this has resulted in a situation where intra-household conflict and even violence does sometimes erupt. Young people are questioning the authority of elders for instance with regard to the choice of marriage partners.

Wealth and poverty

Wealth distribution

Table 3: Household Wealth Distribution 2004

<i>Wealth</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum %</i>
Very rich	7.1	100
Rich	12.4	92.9
Upper Middle	26.0	80.5
Lower Middle	20.7	54.5
Poor	11.8	33.8
Very poor	14.8	22.0
Destitute	7.1	7.1

Source RANS 2004 wealth measures based on productive assets.

Table 3 provides an estimate of the productive wealth distribution in Dinki in 2004. One third of the households in the sample were poor and one in five were rich or very rich. The survey was done before the full impact of the increase in irrigation opportunities and other livelihood changes described below.

Box 1: Wealth Characteristics of Dinki Households 2004

The very rich had large rainfed landholdings (range 1.38 to 4 hectares; mean 2.34), more than half had some irrigated land, 2 or more oxen, and a good number of livestock (range 4-10.30 Tropical Livestock Units; mean 7.14). They included two weavers, and one man with a job in a seedling nursery.

The rich category had a lot of land (range 1.25-3.25; mean 1.88) more than a third had irrigated land, 1 ox or more, good livestock (range 2.85-8.80 TLU; mean 4.52). They included a weaver.

The middle category has a number of sub-categories according to whether they had irrigated land or not, oxen, numbers of TLUS.

The upper middle had a mean of 1.33 ha (range 0.25-3.00), 11 of them had 2 oxen, 23 had one and only 10 had none, and they had a mean TLU of 2.66 (range 1.00-4.66). There was one trader, one teacher and one smith among them.

The lower middle had a mean of 1.16 ha (range 0.63-2.75), none had two oxen and the majority had none, they had a mean TLU of 1.38 (range 0-2.65). Three of the household heads were too old to work, and two were weavers

Households in the poor category generally had one hectare or less (mean 0.48); only three of them had irrigated land, no oxen, very little livestock between (range 0-1.33 TLU, mean 0.28). They included three household heads who were too old to work, and one who was disabled, and one weaver.

Households were classified as destitute if they were landless, virtually no livestock (only three of them had any livestock at all between 0.5-0.35 TLUs). They included four household heads who were too old to work.

Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:26

The box above shows differences between households on the basis of the data produced in 2004.

The wealthiest households in the community are headed by strong farmers with access to irrigated land, livestock and grain in stores. Some are involved in trade using camels, and many of them have positions of authority in both customary and formal institutions. They usually live in houses with corrugated iron roofs which are better furnished and are able to send older sons to towns for education. Wealthy households have better land and livestock holdings, and may be able to employ labour.

The very poor are characterised by less land and livestock, often lacking oxen for ploughing, may be involved in wage labour and selling firewood and earn some income from spinning or weaving, and borrow grain and money. Many may have fallen off the ideal cycle due to death, divorce or other shocks, some lack helpers or may live alone, and may be old and in poor health. Destitute people have no land or livestock, may not have a house or if they do a poorly constructed one. Their

clothing is poor and they mostly live a life that is hand to mouth doing daily labour, serving the rich, chopping wood, or begging. As one poor person put it: “*When one does not have land and any labour support, - this is real poverty*”.

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.

The community organizations do not have religious/cultural reasons to exclude the poor but their membership obligations systematically bar the poorest. The poor have been increasingly excluded by from *iddir* and *mehaber* since the famine period mainly due to economic factors. The destitute borrow or receive grain/food from others. Some people need the destitute to work for them. Others feel pity for them. Non-participation in *Iddir* and *Mehaber* has been a typical form of social exclusion of destitute (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:27).

There is a greater proportion of the very poor and destitute among the Argobba (13% of the Argobba were very poor as compared with 8% of the Amhara, and all the destitute were Argobba; RANS 2004).

Pro-poor interventions

When the Wereda decided to transform food aid into food for work to avoid dependency and increase developmental work, some poor people continued to be provided free grain and oil. In principle according to the Wereda 20% of the food is available for people that are unable to work due to old age or sickness. In practice though the number of people selected was apparently small. Direct food aid has included elderly and destitute female headed households, though some complained at not being included. There were also claims that the Kebele sometimes sold some of the food, which some leaders said was used for building Kebele offices as there was no other budget. One beneficiary woman said the assistance was useful but the amount was less than what people doing food for work received. Sometimes food aid is given for very poor households. A group of youth said this was particularly useful for female headed households.

Ethnicities and religions

Ethnic composition

The Argobba for a majority of almost two thirds (64%) and the Amhara represent just over a third (36%).

Table 4: Dinki Ethnicity by Wealth 2004

	Ethnicity of hh head %	Mean landholding Hectares	Landless %	Mean irrigated land – estimate Hectares	Access to irrigated land %	No oxen %	No livestock %	Asset index score
Argobba	64%	1.16	13.5%	0.08	20	54	15	2.54
Amhara	36%	1.21	1.7%	0.12	35	34	7	2.66

Bevan and Pankhurst 2007: 89

There were some differences in productive wealth holding between Amhara and Argobba: 13.5% of the latter were landless compared with 1.7% of the former, and 20% had access to irrigation compared with 35% of Amhara. 54% had no oxen compared with 34% and 15% no livestock

compared with 7% (Bevan and Pankhurst 2007:89). There is also a larger proportion of Argobba among the very poor and destitute, particularly female headed households.

In general the relationship between the Amhara and the Argobba has been fairly good. However, after EPRDF came to power, differences became visible and the Argobba have had the upper hand in the political field, and most prominent Kebele posts are in the hands of Argobba. However, both Amhara and Argobba suspect that those in positions of authority within the Kebele work together for their own personal ends. They are particularly suspicious regarding the grain and oil that come for food for work, with some claims that some aid was used for other purposes. One of the Kebele administration worker said they are using small part of the support to construct the buildings of the Kebele. Some Amhara complain that there is bias in favour of the Argobba in delivering justice or support from the government. Some Argobba complain that they were not fairly represented in the land registration committee. During the elections of 1997, the Argobba were suggesting their Kebele should be moved to Afar. Though there does not seem to be serious tensions, some people say the cohesion is only superficial.

Religious composition and relations

Two-thirds of the population of Dinki are Muslims and the rest are Orthodox Christians. The Argobba are all Muslim and almost all the Amhara are Christian. Muslims and Christians have traditionally taken part in common rituals and pilgrimages. They have also been members of one *iddir*, though some fundamentalist preachers have tried to suggest that the Muslims should form their own *iddir*. Both religions provide some support to the poor. Richer Muslims provide *Zakat* alms to the poor particularly during religious holidays notably to destitute female headed households. Christian *mehabers* provide food to the hungry on the major saints' days.

Occupational castes

Weaving is a secondary occupation for many men and is also a way of making some additional income in hard times or during droughts. There are even some women involved in weaving, though women, particularly elderly women usually make some money for minor expenses from spinning. However, neither weaving nor spinning are considered marginalised occupations. All five full-time weavers and ten out of 11 part-time weavers are Argobba and this is considered a respectable occupation. In contrast smiths and tanners tend to be looked down on, though there are no full time craft specialists in Dinki. The only part-time leatherworker is Argobba, but the two part-time smiths are Amhara.

Fields of action /domains of power in 2010

Livelihoods

Generally livelihoods in Dinki have depended on rainfed agriculture though irrigation has increasingly become important for about a third of households with access. The Kebele produces *tef*, sorghum and maize as well as pulses and oil seeds, and 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, and recently some of the richer bought camels for transport. The irrigation has enabled the production of vegetables (especially onions and tomatoes) and fruit (bananas, mangoes, avocados), coffee and chat, and has allowed those with access to increase their income and improve their diet, though it requires hard labour including of children.

Though much of the agricultural work is based on household labour, with women assisting in weeding, harvesting and preparing food taken to the fields, reciprocal labour groups at peak seasons are common involving food and drink. It is also becoming less unusual for richer households to

employ daily wage labourers and a few have a labourer paid on an annual basis living with the household. Poorer households and especially female headed households and the elderly tend to sharecrop out their land, and those without oxen enter arrangement to obtain traction in exchange for cash or a share of the produce.

Land and environment

There has not been land redistribution since the Derg, and very little land taken for development purposes. The main intervention has been the land registration. The youth were disappointed that the **redistribution** that occurred in 1997 in other weredas was not carried out in Ankober apparently due to its mountainous topography and the sensitivities around the issue. There are some 903 households with land but a very large number of mainly young households without land, resulting in discontent and inter-generational tensions.

The only **loss of land** due to development was in 2008 when a few household had some land taken from them when the road was widened; compensation was apparently promised but not given.

The land **registration and certification** in 2007 was meant to create a sense of ownership and encourage people to invest in the land, plant permanent crops and thereby reduce erosion. The new land legislation allows a person to rent land for three years if the agreement is concluded in the Kebele, and for 25 years if the contract is made at Wereda level; the parties have to renew their contract every five years. The Kebele saw this as important in reducing disputes over privately concluded contracts. The legislation also protected women's right to land which was the major bone of contention, as it required wives to be registered as well as male household heads and the photographs of both husband and wife had to be provided to the land administration committee; the certificate is stamped by the wereda. In particular Argobba Muslims did not want to abide by this as customarily according to the Sharia law women did not have land rights on divorce but were give cash compensation. Some men tried to get certificates without the knowledge of their wives, or did not bring their photographs, or claimed they did not have a wife, but the Wereda and Kebele stood firm, and the Wereda Land Administration, the Kebele Cabinet the DAs and the *Hiwas* cell leaders were involved. There were also problems with the same plot being registered to two different users and boundary disputes, and migrants who had been working elsewhere returning to claim land. The problems were addressed by a complaints committee together with the Kebele land administration, the security and justice and local militias. There were some tensions between the Kebele and the Land Administration committee, and two application letters were lost in the process of the Kebele moving offices. There were also allegations that the Argobba were not properly represented on the committee. Though some Kebele in Ankober Wereda completed the registration and certification, in the lowland Kebeles including Hagere Selam less than half the households have received certificates. There was a case of a woman appealing successfully to the Wereda and gaining a share of the land on divorce, and another of children of deceased parents whose relative tried to claim the land, and the children appealing successfully.

The mountainous terrain has meant that there is a big concern among administrators about erosion. A number of households have lost land washed away by the river, and this has had serious consequences for some households, and in some cases the river course was diverted leading to loss of irrigable land. There have been attempts to promote terracing and tree planting using food for work. There were plans to move people off the hillsides to be designated for tree planting though these were successfully resisted in 2005 in part due to the election period. There have recently been fresh attempts to work on terracing and tree planting. However, according to the Wereda officials people do not participate whole-heartedly and are doing it mainly for the food. Underlying the resistance is the fact that the mountains are crucial for grazing. When the Kebele provided some land to a youth group for forestry, the trees were cut down and some people claimed the land was

not communal land but they had rights over it and they won their case though they had to return the trees.

Water for agriculture and irrigation

Irrigation has had a very big impact in Dinki enabling some households to prosper mainly through sale of vegetables and to invest the income in livestock including camels, improved their housing and even building houses in Chibite, generally enabling better wellbeing of their families, including improved nutrition, more clothing and better access to education and health services. However, irrigation access is limited to those in Dinki *got*, and even there only about one third of households have irrigation access. There are plans that a Catholic NGO will become involved in irrigation development in Chibite and the road is being improved in part in anticipation. Wereda officials suggest that people find the work difficult and time consuming and do not want to plant crops in lines and expend labour to improve the canals, and they consider resistance, lack of hard work and laziness to be problems. Some people claim that there were unfulfilled promises from the Wereda that canals would be cemented.

A number of households bought **pumps** in groups, paying 5600 birr. Though there were clear benefits for those using these and improved seeds, in at least one case the pump broke down soon after. The DA said that the pumps were of poor quality but that they needed care and maintenance that required literacy. One household had two **water mills** but closed one as the water decreased when the number of irrigation users increased and there seemed not to be enough demand for the two mills.

An **irrigation users committee** was set up four years ago as the number of users increased to 35 and the amount of water decreased and there were disagreements. Sanctions were set up: a fine of 50 birr for people using water out of turn, and persons taken to the social court if they refuse. A 30 birr fine if users do not participate in canal clearance. So far no one was taken to court. Problems include that two points in the irrigation system would need improving with cement and stone, and that the amount of water in the river is decreasing.

The irrigation has both positive and negative **effects on children**. On the one hand the improved income, better nutrition and the income being used for improvements in the housing and expenses for clothes, education and health care clearly was an important benefit. However, as group interviews with boys and girls pointed out it also meant more labour for children who might sometimes have to miss school and have less leisure. An older girls' focus group said that children skip classes or study less, but added that the family spends time working together. The older girls also suggested that there was more housework left to them when disputes over water led to parents spending time litigating, and the younger girls group said that when the boys worked on the irrigation they no longer helped with fetching water and wood. The older and younger girls' groups also mentioned the potential danger of stagnant water leading to mosquitoes breeding and hence malaria. Younger boys added that the food for work had enabled digging additional canals which would not have been possible without.

The **seedlings nursery** has provided people with seedlings of onions and coffee, and experimented with spices such as turmeric and cardamom, the former without success the later apparently with potential, cassava, and a number of fruit trees, including mangoes, avocados, pineapples, the latter not successful, and eucalyptus, which is valued by the community. The nursery has provided employment and income from wage labour which poor and young women in particular have found a useful source of income.

There was not much enthusiasm for water harvesting in Dinki *got* in part since the river is close whereas in areas where there is serious water shortage there was more interest. According to the

Wereda until 2008 there were 430 ponds in the wereda and in 2009 the number rose to 828. Some Kebeles have built over 100 ponds but only a couple of people in Hagere Selam had them but in 2008 24 new water ponds were dug, mostly in Aygebir *got* where the water shortage is acute. The two ponds in Dinki do not hold water, whereas in Aygebir people are using the water for themselves and their animals, while in Saramba it is for household use and vegetables. Complaints included that the ponds take away land, that the plastic can get damaged easily and costs 158 birr to replace, and that if the pond is not fenced it is a potential danger for animals and small children, and that the stagnant water may breed mosquitoes. In one case using the water ponds with motor pumps seemed to work well until the pump broke down and the seedlings dried up. However, the person had moved to using the pump to bring water from the river and felt that the pond took up valuable space and the land available in his back yard.

Agriculture, extension and packages

The agricultural extension service relies since 2004 on three **Development Agents**; however, in Dinki only the DA for crops is present; there is no DA for livestock and the one for natural resources left, though a veterinarian has been assigned in Chibite. Much of the emphasis of the work of the crops DA has been on encouraging the use of fertiliser and improved seeds, and promoting techniques of planting such as row planting and following a crop calendar.

The Wereda mentioned that it was difficult to convince extension workers to work in remoter Kebeles, and that they prefer to live in towns and tend to be present mainly when their supervisors come. In 2007 the DAs were meant to become accountable to the Kebele as well as the Wereda which they were resistant to and appealed seeing themselves as civil servants. They were told both the Wereda and the Kebele are part of the government hierarchy so they should be accountable to both.

Fertiliser use is still quite minimal despite an increase. Though the Kebele leaders suggest this is partly due to resistance even when it is clear that the results are good, they acknowledge that the price increase is a major constraint. The service cooperative is providing fertiliser but so far since the cooperative was only recently re-established not at a price that is lower than the market. There is also a risk of poor harvests due to drought or pests after high investments in fertiliser. Some people said that due to lack of rain last year the *tef* did not grow well and they fed it to their cattle. The Kebele chairman mentioned that there are people who did not pay the **fertilizer debt**. The interest increased as the time went by and the interest to be paid by some people is more than the original credit. However, he said that the number of people who are in debt is very small and that most of the people repay the credit immediately. Some farmers who used to use fertiliser found that poor weather and increased prices meant that using fertiliser was too risky and they reverted to using manure. The DA said that there was enough supply of fertiliser but that since people cannot afford it, many use **manure and compost**, which he suggested was becoming more common. Younger boys mentioned that taking the manure to the fields which are far was difficult work, whereas compost is prepared close to the farmland. Younger girls mentioned that if a child puts fertiliser in its mouth it may die.

Improved seeds that are promoted are mainly shorter maturing varieties of maize. Kebele leaders who were among the early adopters mention that the yields with fertiliser increased from 35 to 162 quintals. However, some did not experience successful results as they did not control weeds, and others due to insufficient rainfall. The DA said that one constraint was that improved seeds are not always available on time. The Wereda does not have the capacity to supply them and the people have to contribute money to get the seeds. The farmers ask for the seeds when the sowing time is near, when there may not be enough supplies. An older girls group suggested that there was discrimination when improved seeds are distributed and that female headed household and those who are not related to those in power do not get them.

There has been very little done regarding **non-farm extension packages**. Women's and youth associations that used to exist under the Derg were re-established and members registered. There were a number of ideas for employment for youth including mining stone and sand, forestry, bull fattening, silk production, and income generation through trade. However, nothing materialised apart from providing some space for young men to open kiosks in Chibite. Even in this case youth complained that since they could not obtain credit, many could not use the opportunity and the spaces were about to be taken away unless they could obtain help from their relatives. There is a sense of disillusionment among the leadership of the youth association and the youth generally given potential promises that were not kept.

Livestock

There have been significant improvements with the assigning first of a DA specialising in livestock and more recently a veterinarian working in partly in Hagere Selam who is much appreciated. However, the provision of improved chickens was not successful as they were susceptible to diseases and filters were not improved alongside improved beehives.

According to the Wereda the main problem is resistance on the part of farmers who after repeated trials seem to be happy and adopt things they are told but then revert to their usual way of doing things. There used to be one veterinarian for three Kebeles; since the problems are acute in the area near Hagere Selam a veterinarian was assigned there and works in three *gots* there including Dinki and two *gots* from Zego Kebele. In this way Dinki is now in a better situation, and complaints no longer come to the wereda; vaccinations can be carried out frequently, preventing diseases, and reducing costs for people obtaining the service in their own Kebele. However, the area of the 5 *gots* is still rather vast and the terrain difficult making the work tiring for the veterinarian.

The Kebele officials were pleased with this measure since they had been appealing for many years for a veterinarian to the wereda and at wereda council meetings. The Kebele administration built the house in which the veterinarian lives. Though her presence has improved things and epizootics and other problems can be addressed in a timely manner they also said the area to be covered is very large (there is one mule for all the extension workers but it was said to have bad behaviour throwing people off), and there are shortages of equipment and medication.

Community members also very much appreciated the support of the veterinarian and the vaccination of livestock. However, there have been reservations and problems with the attempts to introduce improved chicken breeds and modern beehives. The **chicken breeds** did not resist diseases, and several respondents mentioned that most of them died, and even the chicks after hatching. The improved **beehives** were introduced but not filters to exploit the honey.

Service cooperative

The service cooperative established during the Derg was looted during the transition and disintegrated leaving mistrust and debts and the leadership was implicated in misuse of funds. The cooperative was re-established in 2009 with a new leadership, and is regarded by the Wereda as one of the better of the 16 service cooperatives in the Wereda. The Wereda offers support of an expert that oversees the activities monthly and provides an audit every three months. The membership is now over 300 but a number of farmers who are interested in joining want to wait and see if it is successful before they are willing to pay the membership fee of 35 birr.

The cooperative is providing fertiliser and pesticides at the market price. This has the advantage of bringing the fertiliser closer to the farmers, and there is the guarantee of proper quality whereas there is said to be adulterated fertiliser on the market. The cooperative is still too small to be able to afford to join the cooperative union (its capital is 12000 birr and needs to reach 35000) to obtain cheaper supplies and thereby sell fertiliser and seed at a price lower than the market, and to provide other items to its members.

According to the plan the members are due to get dividends according to the number of lots - each lot being 30 birr with a maximum of 10. However, members are sceptical whether this will happen, in part due to the legacy of bad experiences with the previous cooperative. The cooperative is not involved in giving loans which the Kebele leadership and members of the cooperative think would be good if funds could be provided.

Food for work

Ankober Wereda is not part of the PSNP, since only seven out of 23 Kebeles are lowland drought prone. There had been some Food for work during famines in the past, and more recently in 2002 and several years in the mid-2000s. According to the Wereda direct food aid was given in 2005 and 2006 as the harvest was very bad. The intervention was changed to food for work, as direct food aid promotes dependency, and there was a need to promote development and natural resource management. However, this created some resentment as direct food support continues in neighbouring Afar Region and some suggest that the food was given by donors as aid intended to be given directly.

According to the Wereda 20% of the food can be given to the needy without work. However, it seems that in practice only a few elderly and destitute female-headed households received food aid, and some complained that the amount was less than those doing food for work received. One poor daughter living with her female headed mother received one kg of flour but said it was so little she baked it and gave it to her dog, which is perhaps a way of expressing its insufficiency. Then there were allegations that some food was used for other purposes. Kebele officials suggested that some was used for to sponsor construction of Kebele buildings in the absence of any other budget.

Kebele officials felt that food for work was important particularly since the climate was becoming unpredictable and the small rains were often failing and people were had to go to resettlement with which they were unfamiliar. The work to be done is suggested by the Kebele and prioritised by the community, and this involved maintaining the main road, building new roads to *gots*, improving the irrigation and digging canals to protect against flooding, terraces on hillsides and tree planting.

People work on a given day from morning to 2pm in the afternoon and are given three kilograms of wheat. Oil and flour for children might be included in the aid, and those unable to work were to be given direct support. The distribution is supervised by the DPPC committee at the Wereda and in the Kebele, and the DAs are also involved. Leaders of each *Limat Budin* are responsible in registering and checking on the work of participants. There is a form that comes from the Wereda; DAs fill the names and time of work of each participant with the help of leaders of *Limat budin*. Then finally the Kebele sends the names of the people and the time they worked to the Wereda and the people are given the grain according to the days for which they participated in the work. The day on which the grain is distributed is told to the people and they go to Aliyu Amba, and receive the grain.

Community members seem to appreciate the food for work more for the food than the work. In particular it is seen as very important for poor and female headed households and landless households enabling them to survive. Female headed household appreciated the support, though one said that it is not constant and is available only once in a while. One man pointed out that it happens during the sunny season when farmers are less engaged in their fields, and that it depends on the weather conditions and the availability of aid. There were also some dissenting views. A richer participant suggested that the grain does not help that much and that the work takes time away from work on their farms, and people lag behind in what needs to be done in the fields. He suggested that food for work should be gradually reduced and stopped to wean people off depending on it since it is not sustainable and the grain may not always come. A group of older girls

said that they worked on the nursery and road maintenance and the money was useful but the wages are delayed and they have to go to Ankober to get it and use up much of it on the way.

The work done includes roads, terracing and work on the irrigation. For the road most residents do not use it as there is no transport though they say the cleared road could be useful to carry sick people and when there are occasional government cars, and that it may become more useful in the future. The irrigation canals are seen as useful for those who have access to irrigated land. The terracing and NRM work is less valued and terracing and plans to plant trees have been resisted in the past.

Credit

Wereda officials said that there are people who took the credit and improved their lives, and some are now saving; however numbers in Hagere Selam are small and some might use it for consumption or be forced to sell an ox or rent out land to repay the credit, and the group system involves group responsibility and liability that people are afraid of as their assets may be taken, and cases of failure discourage others. Kebele officials are involved in the selection and recommend people who can work and they believe can return the credit on time and have land and other assets. The Kebele rejected two people who were not hard working, rented out their land and drank too much. Those receiving credit receive training for three days from the Amhara Credit and Savings Institution representatives in Ankober and the Kebele and a women representative are involved in ensuring the loans are repaid.

According to the Kebele officials the credit has brought good results for most of those who took it. They said that some people who did not have an ox now have their own and they can work on their farms without having to wait for others to plough their land and enter arrangements to obtain traction. They plough their land and then sell the ox. It also gave women the chance to engage in some income generating activities. They bought cows, and they are getting other sources of income. They also suggested that people are no longer taking credit from rich people as the interest was higher – sometimes more than the initial amount, and that private money lenders exist but are not as prominent as they used to be. However, people still borrow from friends, neighbours and relatives.

There are two ACSI centres in the Kebele. One of them is found in Chibite and the other in Aygebir. There were 57 credit takers and now 40 in the ACSI centre in Chibite, as two of the people died and 15 people left voluntarily, allegedly as their situation improved. A major problem was the death of cattle bought with loans, for which the repayment was lengthened after ascertaining that the cattle died for reasons beyond their control. Kebele officials suggested that the amount given was too low as 3000-4000 birr can no longer buy an ox. They also felt that the reduction of the duration for the repayment from 12 to 9 months was unrealistic and creating discontent.

Within the community there were people who faced problems repaying the credit. One poor man facing problems had used up the money for immediate needs. He had a cow that died which he was planning to sell to repay the credit. Although he planted onions and bought goats he was worried that he might not be able to pay and would “offend the government”, and suggested that credit was only useful for strong farmers and those who were careful with money. One poor woman who had taken credit had a poor harvest due to drought and pests, and used the money for food rather than buying an ox as planned. She was worried about having to sell her livestock and assets to repay the debt. She said *credit could lead to sustainable poverty rather than sustainable development*.

There were also concerns among the youth. A group of older girls thought that credit was dangerous since if the money is used unwisely people could have their land and house taken affecting the family and potentially leading to family dispersal and/or children dropping out of school so that it should only be available “*for those with enough to eat*”. Likewise a group of younger boys mentioned the case of a man who was forced to sell his ox to repay the credit and that his children

faced hunger. A group of younger girls said children could suffer from loss of shelter or food if the house and ox are sold and that borrowers need to borrow again in order to repay getting further into indebtedness.

Human re/production

Housing, water, fuel and lighting

The most common form of **housing** is round houses made of wood plastered with mud and thatched roofs. Two-thirds of households have a livestock yard. However, increasingly the wealthy are building houses with corrugated iron sheets, a separate food store and sometimes separate kitchens.

People obtain **water** for drinking and household use from the Dinki river; however, getting clean water is a constraint and people fetch water downstream when someone has washed upstream. In the dry season the river runs low and water shortage is a serious problem. A spring protected by the Lutheran World Federation in 1992 fell into disuse but was renovated in 2006.

All households use firewood for **fuel**. Improved stoves were introduced by extension workers reducing the use of firewood and preventing risks from direct exposure to fire, and were said to be useful when girls learn to bake *injera*. The use of torches which used to be owned only by the household head has become widespread. In 2009 some households began to use the device of light bulbs connected to batteries.

Health and sanitation

Major **illnesses** according to the Health Centre worker are STDs, pneumonia and TB, the latter becoming more prevalent, and **malaria** decreasing. The Health Centre worker suggested this was due to the distribution of bed nets (although people did not realize their importance and were not using them) and reduction of stagnant water. However, a Health Extension Worker suggested that the reduction had more to do with water shortage and better use of available water removing stagnant water, a view shared by some community members. Bed nets were considered effective when they were first distributed for preventing not just mosquitoes but also flies and cockroaches, but they are now considered old and often used as curtains.

The health centre is concerned about the spread of **HIV/AIDS** and is providing VCT services and awareness training. The Health Extension Worker does not have any data on prevalence in the Kebele. Among the community HIV/AIDS is considered largely as an urban problem though some patients had come home to die, and some men were suspected of contracting the illness from relations with women in Aliyu Amba. One person with a wife in Aliyu Amba is suspected to have died from HIV/AIDS as he became thin before dying and she died three months after him. The Wereda officials mentioned a programme to assist HIV/AIDS orphans with goat breeding, and provisions of school materials. Though there are no official AIDS orphans in Dinki, the children of a few women who had migrated and died were being looked after by relatives. There are believed to be handful of people suspected of having contracted the virus from women in Aliyu Amba notably one who confessed before her death to having sexual relations with three men. Generally there seems to be good awareness about transmission of HIV/AIDS, though one man thought people could get the virus from eating a chicken that had pecked at the sputum of an infected person, and another said he would be afraid of eating food with a person who was infected. There was also the view that people affected behave irresponsibly. One respondent said that women affected with HIV want to sleep with as many men as possible, because it is believed that doing that will make them better when they transmit the virus to the men. Regarding behaviour change it was said that children who come of age want to get married as soon as possible for fear that they might be involved in sexual affairs and hence fall prey to the disease, and that men are more wary of having

casual relationships with commercial sex workers. However, there are two or three men who are considered promiscuous, and apparently the matter was being taken up in their *Iddir* and *Hiwas* (cell), and some people allegedly were saying that these people had either to be punished or imprisoned before they transmit the disease to many people.

The **health extension services** have been upgraded with the Health Extension Worker and a nurse was assigned to the health post in 2008. The health post offers first aid, has a delivery bed, plastic container for water, ORS, and other equipment donated from UNICEF. However, it did not have even a table or chair. *The* Wereda provides medicines and the kebele assigns people from the cabinet to work with the Health Extension Worker. Major challenges reported by the Health Extension Worker included the large size of the Kebele resulting in problems transporting mothers requiring help with delivery, and people facing accidents or emergencies. A health worker expressed frustrations over resistance to vaccinations. People in the community appreciate the construction of the health post which they felt was important in providing temporary relief till patients could reach better health services. However there were complaints that the health post had little to offer in terms of medication beyond painkillers and contraceptives.

Regarding **latrines** the Health Extension worker said that 750 households (80%) had graduated completing digging latrines and the first 50 were given certificates by the Wereda. However, she acknowledged that digging them was not enough and the Kebele chairman said people were resistant to using them. There were some positive views expressed about latrines. A woman suggested it was useful in the rainy season, or when someone rises late, when a person has a stomach ache or when there are crops in the field. A wife said she likes the latrine as human waste smells bad when weeding. A group of older boys said that they though environmental hygiene was important and they disapproved of people not using latrines, and likewise a group of older girls mentioned that they approved and that a latrine for girls had been built in the school; they suggested that the Health Extension Workers should follow up on people's latrines and that people should be forced to use them so that the environment would change. Younger boys stressed that latrines improved health and prevented infection while playing in compounds, but younger girls said that some do not use it thinking it will bring a bad smell.

However, there were a number of arguments made against latrines. One wife said they had been told by the health extension worker to dig latrines and bury waste but had not done this as they did not benefit, they just dug it for the Health Extension Worker's sake. She said: *"We are not using it as we are not used to it. We do not even want to use it when we go to towns. We prepared everything because it is mandatory"*. One man dug a hole for the latrine but is using it to store grass for fodder and making a new roof. An elderly woman said: *"Our country is suitable, and it is very depressing to use latrines. We dug latrine just to observe the government order"*. Excuses mentioned included a son who said they do not use their latrine as it does not have a roof and a daughter because theirs was not completed. Though several young people said the latrine prevented them having to go far in the rains, one person said that in the rainy season the smell from the latrine close to the house was noxious. Some people who did not want to dig latrines claimed their land was too stony to dig, and others argued that when the latrines smell they fill them up and are short of land and labour to keep digging new ones.

The Health Extension Workers also have tried to promote pits for **household waste** which do not seem to have caught on, and hand washing which is difficult with water shortage. There was distribution of a chemical for **water purification**. However, children mentioned the danger of not having the correct dosage and the case of a woman who became ill from drinking water with too high a dose.

There were campaigns to provide **iodine and vitamin A** for mothers and children, **nutritious food** for malnourished children (palm nut oil), **vaccinations** for children against polio and other childhood diseases, and **school feeding** was provided by the Wereda in 2007. Some mothers complained about

their children not being included in the feeding when they saw neighbours' children receive supplementary food until it was explained that only the severely malnourished children were included, though there was a shortage of palm nut oil to provide to all the underweight children. There were initially some concerns on the part of mothers when children got fevers after vaccinations and one Health Extension Worker was said to have become frustrated at this lack of comprehension. According to the Kebele officials there were also some worries expressed that the vaccinations might be a way to give women birth control secretly. There was also preventative medicine provide against trachoma.

There are a number of **traditional healers** in the area and the Wereda health centre workers said they were thinking of working together with them on a skin disease for which they were believed to have found a medicine. However, within the Kebele there were tensions with some spiritual healers. Two healers who were believed to be practising magic were taken to the social court and fined. However, people often go to bonesetters and holy water among the Christians for a number of complaints. The children's groups though that the government should take action against sorcerers.

There seems to be a strong feeling among people of different sorts that there is a change and women are using **contraceptives**. The health extension worker claimed that usage had increased from 10% to 95%, and that only some Argobbas were resisting. Girls said that contraceptives are readily available and used including by teenage girls who are able to have pre-marital sex. Contraceptives were said to have disguised extra-marital affairs. Most husbands were said to agree with their wives taking contraceptives but even if they do not women can obtain them from the health post when they go to Chibite for meetings or markets. There is some opposition from Muslim husbands, though in one of the case households the husband mentioned that he had reluctantly agreed to it. In another case household the husband pressurized the wife to stop taking contraceptives as he wanted to have more children. However in a third case household the husband was worried about his wife's health if she got pregnant again though they would like to have an eighth child. There are cases of women stopping taking contraception because of illness, or because husbands want more children, or on religious grounds among Muslims, though one Muslim man said he had reluctantly started to use it. Discussions with older youths and girls suggested they were keen on family planning as fewer children would mean better care, and girls would not have to look after younger siblings to the same extent, or have to migrate to look for work. Girls also suggested that an abducted girl would use contraception if she was planning to run away from the man to marry another.

Education

There has been a major improvement in **educational facilities**. The primary school was extended to include grades 7 and 8 with diploma holder teachers. The federal Ministry of Education gave an additional budget in 2010 (about 8000 birr). But this money cannot be used for students but only on the school. The wereda provides books and 500 birr. The community provided materials and labour for building teachers' homes and in digging latrines, but no payments. The Parents-Teachers Association has discussed raising income and evaluating teachers' performance, and decides on discipline with the authority to expel students. An NGO called ANFEAE (Adult and Non-Formal Education Association in Ethiopia) built two classrooms, one store and two offices, and provided tables and chairs. **Satellite schools** were opened in several *gots*, usually with a multi-grade system with only one teacher. According to the head teacher major **achievements** beyond the construction of classrooms and provision of chairs and tables are **increased enrolments and girls' enrolment** reaching 50%. This was achieved through teachers involving parents, creating awareness in the community, through the PTA and teachers pointing to the examples of model students who joined secondary education. **Attendance** has been increasing from 432 students in 2008 to 549 in 2009 and 572 in 2010.

The main **constraints** mentioned by the head teacher include **insufficient teachers**, heavy workloads (with teachers taking 36 instead of the recommended 30 hours), lack of textbooks and teacher aids, and lack of piped water at the school. There have been a number of **campaigns** including teaching quality assurance programmes (2008); beautifying the compound (2009-2010); expansion of classes for 7th and 8th grades (2008); latrines for students (2007); Latrines for girls (2009); a civics club (2010), introducing federal and regional flags; improving the football field, improving the ceilings of classrooms, and maintaining walls (2008). In 2010 when the radio programme was not working the teacher read his book in lieu of it.

Attendance of children with unsupportive families was reported as a problem especially among poor performing students. **Absenteeism** for students under grade five is greater, and at peak agricultural times (harvest, weeding and putting dung on fields), and holidays especially for children coming from far. Homeroom teachers discuss with parents and inform *Hiwas* leaders about absent students. According to the Kebele manager a letter is written to the *Hiwas*, *Limat budin*, and even to the one-for-five structure. This might include making visits with the director of the school. The DAs, Health Extension Workers and teachers might go out to make visits and to work together, though fines are no longer used. One teacher complained that children were more interested in what their parents were doing and said: *"I planted tomatoes in the school, and the students were more interested to take care of the tomatoes than to learn in classroom"*. He also suggested that some families send their children alternately. *"One day one of the children might come while the other looks after livestock, and the next day they shift activities"*.

There are **dropouts** especially in the second semester because of the harvest, and also due to sickness or lack of family assistance. To solve this problem tutorial classes are given for absent students together with low performing students. If the number of absent students is small these tutorial classes are not given. Also the issue of absentees is discussed with parents through the PTA or teachers. **Discipline** is not much of a problem since in the civics classes ethics and moral values are taught. Teachers have experienced problems of people sending dogs out when they go to visit. Children have been able to go on to secondary school now that a school is opened in Aliyu Amba, whereas previously going to Ankober was expensive.

The school works on a **shift system** about which a teacher who was interviewed complained on the grounds that this was creating a high workload. He also claimed that students in the morning shift particularly from far parts of the Kebele come late. Because of the shift system they have to start early and cannot therefore delay the start of classes. Teachers are therefore not keen on the shift system, especially given the shortage of classrooms and teachers.

There was an **Alternative Basic Education** centre in Addis Alem *got* which some children went to prior to the establishment of the satellite schools. However, the quality of education according to some children was not that good, there were few students and it was far. The establishment of the **satellite schools** was seen as positive by community members, and boys and girls mentioned that this reduced distances they had to go to school. However, they mentioned that there was a shortage of materials and textbooks and they were sharing one textbook for three students and had none for some subjects; they hoped that the satellite schools could be upgraded to enrol students up to fourth grade. A group of older girls were pleased that the satellite school enabled their younger sibling to return in time to help with housework, allowing the older girls to go to school. They too mentioned shortages of materials, notably chairs, and even doors and walls. Younger boys suggested that the compound was small and the single classroom too crowded. A teacher suggested that the **self-contained system** in the satellite schools poses an extra workload on teachers and may have a negative effect on the quality of education as she has to give class work for one group while she continues to teach the other group.

The **Parents-Teacher Association** has six members, two teachers and four parents, one of whom is female. The head teacher mentioned that the PTA was involved in various things such as disciplining

students; classroom maintenance, and decisions about growing vegetables or selling grass in an auction. A teacher expressed dissatisfaction with the role of the PTA which “only carries the name”; he was upset that they were evaluating teachers when he said they did not even know them. The chairman of the PTA suggested that the evaluation of teachers by members was not always done very well despite repeated orientation. The school director suggested that teachers were not always conscientious, were sometimes apathetic and not entirely honest about working hours.

The addition of grades 9 and 10 in Aliyu Amba were seen as major improvements by community members since children could come home at the weekend and did not have to go to Ankober facing many problems and costs. Older girls, however, mentioned that they still have to stay with relatives in Aliyu Amba during the week as there is no transport home. The children of all groups would like to see grades 11 and 12 added to the secondary school.

Community members have not had access to tertiary education. Only the health Extension worker had attended TVET for one year in Debre Berhan, the head teacher was trained at the teacher training college in Debre Berhan after 10th grade and the head of the health centre in Ankober completed a health officer degree program at Alemaya university.

Social re/production

People in Dinki 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 in Dinki. 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 within Dinki 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. There is regular cooperation in agriculture 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.

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 contributed money. 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. Very few people in Dinki had relatives in urban areas and a number who do, have little contact with them even if they know where they are. However, some have relatives in Aliyu Amba with whom children going to school can stay. A few had stayed with relatives in Addis Ababa and one received help for medical treatment staying with relatives in Nazareth. One household has a daughter sending remittances from Awasa, but none of the case households received remittances from abroad and only one had a cousin living overseas but did not even know where.

Households devote much time, energy and resources to annual ceremonies or holidays. These are often related to life cycle events, notably christenings, marriages, and deaths. Some feasts are related to agricultural work or house building parties and others to Muslim and Christian religious festivals. For instance one man spent over 3000 birr for his son's wedding slaughtering an ox for the occasion. Another slaughtered a cow costing more than 1000 birr for the 40th day commemoration of his daughter's death. Christians invite relatives and friends over for christenings. A Muslim spent over 1000 birr for a *dua* prayer to celebrate building a new house with a corrugated iron roof. Another slaughtered a goat for the *mewlid* celebrations of the birth of the Prophet

Mehaber are 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. None of the female headed households or dependents are members.

All the case households headed by men are members of **iddir**, one of them being a member of an *iddir* in another *got*, though he is thinking of moving to the local *iddir*. The two women heads are not members as they are too poor or considered too poor to join. The *iddir* in Dinki requires a payment of one birr a month, which was increased from fifty cents last year, as well as four kg maize and four kg beans per year stored in the treasurer's house. Sometimes people pay late and may be fined 50 cents. Maize and beans are provided on death and 20 birr for coffee, and members also bring firewood. The grain may be sold if there is not the need to use it, but other times it may not be enough. The *iddir* has written rules, stating that members will get support only when parents, siblings or children die. It has utensils which can be used by members for non-burial purposes. There is a separate pot for Argobba and one Argobba woman suggested it would be better for Muslims to have a separate *iddir* if there were enough potential members. The *iddir* was set up six years ago, with four leaders selected by the members: a chairman, secretary, treasurer and a member, and who are still in office. The number of members increased from 25 to 35. Some Argobbas were apparently initially unwilling to join but are not doing so as seeing the benefits. There were only two female-headed households and now one, as the other left when her children became members, and others said they could not afford the membership fee. The *iddir* is involved in dispute resolution and can impose sanction on members. After the 2005 elections the government has wanted to work closely with *iddirs*, and the Kebele wants the *iddir* to be able to impose sanctions.

The Muslims are trying to build a **mosque** and in the meantime hold religious ceremonies together. There used to be a mosque but it burnt down accidentally. The nearest mosque is in Aliyu Amba which men sometimes go to when they go to town for other purposes. Christian case households pay annual contributions to the **church** of 24 birr; some have paid contributions or contributed labour to church construction and many household members including dependents attend, mainly for burials saints days, annual holidays.

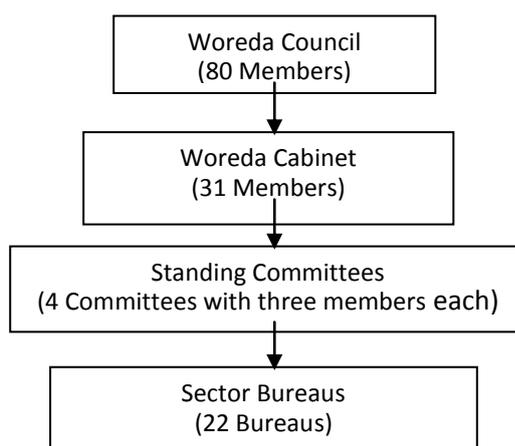
Very few households are members of *iqub* (rotating savings and credit associations) and only one of the case households is a member as this requires a regular income and is seen as something that only traders can be involved in.

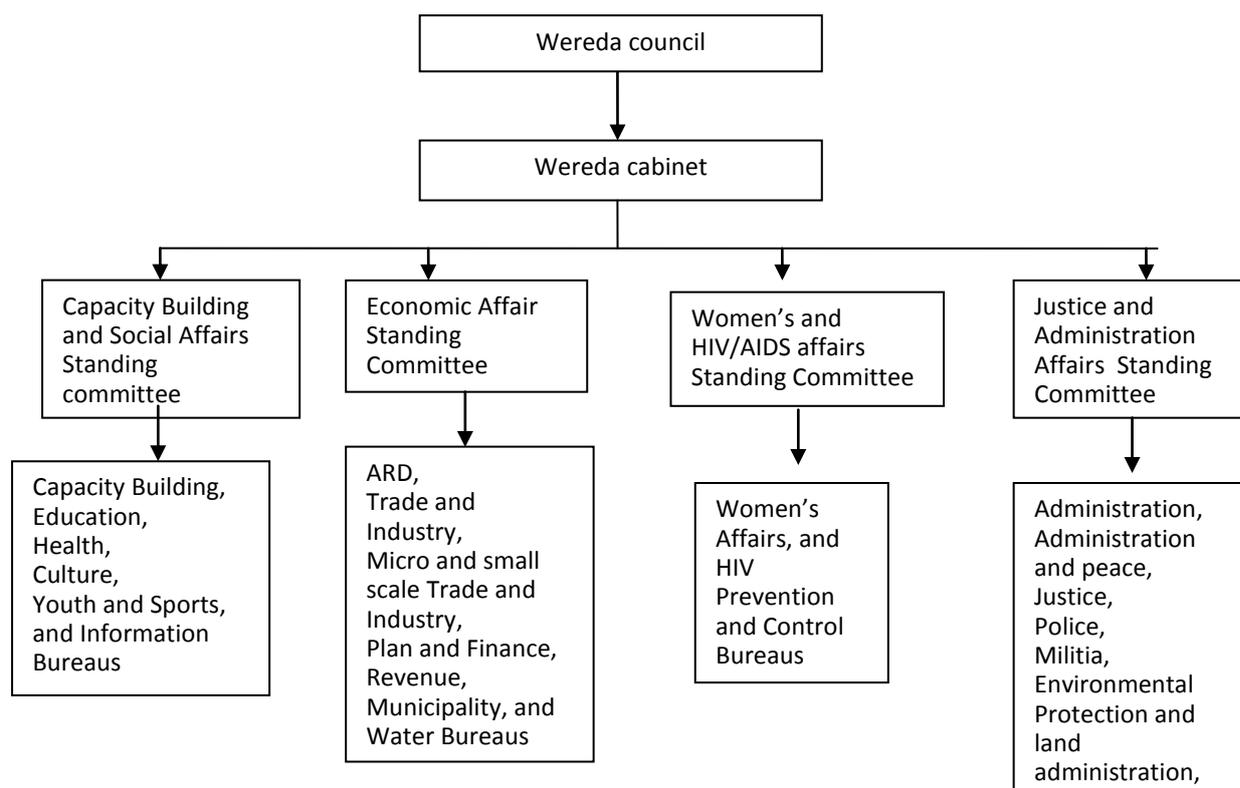
Community management

Wereda Structure

The Wereda structure involves the council, the cabinet, standing committees and sector bureaus (see diagrams below). The Kebele cabinet sends reports to the **wereda council**, which evaluates their work once in six months. Of the three **Wereda councillors** one died, a second is living in Aliyu Amba and has abandoned his responsibilities and third, a woman is active. She has been educated up to 7th grade, was trained in Debre Berhan on family planning, and had worked with the Amhara Development Association on family planning. She also attended training on women's rights in Ankober two to three times a year over the past five years, and on smokeless stoves for five days. She was elected five years ago. She is also the head of the women's association and cabinet member, and representative for ACSI, and a female headed household, making it difficult for her to carry out all her responsibilities. She even hires a woman to spend the night with her children when she goes to the Wereda. Some of the issues she raised concerned the performance of extension workers. For instance she said the previous DAs were not working well and two were subsequently replaced, and the previous nurse used to close her office and disappear, and was replaced as a result of complaints. Teachers were ordering their students to fetch water and collect firewood, and got them to dig and weed which was stopped as a result of her intervention. She also felt she had been able to raise women's awareness about their rights.

Figure 3: Ankober Woreda Structure





Kebele structures and personnel

The **Kebele Council** meets once a month, reviews the plan prepared by the cabinet and the sector offices and approves it and subsequently assesses the work done. The Kebele manager presents a general report. The sector offices answer to questions if there are any, and minutes are recorded. Previously the Kebele chair used to head the Kebele council, but now there is a speaker. The number of councillors was 80 but their number has been substantially increased to 300. If members are absent without any justifiable reason, they were taken to the social court and fined five birr though this stopped after the 2005 elections.

There are ten members of Kebele **cabinet** including the Kebele manager since 2009. The education and agriculture representatives were changed this year, and the speaker was not included until 2010. Since 2009 the cabinet meets once a fortnight. All the members of the cabinet write monthly report, and sometimes go out to the field together, overseeing food for work on natural resources and road construction, as well as campaigns on latrine digging, vaccinations, family planning. There were elections in July 2008. The head of administration and security of the Kebele was replaced as he was suspected with crime. The head of information was also replaced because he was not carrying out his duties as expected. The representative of the youth was evaluated by the council and was replaced because he was not working properly. The previous Kebele chair was suspected to be involved in corruption, related to land issues, which are now dealt with by a specific land administration committee. All the cabinet members were replaced in 2006 after the elections.

The Kebele Manager mentioned that they have report forms (weekly, two-weeks, monthly, quarterly, and annual). Weekly reports are not expected unless it is specifically required, though the manual orders that. But urgent reports might be required frequently. For example, they were

reporting things related to the election every two days to the National Amhara Democratic Movement (EPRDF). They were also reporting using the telephone. The manager said: *“The monthly report is a must, what ever the workload might be. The quarterly, semi-annual and annual reports are also indispensable”*.

The role of the **Kebele manager** includes preparing plans, accepting complaints, giving ID cards, coordinating with the Kebele Administration and the people, writing reports, and making field visits when issues arise. According to the Kebele chairman he is accountable to the Kebele administration and does not have a voice in the decisions. He writes reports to the Wereda assessing whether the plans are implemented or not. He receives complaints and brings these to the cabinet for discussion, and reports the decisions of the cabinet to the wereda. He also sends the decision to the *Hiwas* leaders to be implemented. He keeps minutes in the cabinet meetings. As the current manager put it: *“All in all the Kebele manager is like a salt, he is involved in everything”*.

The current Kebele manager completed 12th grade, and has a diploma in electrical installations, and took some management courses. After selection he had a week’s training in Debre Berhan. He drew lots and worked for eight months as Kebele manager in another Kebele in the same wereda, where there was a water shortage and he fell sick; he has worked in Hagera Selam for four months. He considers his major achievements to include reorganising the files, preparing a Kebele plan; having a complaints system and forms, and introducing ID cards made simply without payment of 10 birr as previously. He mentioned land issues and flooding during the rains as major concerns. Challenges he faced included limited budget (they received 2500 birr for stationery this year as a trial) and his living conditions (he receives a salary of 695 birr, but pointed out that he had a lot of expenses for house rent grain, grinding, and kerosene). The head of the youth association complained that the Kebele managers do not stay long and it is difficult to establish a relationship with them. He thought that there had been four so far and that none had stayed a full year. The Health Extension Worker was critical of previous managers whom she claimed were here *“to look for other jobs”* but was complimentary of the new one.

The role of the Kebele **chairman** has been reduced since the Kebele manager position was introduced. The current Kebele chairman is self-taught not having gone to school. He attended training given by the party for a fortnight, and on improving quality of education in Debre Berhan. He has also been involved in trainings concerning health, agriculture, and peace and security. He has been Kebele chair since 2006, and had also been chairman for five months in 2001. He was elected for five years in 2008. He had served as a militia, has been a party member and councillor, and has been involved in the wereda council. He sees himself as a bridge between the community and the government. He is also chair of the *Meseretawi Dirijit* (Party leadership consisting of 14 people in the Kebele administration) and is also chairman of the cabinet. Among the major achievement he lists road maintenance and new roads to all five *gots*; water harvesting; the construction of two satellite schools, buildings for the Kebele administration and other offices, and houses for the DAs. The main challenges he faced include lack of budget to construct buildings for the Kebele; drought and pests diverting the attention of the farmers from development activities; the attitude of the people towards their work and their lack of knowledge about their rights and responsibilities. The chairman is required to be in the Kebele administration office only one day in a week. However, he complains that the work is more demanding and that the allowance of 195 birr was stopped in 2001. He pointed out that in neighbouring Afar the Kebele chairman, the vice chairman, the secretary, the speaker and the vice speaker are salaried, and forest, school and health post guards are paid. But in Hagera Selam the people in the community have to make contribution to cover the payment of the guards.

There are 14 Kebele **sub-committees**: Social court (that meets once a week to consider cases), land administration (that meets once a week, gives land certificates, resolves disputes), militia leadership (meeting once every two weeks); justice and security committee (meeting once a month to evaluate

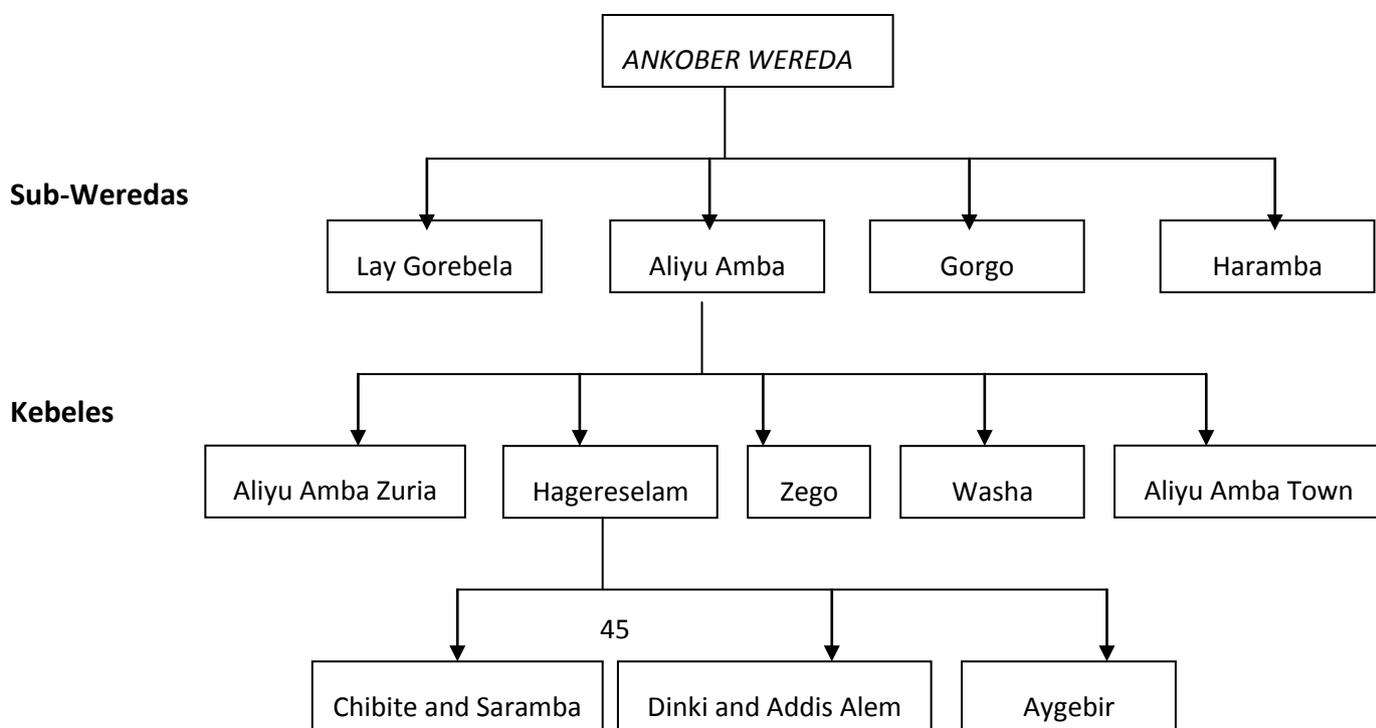
social court's work and justice), advisory committee (meeting when members called to discuss about peace and security); elders' committee (meeting as needed to resolve disputes); danger prevention and preparedness committee, (meetings when problems like drought arise); water committee (meetings in Chibite when members called to control the water point and its sanitation);) *Ganta* leadership (the structure that heads the militia team leaders, and reports to the administration and security committee); plan committee; justice improvement committee, the PTA (meetings on an ad hoc basis), and at the time of the research the election committee.

Sub-kebele structures

The Kebele structure below the Kebele includes three sub-Kebeles (*Neus Kebeles*) that are purely residential units and two of these are further sub-divided into two *gots* whereas the third has one *got*, so that in total there are five *gots* that are also residential units. Dinki *got* has three *Hiwas* (cells) formed by party members, involving some 30-50 members, each of which has three leaders - a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. Each *Hiwas* has a *Limat budin* (development team) that is a smaller unit with two leaders, though there is often an overlap between the *Hiwas* and *Limat budin*. There is also a structure of one-for- ten households and below that of one-for-five households that are in the process of being established.

The *Hiwas* (cells), that used to be known as *mengistawi budin* (governmental teams), and were introduced in 2009 are groupings at the *got* level of 30-50 people who are party members with their own leadership composed of a chairman, a secretary and a treasurer. The *Hiwas* in Dinki *got* had 35 members initially and now they are 42 tax paying members, though there would be 65 including the landless. The Kebele organized and selected the leaders who had to be paid up party members with good conduct. They were trained about the party for ten days in Chibite. They are involved in promoting campaigns such as the latrines, natural resource management work, student enrolment, collecting taxes and contributions for the party, women's rights and mobilising people for the elections. The cabinet provides the *Hiwas* leaders with checklists and they report back and the cabinet evaluates their performance and gives them feedback. A *Hiwas* leader suggested the main challenges were collecting tax and levies. For example, the people were asked to make a contribution of 50 birr this year to buy an ambulance for the Wereda and last year people were made to contribute money up to 50 birr for road maintenance. When people do not attend meetings the Kebele leadership blame the *Hiwas* leaders claiming they did not inform the people. Another problem is that when work is expected such as for the construction of the health post each *Hiwas* is given a quota which is difficult to cover. The only incentive for *Hiwas* leaders was that they were given canned oil.

Dinki in the wereda structure 2010



Sub-Kebeles

Gots

Hiwas (Cells)

Limat budin

There are eight sub-kebele level committees in each *got*: The land administration established in 2005, Crime prevention (2008), elders committee (2008), One-for-ten (2009); one-for-five (2009), student enrolment (2010); irrigation; and a water committee in Chibite.

Justice and governance

The **militia** have a separate but related structure with below the Kebele the *Ganta* and below those team leaders at a *got* level. There is team leadership in each *got* that leads the militia in each *got*. Militia are selected by people of their *got* and receive training for 15-20 days. The head was selected by the Kebele council along with one other. When the community policing came to the Kebele he was trained in Debre Berhan. He now works with the community police officer. The militia are expected to guard the neighborhood and be alert against potential threats of theft, murder and especially be vigilant about the boundary with Afar. They are given an allowance of 20 birr when they go to Ankober as of 2006. The land administration might write them letters to bring people who refuse to appear before them. Major problems they reported were related to land, lack of firearms and allowances so that they have to travel on foot or cover their own expenses. A militiaman claimed that some militia close to the Wereda militia bureau are given arms. He also said if criminals are sent to the wereda and have relatives they are released whereas others who have committed minor offences may be sentenced unfairly. He mentioned an example of a group of youths that accosted people going to market who were imprisoned but soon released and returned and fired at the people who they suspected informed the police. They were again arrested but the wereda released them saying there was not enough evidence. The militia reported four cases of murder; except in one case the criminals were found and sent to the Wereda that sent them to the Zone. An Afar was killed in Aygebir *got*, and elders handled the case with the militia and police of the two weredas. The militiamen would like to have uniforms and a salary but have been told by the wereda that there is no budget for them. A group of older girls expressed the view that the militias do not take action when they see a woman being abducted, suggesting that there should be supervision, rules and that accountable people be selected.

Community policing **has been started in 2008**. The **officer** is expected to collect evidence on crime and present it to the police bureau detective office, and give support to sector offices, for instance

working on latrines, compost, dealing with dropout students. An advisory committee is established for each *got* with five members. They are to establish 'family police' i.e. a person responsible for each household, build houses where the advisory committees meet, replace missing members, teach the community, and work with the school advisory committee. The officers are given a salary, allowances if they attend meeting, and are transporting criminals, uniforms, a sleeping bag, lantern and kerosene. They are expected to write reports to the wereda, which sends them a checklist for the Kebele and wereda to evaluate each other. The officer takes people charged to the social court, and to the land administration. The officer works on agricultural, health and education packages with *got* crime prevention committees and the militia. He has contact with the *Ganta* leaders, and team leaders who are responsible to lead the militiamen in each *got*. The officer is expected to counsel drunken persons who disturb family and community, who can be expelled from the *iddir* if they do not improve their behaviour. Sanctions the officers can use include imprisonment and a fine of 50 birr for release, making the person work, (fencing the Kebele office), forcing them to do physical exercises (for violations such as gambling and stealing from parents). They send people who quarrel to elders. They give training to the crime prevention committee with five members in each *got*. The officer complained about lack of equipment and that people do not attend meetings about crime prevention.

The **social court** used to have five members (three main members and two reserves), but now it has three members (the chair, secretary and a member) and six other people work closely with the court (three as elders and three to hear appeals). The nine people were elected during the wereda and Kebele elections in 2008, and trained for five days in Ankober. When a complaint comes they send it to elders, and if that fails to other elders (in one case five times). They collect evidence. If the case is serious and evidence is not available the *iddir* committee considers the case and other people might be involved. Initially people are advised and reprimanded, but they might be liable to pay up to 1500 birr, which is the maximum sum the social court is allowed to impose. If people want to appeal they can take the case to the three people who consider appeals; this happened only once, and the three people sent them back to elders. If the three people in charge of appeals support the social court the plaintiffs can appeal to the wereda but that has not happened so far. Since 2008 the social court is no longer entitled to consider land cases that were a major problem that they used to deal with. The social court has been providing free cards for medical treatment for poor people. The manual for the social court judges has 57 articles. They do not consider cases between husband and wives, and cases of money above 1500 birr, and they try to avoid fines.

A member of the social court gave a number of examples of cases they had dealt with:

- A wife and a husband were divorced and their land was divided. On the land were orange trees and *Gesho* trees. The woman accused the man of taking oranges and *Gesho* that is worth about 600 Birr.
- A man sold a goat for 150 birr but the other man refused to give his money after he slaughtered the goat. The man disappeared and he was living in Aliyu Amba. The social court sent a letter to police and he was brought and arrested for 24 hours. The man was sent to elders who resolved the issue. The man paid 50 Birr for the police officer's allowance.
- A woman who was living in Chibite went to Haramba after using Equb money. Members of the Equb brought the case to the social court.
- Someone's cattle ate the crops of another man. Five witnesses were summoned and the crop damage was estimated to be 1400 Birr. A letter was sent to him two or three times and he refused to come. Finally, he was fined 50 Birr. But the other man said he did not want anything from him. And they were reconciled.
- Two magicians were cheating the people in Addis Alem and Saramba *gots*. They were fined 150 and 200 Birr each. They were caught red handed during the night, so they did not appeal. These people were causing people to quarrel. They used to advise women to divorce their husbands.

They told them they would suffer a disease unless they divorce them. No one else has been fined.

Challenges the social court faces included working in a rented private house and that the Kebele does not pay the rent on time and the office does not have the necessary materials. The Kebele gives them stationery but not an independent office with chairs and tables. There are mice and the records are dispersed; there is no filing cabinet or guard. They were told that the regulations have changed but have not received the new ones. Members of the social court suggested they should receive grain for the Saturdays they work to be considered as development activities, or an allowance which could at least be used to buy salt. They also thought more cases should be resolved at the *got* level. However, they felt they should consider minor cases of husbands and wives. Otherwise, they argued, women have to take every case to the wereda which puts them at a disadvantage.

Other structures and positions

The **women's association** has a chair, vice chair, secretary, treasurer and two members in the leadership. They are involved in women's right and in promoting the involvement of women in credit through ACSI. However, women are said to be reluctant to get involved. The chairwoman is also the representative of ACSI and the only Wereda councilor as well as being a female-headed household making it difficult for her to perform all her duties effectively, and the association is dormant.

The **youth association** was established at *got* level and then at Kebele level in 2007. According to the chairman a contribution of one birr for membership annually was started in 2008 but only collected once. The association has 400 members but has not been very active. The chairman attended basic education during the Derg and can read. He has been for training to Ankober when he was chair of the PTA, and once for two days for the Youth Association. When the Youth Association asked the wereda for land for tress they told them to go to the Kebele that gave them a small plot on the mountain that includes more than 100 people. They used the two timad to plant trees, but the land was claimed by individuals who cut down the trees. They took the case to the Wereda and the trees were returned but the three men got the land back and the Kebele leader would not support the youth so the association abandoned the case. The association helped to organize labour and cash for the building of the health post. In 2009 discussions were held with the wereda and kebele officials to transport sand to market and quarry red stone for construction, but nothing happened. The wereda also promised credit for beehives, chickens, bull fattening sheep and goats but none of this was put into practice. The kebele also gave space for shops to seven youth. They were promised credit to buy commodities but since this was not forthcoming only those who could borrow from relatives were able to open shops. The Kebele chairman mentioned that because none of the promised activities materialized they had bad relations with the youth. He suggested that even those young men who want to work and change their situation are forced to engage in theft and that there were cases of quarrels with parents and siblings and even violence ending in death. Recently the youth league has become prominent as a vanguard organisation.

There is currently only one out of the three **Development Agents** in Dinki, the one responsible for crops. The DA for NRM took leave when his brother died but did not return, and livestock DA was not assigned. The DA finished 12th grade, trained as a DA in a training college in Gojjam, was further trained in NRM in Ankober, worked in another Kebele in the wereda for eight months and has been in Hagere Selam for four months. He considers that lack of equipment for NRM and delays in receiving improved seeds and pesticides on time to be the major constraints he faces in his job. He considers the reforms in the extension package system to be important as previously the plan came from the Wereda and there was disagreement when the plan was not implemented. With the reform the initial plan is formulated by Kebele and is used in Wereda planning, resulting in a more consensual approach. However, the reporting system is challenging. There are 25-30 *Limat budins*

who are supposed to report regularly to the DAs but unless there are urgent works they do not do so. The cabinet might instruct the *Hiwas* to do things which they do not report to the DAs.

Although there is currently no DA for livestock, since the last one left, a veterinarian was assigned to Chibite, and is working in Hagere Selam and Zego Kebeles. She is from the same Wereda and was trained as DA and then got a Diploma in 2006, and has been working in Hagere Selam since 2009. She has to cover a large area of seven *gots* (three from Dinki and four from Zego Kebele) and suggested that lack of space to keep medication and materials, and lack of a microscope were the main constraints she faced. Since there is no refrigerator it is not possible to keep vaccine, which partly explains why the improved chickens died from diseases, although they also faced hardships in transport and were not fed well or provided enough water and fought among themselves. Although people were grateful for her assistance (some put butter on her head and gave her milk as a gesture of thanks when she helped to cure sick cows) others refused to come to get the various services, partly due to distance and due to cultural reasons as they might not want other people to see their livestock, especially their pregnant cows, as this is believed to generate envy.

A former Kebele chairman was critical of the changes in the DA system, as they are now all living in the Kebele centre rather than in farmers' houses as previously when the three DAs were located in three different places, one in Addis Alem, one in Chibite and one in Aygebir.

One of the two **Health Extension workers** has been to school up to grade 10 in Addis Alem and TVET for one year in Debre Berhan. She received training for Health Extension Workers and on delivery for a month as well as about TB. She has been working in Hagere Selam for 4 years as her first job. She left work as a health representative for the Kebele since she was not a party member. She sees the increase in family planning and latrine digging as achievements but mentioned that some people are unwilling to have their children vaccinated on the grounds that the injections caused fever. She also pointed out that digging the latrines was not enough and more work was needed to convince people to use them. Major challenges were the lack of a delivery bed which they obtained recently; the lack of a fridge which the Wereda bought recently, and lack of a table and chairs which they borrowed from the school. They have enough vaccinations but not drugs for curative services. She had started working on TB though she experienced a lack of willingness to be referred and one woman presumably died from it. She considers the work challenging and complains that it does not leave her enough time for her family.

The Health Extension Workers trained **Health promoters** who started working in **November 2010**. They were given trainings and teachings on breast-feeding, and are expected to teach others, going to houses where women have given birth so that the mothers would continue to breast-feed their babies for six months.

Working with NGOs

None of the NGOs in the Wereda are working in a visible manner and none were mentioned by community members, though the Kebele leadership was aware of some and the Wereda of support from others. Adult Non Formal Education Association Ethiopia provided assistance with education and supplied the materials for building classrooms at Chibite Schools for Grades 7 and 8. However, this was mentioned by the Kebele Officials but not community members. Bed nets were provided by the Carter Centre and Selam as noted by the Wereda officials but not by the Kebele or community. Assistance from HAPCO for children whose parents had died from HIV/AIDS with goat breeding and stationery materials and clothing was mentioned by the Wereda but not the Kebele or community members. A Catholic NGO is planning to introduce irrigation in Chibite and improving the road to benefit from this was also mentioned by the Wereda officials.

Ideas

Repertoires in Dinki

There are a number of contrasting and sometimes competing cultural repertoires that inform the values, beliefs and knowledge of Dinki residents and underlie some of 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 feasts, often involving slaughtering of a chicken, goat or ox depending on the importance of the event.

Some of these occasions like the *borenticha* ceremony in May and monthly *adbar* neighbourhood gathering involving drinking coffee together have animist undertones and can bring together Muslims and Christians. Likewise the *iddir* funeral associations have so far included both groups despite some suggestions to separate and the use of a separate pot for the Argobba if meat is provided. Others are linked to each religion notably the christenings and *mehaber* among the Orthodox Christians and the celebrations of the *Mewlid* festival and *dua* prayer sessions for special occasions among Muslims. There are also stricter gender role separations among the Argobba and more patriarchal values, in which women are not expected to work in the fields and men may at least in theory marry a second wife, although in practices this hardly exists. Traditional practices such as milk teeth extraction, female circumcision and early marriage are not considered harmful but are viewed as normal serving good functions. Sharing and reciprocity are highly valued and individualism beyond the ideal of setting up one's own self-sufficient household considered distasteful.

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.

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.

The competing religious repertoires are **Islam** and **Orthodox Christianity**. However, the local practices share many common premises about the nature of spirits, desirable values, the need to sacrifice animals, and the importance of fertility of people and livestock. Natural calamities are seen as supernatural acts, and working on holiday is viewed as sinful especially among the Orthodox Christians. Fertility of women is highly valued and requires protecting and celebrating and should not be tampered with by artificial means. Assisting those in need is strongly embedded in the ideologies of both religions with the Christians providing charity at churches and food to the poor at monthly *mehaber* and the Muslims at mosques and during annual festivals. Differences between the repertoires of the two religions relate in part to gender, with the Muslims leaders stricter in their views about women's roles being more confined to the domestic sphere, and a greater emphasis on the role of religious leaders in healing, whereas the Christians pray to saints, provide votive offerings at churches and go to holy water.

Repertoires of **Ethnic belonging** are tied to and subordinate to the religious ones, and in many contexts are not distinguished. However, the Argobba as a small minority in the wereda but form a

majority in the Kebele and in Dinki *got*, and have a clear sense of their former marginalised status and their political ascendancy in the EPRDF period where ethnicity has been recognised as a legitimate form of social organisation, which has been reflected in political mobilisations.

Revolutionary democracy as advocated by 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 including irrigation, 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 rights of the people are important, including the rights of women; the rights of individuals are associated with inequality. 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 and NGO repertoires do not figure directly in Dinki, and even NGOs do not have a visible presence on the ground, apart from some school construction and the planned irrigation extension which has not yet materialised. However, indirectly their influence has been felt through the provision of bed nets and the promotion of contraceptives, and anti HIV/AIDS campaigns. The provision of food aid is perhaps the only area where local people are very much aware of donor involvement and the wereda's decision to change food aid into food for work is assumed by some to be subverting the intension of the donors, justifying resistance to some of the work on food for work with which the community is not fully pleased notably the planting of hillsides with trees threatening to reduce already dwindling grazing areas.

How the government acts in 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 extension 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. In Hagere Selam only the DA for crops was around at the time of the study, the one for livestock not assigned recently. And the one for NRM having left. However, in addition a veterinarian was assigned at the Kebele level to three got's in Hagere Selam Kebele (Dinki, Chibite and Gendawuha and four *got's* in Zego Kebele. 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. In Hagere Selam in addition a nurse was assigned at the Health Post. There has also recently been the approach of training community **health promoters** to take messages to individual households. In Education the headmasters and teachers are assigned to schools, and the development of **satellite schools** seeks to expand their reach to a lower level. The schools and the education curriculum is of course in its own right a key tool in the promotion and diffusion of ideas.

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 is 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 extent to which they can really act as models for the diffusion of practices may be constrained by a range of other factors, including their characteristics as male and wealthier, often with more land, livestock, capital to purchase fertiliser and seed, and close links with credit institutions, cooperatives and the Kebele leadership which may be attributes of an elite that are difficult to replicate.

One linked further element of the model approach is the establishment of **Farmers Training Centres**. One was established in Chibite but has not been functioning very well. It has a demonstration plot with maize sowed with fertiliser in rows. The labour and implements are provided by model farmers. The head of the centre who is also the DA for crops said that it was there “*only nominally and not really serving its purpose*”.

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. The best case of this was latrine use where the Health Extension Worker suggested that 570 households (80%) had graduated completing digging latrines and the first 50 were given certificates after the wereda visited. However, she was the first to point out that digging latrines and using them were two different things.

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. For instance a Wereda official was suggesting that farmers in Dinki could become more motivated about their irrigation if they could be taken to Ansokia where farmers produce 340 quintals of onions per hectare.

At sub-kebele level in particular, **party structures** have been important elements of mobilising people for **campaigns**, for collective labour and raising resources. The **Hiwas** cell structure at the *got* level is the first sub-kebele level, and the **Limat budin** development team is second level each of which has a leadership structure. Very recently there have also been embryonic third and fourth levels of penetration with the **One-for-ten** (households) and **One-for-five** units in which one head represents the others. For community policing there was even the suggestion of having a household community police member, responsible for each household.

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.

There have been campaigns against **excessive consumption and spending** that are considered wasteful of resources and potentially lead people into poverty and indebtedness. People were very

much aware of this government position though households place a high value on the ceremonies relating to life cycle events and even many poor people try to be members of *iddir* funeral associations; moreover annual religious festivals and household celebrations are a major way for households to express their internal cohesion and enjoyment of belonging and sharing with neighbours and kin. Though adults tended to acknowledge that excessive feasting could be wasteful, they also justified their actions in relations to custom and as expressions of their commitment to their families. This issue does not seem to have received the salience it has in some other places. However, a group of younger boys did reflect the government position saying that conspicuous feasts consume whatever has been harvested and they argued the government should take serious measures about this, suggesting that the message may be infiltrating through the schools.

Traditional medicine and the activities of spiritual healers is another area where there have been attempts to intervene. In Hagera Selam this issue came to the fore when two spiritual mediums were accused of trying to persuade women to divorce their husbands lest they become victims of a disease, and were arrested caught doing rituals. The social court investigated the matter and fined them. Some of the customary medical practise can involve health risks. According to the Health Extension Worker cutting tonsils and gum lacerating are practiced in secret. People are aware that these practices are considered risky, and some are clearly rejecting them. However, there is resistance, and one young woman was sceptical based on her experience. She received traditional treatment for her tonsil inflammation with a hot knife which worsened the condition; she went to the health post but the medicine did not help and then to the health centre where they gave her an injection that did not help so she went to the traditional healer who told her the injection made it worse. She does not believe that cutting the tonsils is bad, saying "*what would happen to me if it was not cut?*" However, the younger boys' group expressed the view that people should not believe in sorcerers and the older girls' group that the government should take action against them, suggesting changing attitudes among the younger generation.

More generally the whole topic of **harmful traditional practices** is one that has received much publicity and strong campaigns particularly relating to women's rights. These include campaigns on female circumcision, early marriage, and abduction and rape. In general it would seem that there has been some change as a result of these campaigns, the formulation of the family law and its implementation and in particular the penalties, fines and imprisonment of men who have been involved in violence against women. All the focus groups of children of both ages and gender were clear that the introduction of these measures have protected girls and women and made men aware of women's rights and the risks involved in violence against them. The girls' focus groups also mentioned that this has enabled them to pursue their education without fear.

However, there has been community resistance in part on the basis of local customary repertoires which have tended to be patriarchal. In the case of direct male violence in **abduction** male elders have been instrumental in trying to broker negotiations for compensation payment by the man to the woman's family and getting her to say she had been willing to avoid imprisonment and higher fines by the courts. With regard to **early marriage** the problem has not been as serious in Dinki as in some parts of Amhara, although it was not uncommon for parents to give their daughters in marriage between 14 and 16 rather than at 18 as stipulated in the law. Here too parents are often keen to marry off their daughters in part to broker good relations with potentially desirable in-laws and to protect their daughters from possible abduction, unwanted pregnancy or the risk of not finding suitable partners; if challenged parents simply claim their daughter is older than she is.

Female circumcision is the issue that is most contested. People had heard of the campaign against it on the radio but many in the community consider it to be natural and find it difficult to conceive of women not being circumcised as girls would be considered unclean without it, it would bring bad luck, they would not find husbands, and might not be able to conceive or give birth. However,

among one of the boys groups opinions on the matter were split with some opposing the practice and others unable to conceive of it not happening.

Social interactions in 2010

Extra-community

Hagere Selam being located in the lowlands bordering Afar region, with a history of tensions and skirmishes between the highlander agriculturalists and the lowlander pastoralists, raiding of cattle and contraband trade, relations with Afar are of concern to both the Wereda and the community. Moreover, the majority of the population in Hagere Selam are Argobba and there is a Special Argobba Wereda within Afar Zone bordering Hagere Selam, creating particular affinities across the border. The fact that food is provided free of labour in Afar and that more Kebele personnel, guards etc are employed there has created a sense among some, particularly the Argobba that they would benefit if their Kebele was separated from Amhara region and became part of the special Argobba Wereda in Afar Region. The issue came to the fore at the time of the 2005 elections but seems to be less talked about now.

There have been some incidents and a few murders over the years, including an Afar man killed in Aygebir *got* in 2007. Such incidents are resolved with a strong involvement of customary dispute resolution institutions in which the elders play a key role in negotiating blood money compensation (in the case above 9000 birr). If there is no witness an *afersata* ceremony is held to put pressure on the killer to reveal himself. The cabinet works closely with the militia and the elders, and in 2008 a community policing committee was formed with the Afar region.

The world of Dinki residents' external relations is largely tied to market exchanges and social visits to areas within the vicinity. Chibite, the centre of the Kebele, is important as the location of the administrative buildings, the extensions services and market. A few wealthier Dinki *got* residents have built houses in the new growing administrative centre. Beyond that Dinki residents have social and marital links with kin and friends in neighbouring Gachene and Dulecha weredas in Afar region and likewise in Haramba and Zego kebeles in Amhara. The most important links though are with the town of Aliyu Amba the principal market and where health and education facilities have been improving. For administrative and judicial matters Dinki residents travel to the Wereda capital Ankober. Visits beyond there to Debre Berhan, Addis Ababa or further are relatively rare.

Hagere Selam residents have complex relations with interventions being promoted by the Wereda through the extensions services. Irrigation has made a significant difference for those with access to it improving their livelihoods and life quality, whereas reliance on erratic rainfed agriculture seems increasingly precarious, and food for work has become an important fall-back particularly for the landless, poorer and some female headed households. The community has expressed frustrations when food aid was converted to food for work while nearby Afar Region continues to get free food aid, and some claim that food aid is benefiting the leadership. Then there were allegations that after the distribution some food remained in the Kebele offices. One Kebele administration worker said they are using small part of the support to construct the buildings of the Kebele. A *Hiwas* sub-kebele cell leader said the only incentive they received was receiving canned oil. The Kebele militia expressed frustration that criminals sent to the Wereda were often released for lack of evidence and that they were not provided with weapons despite being a border area.

The community embraces interventions it is keen on such as irrigation development and livestock health, but resists others that do not resonate with their values and meet their needs such as hillside forestry and latrines. Though the community in Dinki has many common shared values there are also divergent belief systems and the Argobba were particularly resistant to wives' names being included in land certificates, to contraception, and less keen on modern education. Youth in Dinki expressed

frustration at repeated broken wereda promises of employment opportunities and credit, and tensions between the generation in a context of land shortage and lack of redistribution are rising with occasional eruptions of violent behaviour.

There is limited involvement of NGOs, apart from some support for the construction of schools, and for preventative health care through bed nets, family planning and interventions relating to HIV/AIDS orphans. The planned intervention of a Catholic NGO in irrigation in Chibite may be a factor that will bring about change and the upgrading of the road in anticipation may open up the area to traders.

Intra-community

Within the Kebele Dinki *got* has been a privileged area close to the river and benefiting from irrigation, with water available for drinking, for cattle and washing, and with a mill and seedlings nursery. Dinki residents with access to irrigation have become comparatively wealthy. However the terrain in Dinki is hilly and not conducive to the development of a larger settlement, and Chibite was selected as the Kebele centre and has been growing rapidly. A few wealthy households in Dinki *got* realised this and began to build houses there, and some of the youth have been given kiosks for trade.

The community in Dinki is made up of hamlets in which people's activities and relationships are closely linked to neighbours. Occasional conflicts erupt, often over border disputes, or disagreements may arise between land owners and sharecroppers. Sometimes men become drunk on market days and become violent. There have been occasional murders sometimes leading to reprisals and blood feuds. There have also been inter-generational conflicts and fights between fathers and sons, particularly over land, which have been exacerbated by land shortage and lack of redistribution, and the disappointments over repeatedly broken Wereda promises of income-generations opportunities for the youth.

There have been some conflicts over Kebele involvement in promoting external interventions. The clearest case was over plans to move people of the hillside to make way for forestry which was successfully resisted in 2005, and the allocation of land to the youth for the same purpose which was resisted by households claiming ownership who took their case to the Wereda and won. Most people gave in to pressure to build latrines but do not use them. There have also been suspicions that Kebele leaders have benefited personally or favoured relatives in some interventions notably in the provision of food aid.

The differences in religion and ethnicity to date have not led to serious tensions or clashes. This is partly since the community share underlying values and practices and live within a mixed settlement pattern, but also since modernising ideas cut across these cleavages through interests based on age, gender, wealth, education and status. Nonetheless, the Argobba have been more resistant to secular education, women working in fields and obtaining land certificates. Since the coming to power of the EPRDF the Argobba have had the upper hand in political terms though the Amhara are on average slightly better off in terms of land, livestock and other assets. At the time of the 2005 elections some of the tensions seemed to be on the rise, and there was also some talk of funeral associations in which both groups were members together forming separate groups. It seems in 2010 that these are no longer serious concerns.

Social actors

Dinki is not a place with strong external linkages and few migrants who have left the area seem to have maintained close contact, or sent significant remittances let alone started investments in the area.

There are a number of households led by energetic and dynamic heads who have become prosperous through irrigation, breeding livestock including camels, some involvement in trade, establishing a mill, and working in the seedlings nursery. Some of these have been able to build houses in the new centre at Chibite, and a few of children from these families are at secondary school.

Others 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 cooperative, the militia, the social court, the community police, the Parents-Teachers Association, the various Kebele committees, and at the sub-kebele level the *Hiwas* cells through the party structure. There was a change of leadership after the 2005 elections and the sub-kebele structure has recently gone to a lower level with the establishment of units of one-for-ten families, one-for-five families, and even for a household community policing representative.

Among the elders some people are recognised and respected as customary and/or spiritual leaders with a following. They may be leaders of the *iddir* funeral association, among the Christians involved in running *mehaber* associations dedicated to particular saints, and among the Muslims leader of spiritual *dua* prayer sessions.

Although there were no people mentioned outside the community as having an important effect on the community a few Wereda officials are remembered for particular interventions such as one official who trained people in goat fattening and onion planting and another who played a key role in getting the primary school built in Aygeber.

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, a Veterinarian two Health Extension Workers, a nurse, 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, who do not see themselves as belonging to the community, some of who stay very short periods, and others are hoping to leave soon, are involved in community affairs and influence peoples values and beliefs remains to be seen.

The society in Dinki 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, female-headed households without land and support, 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.