# Interviews with a range of people on the Community and its History since late 2002 in Adele Keke kebele, Kersa wereda, East Harerghe, Oromiya

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## The community and its leaders

### Community features

#### Terrain

In Adele Keke community, flat areas are small when compared to other land features. There are many more hilly areas than flat areas. There are two types of escarpments and in this there are hills embedded in flat lands. This type of land escarpment is known as 'Biyyo' and it is adjacent to the kebele office. There are also hilly escarpments found on Mount Gole, Mount Keke, and Hassane, Hadami, Kajero and Chifra villages. These areas or villages and mountains are situated on the top of the hills. There are no permanent rivers in this PA except the floods during the rainy seasons. On the other hand, there is a lake known as 'Lake Adele' which is situated to the left of the asphalt road as one goes to Haromaya and Harar. This lake covers seven hectares. In the PA, there are only two forest areas, one is on Mount Keke and the other is on Gole mountain or plateau. One can also observe eroded areas in the PA in about five areas. For example, we can see two in Gole village, one in Garbi village, one on Keke plateau, and the others are small gorges. Regarding protected lands, they are in two areas, namely, land stretching from Garbi village to Adele tabia (it is also a village) and the forestry lands on Keke and Gole plateaus.

#### Climate and weather

There is a change in weather. It does not rain on time. Formerly it rained from February to March. This season is known as 'Furma' (which means the time when the cows give birth and there is good milk/dairy). However in 2011 it did not rain during this period; it rained in April. As a result, drought and climate change has increased. The other related problem is that when there is a rainy season, cattle could not get enough food, it is difficult to get food for cattle. As a result, cattle are affected. When there is extended drought also, it is cattle which are affected more than people.

Frost also indicates the presence or absence of rain. When there is frost in desert or drought areas, there is no rain while there is enough rain if it comes to desert. No recent problems in connection with the frost but there is a very cold period or extreme frost from October to November. Of course there have been no problems as a result of heat or the change in climate except the extreme cold affects or even kills people. There is extreme frost in the morning. There is a strong wind during October and it makes it dry or dries out crops like maize, sorghum and chat by changing their leaves and flowers. It speeds up crops and causes untimely ripening. It also reduces production. The wind usually lasts for a maximum of three days. There have been no such problems regarding floods. However, it reduces production by rattling the roots of the crops. This finally reduces the output.

#### Spatial patterns

The settlement pattern in the PA is in accord with the topology, so that the majority of villages are situated above the farms and there are few farm lands above the villages. This settlement pattern was adopted by the community to hide themselves from the landlords during the Haile Sellassie regime. The community did not want to be observed by everybody during the landlord regime. For example, Gole village is situated between the two mountains and as a result it cannot be seen easily. There are currently 25 villages in the PA. These include: Ganda Tabia, Ganda Kusho, Ganda Sole, Ganda Barento, Ganda Mude, Ganda Garbi, Ganda Kajero Oli (upper kajero), Ganda Kajero Gadi(lower kajero), Ganda Gelan, Ganda Kura, Ganda Roba, Ganda Hassene, Ganda Chifra, Ganda Daye, Ganda Hure, Ganda Jidu, Ganda sodu, Ganda Galmo Oli, Galmo Gadi, Ganda Dado, Ganda Doyo, Ganda Nole, Ganda Kallu, Ganda Hadami, Ganda Elemo.

The average land holding of individuals is three Qindi (one Qindi = 1/2 hectare). There are very few small areas of communal grazing land. There is a small communal grazing land which was formerly owned by the 'Misrak Iz' (East Regiment Command post) which then gave this land to the community; the community has been using it as a grazing area. The majority of the rest of the land is zero-grazing.

There are internal roads that link Adele Keke with other PAs and Kersa town, the capital of Kersa wereda. For example, there is a road which goes from Adele Keke to Soddu village then to Awujimjim PA through Imaro PA and finally enters Kersa Town. Formerly, this internal road was used for cars but it has deteriorated and now it is not usable for cars.

#### Farming technology

During the dry season or winter, farmers use hoes and also tractors to plough their farm lands while 'Akafa ' in Amharic is used during summer. When oxen are used to plough the land, a farming implement known as 'Nuguya' in Oromiffa ('Mofer' in Amharic) is used. Also, seeds are planted or sowed in lines. Recently, instead of oxen, people have ploughed using one donkey and this is a new innovation. This has a great advantage compared with ox ploughing as the latter takes much space and only allows the planting of a small amount of seeds but donkey ploughing can be done in a small space and plant many seeds in rows. So, this has increased production and thus changed their life. The rural technology also introduced the modern plough and farmers are using it but it weighs a lot.

The prominent types of seeds in the area include maize and sorghum. For example, there are 12 varieties of sorghum but farmers use those varieties which are recommended by Extension Packages' experts and which match the current farming technologies in place. Improved maize seeds have been used by farmers while local sorghum seeds are predominantly used as they surpass the modern ones in yield as well as in the quality of the food; their crop weighs more than the modern one. As we were informed, both seeds of sorghum were planted on the farmers’ farms and tested and the local variety of sorghum surpassed the modern one in all the aspects.

However, the improved maize seed provided for the last two years was not tested by professionals and the unions simply bought it from merchants and as a result gave low output. Thus, the farmers complained a lot as they believed that this type of seed was not the one tested in the lab and on farm by agricultural professionals, but simply bought and distributed to farmers by local unions.

Farmers in Adele Keke use two methods to kill insects. The first one is collecting straw from farm lands and burning it out and the second one is that pesticides like malatine are bought and applied to the plants. Farmers are also using compost and fertilisers. Farmers have understood that compost lasts for about three years while artificial fertiliser is consumed and used up by plants soon. Compost also smooths land while artificial fertiliser dries out land. As we were informed, farmers in the PA have been preparing and using compost in their farms for chat and sorghum with the help of agricultural extension package professionals.

In the PA, three types of cattle have been used by farmers. These are:

1. Local breeds

2. Borena breeds

3. Holstein Friesian

As we also observed in every household, Holstein Friesian breeds have been used widely in the PA. There are two types of sheep breeds and only one goat breed in the PA. These are mountain sheep and Somali sheep, also known as 'Barara'. This breed type is very fat and is only used at times of ceremonies like weddings. The only goat breed in the area is the one that Haramaya University has introduced, but it could not adapt to the weather of the area. There are also local and faranji [foreign] chickens in the area but the faranji chickens are easily eaten by predators as they cannot escape since they are reared in the house. There is no camel in the area.

#### Irrigation

In Adele Keke, farmers use different pumps for irrigation. For example, they use hand pumps, treadle pumps, and motor pumps which they are using very well. Most farmers irrigate their chat twice a year using motor pumps. There is no trickle and spate irrigation in the PA. But there is piped water though it is not common. Only very few people have dug piped water in their farm to use for irrigation. There are two water wells which have been used for irrigation in the PA. There are no ponds.

In general, the change since 2005 is the use of irrigation by farmers and this has led to harvesting from one round to 2-3 rounds. By using irrigation, they produce different vegetables like carrots, salads, cabbage, etc. The other major change is the use of motor pumps for irrigation of chat. During the winter season, as there is no rain water in the area, water pumps play a great role in irrigating chat farms and this will give a great opportunity for farmers to sell it for a high price; one kilo of chat is even sold for around 2000-3000 birr. As one clearly understands from the farmers in Adele Keke, this has greatly improved their livelihood and they are so happy to get irrigation technologies for cash crops, mainly chat.

#### Domestic technologies

There are no domestic manual grain mills but some households use local 'Mukecha' in Amharic to grind their cereal grains. But now people use machine mills for grinding their cereal grains like maize and sorghum. Of course there are many motor mills in the PA. Also, formerly people used traditional clay cooking pots which do not cook economically, but now people use modern metal pans, which are highly economical in terms of time and fuel. The cooking fuel in the area is mainly eucalyptus wood.

The source of drinking water is water wells in the PA and there is a small pond to be used as drinking in the gorge which is found in Ganda Hurre (ganda=village). For washing and for drinking for cattle, people use lake water as well as water wells known as 'Eelas' in Oromiffa. Regarding stoves, formerly the stove used by households was the clay stove (' Yeshekila Mitad' in Amharic). However, now households use metal-made cooking stoves ('Yebiret Mitad' in Amharic) which save firewood. In the PA, once the 'Mirti Stove' which works with electricity was introduced by DAs and technicians also received training at the wereda but it was not functional.

Only one biogas stove was tried in the PA but it was not functional as it was not properly followed up by the DAs to scale it up for households.

#### Drinking water

There is no river in the PA, just the lake. There are no streams or small rivers and only one spring which is found in Hurre village. Water by manual pipe has been used as drinking water in the PA. There are no shallow water wells, but deep water wells used for the piped water. There is a water reservoir in Chifra village and Kajero village. This water was used for drinking in former times but now it is not used for drinking. There is no water from roof catchments or bottled water. People use bottled water when they travel.

The recent change regarding drinking water is that manual piped water from deep water sources have been constructed in every village. For instance, an NGO from Sudan has constructed deep wells for manual piped water for four villages. In general, in the PA, a few people dig water wells using machines, NGOs and including the government, manually working piped drinking water has been constructed for the community in the PA and people are using it widely. The other related great change is that in former times there were few piped water points in the PA and as a result people used to get water in turn, now, however, as there are several piped water points in the PA, there is no waiting in turn to get drinking water. So this has brought a great change in their lifestyles.

#### Balance of livelihood activities

There is no planting of enset in the PA. Vegetables like 'Mitatis' in Oromifa and 'Mitmita' in Amharic have been cultivated as rain-fed smallholder crops but they are not important like crops with irrigation like maize and sorghum. The cash crops produced in the PA include, chat, potatoes and cereal grains like maize, sorghum. Mainly it is chat in the PA that is very important for the community as is the number one cash crop in the area and it has greatly changed the lifestyle of the community. It is from chat income that people afford different costs in their livelihood. So, the economy of the PA is highly dependent on chat production. In earlier times, honey bees were good but recently they have not been as productive. There is low production. Poultry in the PA are also not very productive. These areas could not change the lifestyle of people as they could not follow modern methods.

Farmers do not use bull fattening because, it costs a lot and the final result does not cover the cost.. It is milk from Holestein Freeze which is greatly benefiting households rather than bull fattening.

Many people come to Adele Keke for agricultural labour from Kulubi and Gara Muleta areas and get 30 birr daily and return home after completing their work. Many people come to the PA widely at time when there is harvest or at no harvest. This has benefited both the community in the PA and the labourers too.

There is a FFW/PSNP programme in the area. People work for two days a week. Different types of people are helped by FFW. Poor people are being identified by the kebele and they are supported for five years. The beneficiary’s photo with his family is attached and sent to the kebele. Other beneficiaries are disabled and old people who are exempted from FFW. Formerly, around 600 households used to be supported by FFW/PSNP. From those covered, some have graduated by looking at their improvement in chat farms and livestocks. The respondents explained that it is those people who work for themselves and are supported by FFW who are more benefited than those simply reliant on food aid alone.

Regarding non-farm business, there are also some people working on the basis of daily labour when infrastructures like schools are constructed but they do not exceed 3% of the total population in the PA. Their number is few. Many people come to this PA in search of money and residents of the PA who go in search of money to others area are very few. This is also true for non-farm labour and there are still only one driver and two young assistant drivers who are working in other areas from this PA. Even those who are considered weak can work and help themselves well by working only in the PA instead of going out. There has still been no seasonal migration. There is only one person who went to Jimma so far and he himself came back as he could not cope with the weather conditions there. There has been no form of long-term migration here. These members of the community ranked their livelihood activities in the following manner: chat as major and first ranking activity, sorghum and maize as second, vegetables as third and livestock rearing as fourth.

#### Sources of cash from agriculture

There is no enset production. Sorghum and maize are used only for home consumption and as such do not contribute in bringing cash from the market. The community buys even sorghum and maize from the market and buries or stores them in the hole which every household has constructed (i.e., storage for grain like sorghum and maize) in their home. There is no coffee production in the area. As described earlier, the respondents here also stated that a great change has been brought in all aspects of livelihood as a result of cash from chat production. There are a few eucalyptus tree in a few households being used as a source of cash, for example, recently, one person sold eucalyptus trees for up to 5000 birr that he planted and grew in his garden. There is no meat production; but there is cash from the sale of milk, especially by women which helps to change their lifestyle. There is no production of butter or hides.

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

There are no household servants in the community. Only a few men, including the kebele chairman, go to market every day to sell the chat products for farmers and get 10 % commission for themselves. There are no female brokers.

Some times those with smallholder lands can do agricultural daily labour. Those who own businesses make up to 20 people and the majority of these are women who sell milk. Foremen ('Ginbegna' ) are three persons, carpenters are more than 15 persons, and people who buy chat directly from farmers and sell it in the market are 4-5.There are about 8 teachers, 1 person as a mayor in another town. Totally, regular employment in the PA is not more than 5%. There is no female employment. There are two livestock brokers. Also, there are around two individuals who buy timber and make and sell doors.

#### Migration opportunities and remittances

One male individual went to Arab and has been working there and now he is supporting his wife by sending her birr. In general, there is no seasonal or temporary migration in the PA. As respondents stated, currently, there is no one who aspires to town life as there is high unemployment in the towns. Thus, everybody there wants to stay in his community and work on his farm lands. There is no international official but only one individual from Chifra village has gone to Djibouti through illegal means and now he has come back and currently he has a shop in Dire Dawa and is working there.

#### Independence of the farming economy

On the average households can cover their food consumption for about eight months in a good harvest year. The gap is filled by the cash crops like chat, and some daily labour. If it does not rain up to June, it will be difficult as shortage of food can happen. However, if there is rain starting from March, there will be enough food for people as well as livestock. For example, sweet potatoes and potatoes. So households fill the gap by the products or harvests of Belg like sweet potatoes, barley and wheat if there is enough rain. From the total population of the PA, 1306 households, 348 (around 27%) were reliant on DirectSupport/PSNP in 2011.

#### Effects of inflation

The informants described the effects of rises in prices in the last four years in the area as follows:

1. Improved seeds were very costly. They were even more costly than cereal grains.

2. Cereal grains became expensive.

3. Fertilisers became expensive

4. Pesticides became expensive, 'Malatine' in particular became very expensive.

Chat also became expensive as its price has increased since four years. Also, the price of milk has also increased. Accordingly, 1 litre of milk in towns is sold for 15 birr while in the PA it is only 8 birr. However, the price of potatoes did not show an increase; but it also became expensive in the past two years. On the other hand, the price of onions has decreased as the production has increased in Adele Keke as well as in other neighbouring PAs. The price of bought foods like sugar, salt oil etc has increased. In addition, the price of household goods like TVs and satellite receivers has shown an increment. For example, three years ago, the price of a TV was 900 birr but now it is from 1500-2000 birr. The cost of transportation has also increased as a result of the high cost of fuel. Finally, wage rates have also increased. Five years ago, the minimum wage was 12 birr, but now it has increased to 30-35 birr.

The rise in the price of inputs has been a hindrance for some households, especially poor households from using fertiliser and selected seed. Thus, because of inflation most farmers minimised the quantity they want to use of modern agricultural inputs. Using a smaller quantity of these inputs over a long period reduced productivity a bit. But as most farmers have been using irrigation and artificial fertiliser (compost), productivity sometimes improved.

Furthermore, starting from the last two years farmers get credit by taking their chat crop as a guarantee, farmers are not selling the chat when its price is lower rather they sell it when its price increases by using the loan for necessities they need. As a result, recently since the last 2 years people have been getting better incomes. Furthermore, over time the price of output also has increased. This enables most households to be better off by the income they obtained from sale of chat. As compared with before the last 4 years recently 45 % of the households have brought a big change and 30 % have brought certain changes in their living conditions, mainly most have improved their housing condition and some households bought better household goods such as TV, satellite receiver, bed and box to put cloth, mattress, blanket, carpet, and other kitchen equipments, water pump, mobile phone etc. irrespective of its price increment. The remaining 25 % of the households are leading a similar life. Thus from the total households 75 % became better off but the level of betterment varies from household to household and 30% of the households have not shown any change. Indirectly, the respondents stated that there is no household that became worse off.

Price of consumption goods also has risen. Due to this some households have reduced drinking Hoja, which has more milk, rather people are selling milk by minimising milk consumption. As the price of meat has increased greatly people also are not buying and eating meat like 4 years ago.

Some people were hiring farm labour on annual basis with an annual salary of 1,300 -1, 500 birr. Over time as parents are giving out farm lands to their children the land holding size of the household has reduced. Due to this now most people prefer to use daily labourer by a daily payment of 20 birr (with dinner) and 30 birr (without dinner). 4 years ago this daily payment was 10 birr.

#### Household wealth inequalities

The wealth inequalities between households in the community are estimated as follows:

* Very rich: 15 people
* Rich: 30 people
* Upper middle: 200 people who have been considered as prominent or model farmers and they are currently the leaders of the development groups in the villages
* The destitute may be 5 people from each village and may add up to 100-125.

*(This leaves around 1000 households who are middle, poor and very poor)*

The following is a list of household goods one can find in the homes of wealthy people:

Assets of rich but outside the home

* Car
* Grain mills (both working with fuel & electricity)
* Shops
* Maize (to be sold)
* Livestock food (to be sold)
* Building modern house

Household goods in rich home

* TV
* Satellite receiver
* Modern bed
* Well-furnished with house furniture

The following assets can be observed in the home of middle people:

* Well constructed house
* House separated for man and woman
* Having grain enough for a year (either at home or farm)

The main reason for poverty and destitution is :

* having a small amount of land
* unable to feed household for 12 months

The reason behind middle wealth is:

* Having enough chat, cereal grains
* Having farm lands

Regarding the poor, very poor and destitutes, their farm land is very small, usually from 2-3 qindi (1 qindi=1/2 hectare) and for this reason, no matter how hard they work hard on their very small farm land, they cannot get enough production. However, there are poor, very poor and destitute people who worked very hard on their very small land, used compost for farm lands and constructed terraces on the hilly and mountainous lands and as a result got good harvests, increased their production and eventually transformed to middle wealth in the PA.

As the respondents described, some of the middle, rich and very rich people want the poor to be their servants. They want to suppress the poor using their power. In contrast, there are so many rich and middle people who assist and encourage the poor in all aspects.

Since the new government structure has been in place in the PA, in which experience sharing and scaling up of best experience has been introduced, development groups and networks have been connected together and showing the ways how the middle, rich and very rich can show them, as well as help them so that the poor can be transformed to the middle wealth level. For example, rich and very rich people are the heads of the 1-5 networks. The reason behind this is to teach the poor to learn from the development activities that the middle, rich and very rich people perform like ploughing, planting/sowing, watering, cultivating and the like.

From the last ten years, it is the middle wealth groups who have the largest number in the PA. This shows that poverty has been decreased over time. Of course, all of the groups have increased their wealth and this indicates changes in livelihoods of the community.

#### Status differences

Adele Keke PA is dominantly Oromo ethnic group. More than 99% are Oromos.The remaining few percent are other ethnic groups. There have been good and positive interactions among these communities. There is intermarriage between these ethnic communities. For example, if an Oromo Muslim marries into other ethnic group with different religion, she converts her religion to her husband's. There are three cases of this kind in the PA. They share social institutions like Iddir, and they also participate in funeral ceremonies. Of course, it is the Oromos who surpass in wealth. Concerning participation of the ethnic groups in kebele management, even to the level of wereda administrator, people would elect a person irrespective of his/her ethnic background, religion or clan difference if that person is believed to have an equitable and fair outlook. There are different clans of the Oromo community in Adele Keke. There are 21 clans in the PA.They live together by respecting each other without undermining each other. They participate equally in different social institutions like Iddir and wedding ceremonies ('Aruza' in Oromiffa). There have been no craft workers, slaves or migrants in the PA.

#### Vulnerable people

There are two blind people and two with leg disabilities in the in the PA. As we were informed, there has been no change in the last ten years regarding disabled adults except those who were disabled ten years ago. Some of them have died. The disabilities they have are that they are unable to see and have no legs. The way that they are treated includes that they are exempted from FFW/PSNP, and people here also help them by sharing their wealth with them voluntarily, especially during Muslim festivities like "Alfatir" and "Arafa" which is known as 'Sadaka' in religious terms. In addition, PSNP supports them separately.

The number of mentally ill people is about 50 and more old people. This number has somewhat has increased during the last ten years. The problems they have include being unable to run their business, over thinking and chewing more chat. They are cared for as possible for people and by taking them to health stations as needed and possible. There is no NGO in the area which supports mentally ill people. They even buy medicines from their own purse.

### Households in the community

Based on the data of last year the total number of the kebele's households was 1,306 (1,163 Male and 143 Female headed households). From these the total number of landholders and tax payers is 1,099 male headed and 58 female headed households. Thus, the rest, 149 households, are landless. Average size of households is 5. There are 3,391 adult males, 3,707 adult females, 5,792 children below the age of 18 (2,228 male and 3,564 female). Thus, the total kebele population is 12,890. From this last year the number of students was 1,276 (690 male and 586 female). The number of youth dependents and migrants is unknown.

The ideal type of household development cycle begins with the establishment of a new household by a young couple. Mostly the parents of the bridegroom build a new house for the young couple sothat the couple immediately start living in the new house. After children are born until the children grow up the household becomes a young nuclear family that will mature when the children begin supporting the household. Then when the couple become older dependency will be the final stage.

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

#### Rural linkages

The community has marriage linkages with neighbouring rural areas, which include Bala, Hara Haja, and Dhengego rural kebeles. Males from the community marry girls from this areas and vice versa. Students from villages near to Dengego area (Kalu village) are attending primary school (from grade 1-8) there as Dhengego School is better in terms of facilities, and has been repaired recently by an NGO (Mention for Mention). As there is a small market in Dengego sometimes some individuals buy consumption items such as onion, salt, oil, etc. from this market. In Bala kebele there is one HC. Some people from the village near to Bala area are using this HC as other HCs are far for them. People from Bala kebele use the veterinary service available in Adele Keke kebele.

Haru Arba kebele has marriage linkages with the community. Some members of Adele Keke have farm land in Haru Arba and vice versa. Some students from Haru Arba kebele near to Dedo village of Adele Keke are attending Dedo school. People from Haru Arba kebele use veterinary service from Adele Keke kebele.

Sodu kebele has marriage linkage with the community. Some people from Adele Keke rent land for grass there. People from Sodu kebele use veterinary service from Adele Keke kebele. To go to any urban area people from Sodu kebele cross Adele Keke or they take a car from Adele Keke. In order to go to and from secondary school in Adele 01, kebele students also cross Adele Keke kebele. Thus, every day the community members of Sodu kebele cross Adele Keke while travelling to different places.

Like Sodu kebele community members of Korke kebele come to Adele Keke to take cars so as to go to any urban area such as DireDawa, Haramaya and Aweday town.

Biftu Geda kebele, which is closer to Dhengeo kebele, has marriage linkages with the community. Some members of Adele Keke have farm land in Biftu Geda kebele.

Biftu Oromia kebele has marriage linkages with the community. Some members of Adele Keke have farm land in Biftu Oromia kebele and vice versa.

Adele 01 kebele, which is under Haramaya district, is closer to Adele Keke. This kebele is not completely rural but it seems a semi urban area. Students from Adele Keke attend secondary school in this kebele. Students from Adele Keke from some villages, mainly Kuso village, also attend primary school in Adele 01 kebele. The reason to attend this primary school is first, the school is better in terms of facilities as compared to the schools found in Adele Keke. Second, for some villages this school is closer. Some community members also buy some consumer goods such as cooking oil, sugar, salt etc from Adele 01 kebele. A few community members also use the traditional medication available in Adele 01 kebele

Adele 01 kebele is found next to Adele Keke kebele on the way to Haramaya town. A few participants mentioned that there was some disagreement between Haramaya district and Kersa district as Haramaya district want to incorporate a few villages of Adele Keke kebele to Adele 01 kebele. However, their efforts were unsuccessful. In addition, the level of such disagreement was simple. As a result, regarding boundaries between the two districts nothing has changed over the last 7 years.

#### Urban linkages

Haramaya Town

The major market centre for the community is Haramaya town. There are 2 market days per week (on Monday and Thursday). Mainly on these days and other days most of community members from Adele Keke go to this town for marketing purposes. They buy clothes, shoes, different kinds of consumption goods, livestock, etc. Some community members also sell eggs and vegetables in Haramaya town. Some youngsters are also involved in paid work in Haramaya. Women also buy milk from the community members and they take it to Haramaya for selling purpose. Mostly people also go to Haramaya HC for medical treatment as this HC is closer to the community as compared with other HCs found in the district. Others use the service provided by bone setters whenever they face bone related problems. Transport service is available all the time and it costs 5 or 6 birr for one trip. It takes about 30 minutes to reach there. As people are taking chat to chat trading centre, Aweday town, by crossing Haramaya town every day, including the evening time, a transport service is available.

Kersa Town

Even though Kersa town is the capital of the district community members do not go to there like Haramaya town. Mostly the government employees working in Adele Keke go to Kersa for meetings and trainings. Individuals also take cases of conflict over land or on other issues to the district court found in Kersa town. A few individuals also go to Kersa HC for medication. Government officials from Kersa also sometimes visit Adele Keke to supervise the activities undertaken. Sometimes some community members go to Kersa to buy and sell livestock, and buy agricultural inputs.

There is transport service to go there and it costs 7 birr for one trip. It takes about 30 minutes

Aweday Town

Aweday Town is a very well known centre for trading chat. Farmers from the community take chat to Aweday town to sell. As most farmers have mobile phones they use them to communicate with traders in Aweday and take their chat there when the price of chat gets higher. A few men from Adele Keke also work as brokers by linking farmers who sell chat to the traders, who buy chat to sell in other areas such as Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Jijiga, Harare, Somalia, etc. By working as a broker they get commission. Some of the community members also go to Aweday whenever they need traditional medication. Women also buy milk from the Adele Keke community members and they take to Aweday town for selling purposes. In return also some community members buy consumption goods and personal items. Recently one businessman from Aweday supported the construction of a Religious school in Adele Keke kebele. A few people from Adele Keke also go to Aweday to use traditional medication available in that area. Transport service is available all the time. To go there it costs 10 birr for one trip. It takes about 45 minutes.

Dire Dawa

Some community members sometimes go to Dire Dawa to sell chat. Mostly when vegetables are collected (in the month of May and June) farmers go to Dire Dawa to sell vegetables. They buy seeds, cloth, consumption goods, and farm equipments from Dire Dawa. A few individuals who fall sick with severe illness go to Dire Dawa town for medical treatment at hospital or higher private clinics. A very few children also attend private college in Dire Dawa. Other community members also go to Dire Dawa whenever they need holy water, especially when they face cold related illness. Transport service is available all the time. To go there it costs 13 birr for one trip. It takes about an hour.

Harar

As Harar is the centre of Eastern Hararghe zone whenever people have cases to be settled there they go to Harar. From Harar most community members buy electronic goods such as Mobile phone Apparatus, TV, Dish, Mattress, blanket, carpet, personal care items, some consumption goods such as sugar, rice etc. A few individuals who fall sick with severe illness also go to Harar for medical treatment at hospital or higher private clinics. A very few children also attend private college in Harar. Transport service is available all the time. To go there it costs 12 birr for one trip. It takes about an hour.

#### International linkages

There are a few men who went to Saudi Arabia, who are still working there. They travel illegally. First they go to Somalia, and then they travel to Art Shake. From Art Shake they take a car and go to Hargeisa. Then they travel to Borena. After that they travel on foot for some days and cross the sea by boat and they arrive in Saudi Arabia. Of those men the experience of some is mentioned below.

After working there for three years and getting some money 3 of them have returned and now they are involved in trade related activities. One man, who travelled illegally and worked there for 3 years then came back to Adele Keke. With the money he earned there he opened a shop and went back to Saudi Arabia. One person who came to the area from Jimma got married to a woman from the community. Then they got children. Last year he travelled to Saudi Arabia for work leaving his wife and children in Adele Keke. After he travelled he started to send remittances for his family.

With regards to women's experience first women go to Jijiga, Somali region to be involved in domestic work. After working there for certain time they travel to Somalia. Then they follow the steps above to reach Saudi Arabia. Some travel legally through relatives, who live there. In Dire Dawa also there is an agency that links work seekers with employers. Women, drivers and those who completed grade 10 are needed to travel to Saudi Arabia for work. Through this agency they travel without cost first then after they arrive there they will pay the cost of their travel. In 2008 and 2009 about 10 women went there.

There were a few who went to Hargeisa, Somalia illegally but after certain time they were evacuated. Some men, mainly women went to Djibouti. First women stay for certain time in Dire Dawa by being involved in domestic work. Before last year they used rail transport (train) to travel to Djibouti. Over time as rail transport became weak people started to travel by car. Since Djibouti is a very lowland area whenever the weather becomes very hot people from Djibouti come to Dire Dawa and stay for certain times. This is also one means whereby individuals who want to travel to Djibouti get such people, who provide them information and travel with them. Djibouti is not very far from Dire Dawa, it is about 315km and they went there at lesser cost. Women have good domestic work access there. Due to this those who went there have been working as servants.

There is one man from the community who had been working in Djibouti for about 30 years. He was working in a shop. During these times he was sending remittances to his family and neighbours. Now he has returned and he is involved in trading activities in Dire Dawa.

There are a few young men who went to Wuchale and then to Berbera by chat car. Some of them remain in the port area, others travel to Saudi Arabia.

5 individuals have gone to America. Two women went through marriage, and one elderly woman with 2 children went there through the invitation of relatives to live there permanently. In general, participants have difficulty in indicating how many migrants go there on average in a year but they estimate until now there might be 30 migrants who went to the above mentioned different areas.

### Notable people living in the community

#### Community elders

| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| M | Community Elder | He is involved in conflict resolution, and taking cases to district court.Sometimes he is involved in carpentry works | He is model farmer, member of PTA (in Adele 01 kebele school), member of Kebele council and OPDO | He is under the net- work of 5 households led by Kedir Ahmed.He works mostly with PTA members and other community and elders. |
| M | Community Elder | He is involved in conflict resolution and educates the community to avoid entering into conflict | He is a member of OPDO.He is model farmer. | He is under the network of 5 households led by his neighbour.He works with other community elders. |
| M | Community Elder | He is involved in conflict resolution | He is one of the founding members of OPDO.He is model farmer | He is under the network of 5 households led by his neighbour. He works with other community elders. |
| M | Community Elder and religious leader | He is involved in conflict resolution and serves at Mosque. | He is model farmer | He is under the network of 5 households led by his relative. He works with other community elders, mainly with religious leaders. |

#### Clan leaders

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| M | Clan leader | He is a farmer. Whenever clan members face problems or accident he mobilises the clan members to contribute money so as to support the victims. He is involved in conflict resolution whenever clan members face conflict | He is community elder | He works mostly with community members, (who are found under his clan and other kebeles’ clan members). |
| M | Vice Clan leader | He is a farmer. Whenever clan members face problems or accident he mobilises the members to contribute money so as to support the victims. He is involved in conflict resolution whenever clan members face conflict | He is community elder | He works with other community elders. |
| M | Clan Leader | He is a farmer. Whenever clan members face problems or accident he mobilises the members to contribute money so as to support the victims. He is involved in conflict resolution whenever clan members face conflict | None | He works with members of his clan |
| M | Vice Clan leader | He is involved in conflict resolutionand educates the clan members to prevent entering into conflict. | None | He works with members of his clan. He is under the network of 5 households led by his neighbour.  |

Until now there is not any female clan leader or vice clan leader. The leaders of most clans are found in other kebeles.

Different respondents stated that over time government is preventing working on clan basis since it seems working based on clan is unfair for the majority of the community. Due to this works accomplished by clan have greatly reduced. Thus, the above mentioned clan leaders are rarely involved in certain activities. Thus, it is difficult to conclude such leaders are still functional.

#### Religious leaders

| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| M | Religious leader | He is a farmer.He is community Elder and is involved in conflict resolution | He is model farmer | He is under the network of 5 households led by his relative. He works with other community elders, manly with religious leaders. |
| M | Religious leader | He serves the community at mosque | None | He works with religious leaders and some kebele officials  |
| M | Religious leader | He serves the community at mosque | None | He works with religious leaders and some kebele officials |
| M | Religious leader | He serves the community at mosque | None | He works with religious leaders and some kebele officials |

#### Other community-specific customary leaders

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| M | Equb leader | Farmer | Secretary and coordinator of kebele social court | He works with equib members, who are also his neighbours |
| F | Iddir Leader | House wife | None | She works with the iddir members |
| F | Equb leader | House wife | None | She works with equib members, who are also her friends and neighbours |
| M | Iddir Leader | Farmer | None | He works with the iddir members |
| M | Head of adult (male) association | Farmer | Unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities) | He works with adult males on how to create peace in their locality and improve their living condition  |

#### Rich successful farmers

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| M | Kebele Chair | Administering the community | He is model farmer and exemplar for improved livelihood by being involved in non-farm activities.Unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities) | He works with kebele officials, Cabinet members, local government employees and the community at large. |
| M | Rich Farmer | Farmer | Model farmer and exemplar for improved livelihood | He works with traders and farmers |
| F | House wife | Model farmer | None | She works with other farmers |
| F | House wife | Farmer and trader | None | She works with traders |
| M | Rich Farmer | Farmer and Businessman | Model Farmer | He works with traders and farmers |

#### Traders, businessmen, delalas

| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| M | Kebele Chair | Administering the community | Model farmer and exemplar for improved livelihood by being involved in non-farm activities, mainly as a broker by linking chat buyers and sellers at Aweday town.Unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities) | He works with kebele officials, Cabinet members, local government employees and the community at large. |
| F | Business woman | Buying milk from the community members and selling it to towns | She is model successful business woman | She works with her customers who supply milk as well as with those who buy from her  |
| M | Rich business man and Farmer | Farmer | Model farmer, model trader and exemplar for improved livelihood | He works with traders and farmers |
| F | Business woman | She rears milking cows and benefits by selling the milk  | Model farmer and exemplar in educating her children | She works with women involved in buying and selling milk |
| F | Business woman | She works in trading (in private coca distribution shop and other shop) | Model farmer and exemplar in being involved in trading activities | She works with her husband and other household members |

#### Educated opinion leaders

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| M | He is a PTA member | He is a farmer and a tailor. He mobilises the community to send their children to school | He is community Elder | He works with community members of Tabia village |
| M | Teacher | He is teaching in one of the new schools. With PTA members he mobilises the community to send their children to school. | Kebele Cabinet and OPDO member | He works with kebele officials, teachers, PTA and Cabinet members |
| M | PTA member (in Adele 01 kebele school) | He is involved in conflict resolution, and taking cased to district court.With other PTA members he mobilises the community to send their children to school. | He is community Elder. He is model farmer, member of Kebele council and OPDO | He is under the network led by Kedir Ahmed. He works mostly with PTA members and other community and elders |
| F | Head of main school | She manages the main school. With PTA members she mobilises the community to send their children to formal school and to participate and contribute to improving the school facilities. | None | She works with other teachers, PTA members and kebele officials |
| F | PTA member | She is a farmer.She encourages others to educate their children as much as they can by telling of her own child’s educational success. | She is a model for educating her children up to higher level  | She works with PTA members |

#### Women’s leaders

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| F | Kebele Women and Child Affairs vice representative | She is involved in awareness raising education on the rights of women and children. She is involved in conflict resolution, mainly conflict created between couple.  | She is a member of OPDO | Formerly she was leading a network. Now as her son is grown up he is the leader of the network and she is under his network.She works with members of Women Association |
| F | Kebele Women and Child Affairs representative | She is involved in awareness raising education on the rights of women and children. She is involved in conflict resolution, mainly conflict created between husband and wife | She is Kebele cabinet member.She is a member of OPDO | She works with leader of women association, district women and children affairs, kebele officials and cabinet members  |
| F | Head of women association | She makes members of women association aware to protect exercise of their rights.She supports women who have gender based violence case at court | She is a model Farmer.She is a member of OPDO | She works with members of women association, district women and children affairs, and kebele officials  |

#### Political activitists

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| M | Kebele Chair | Administering the community | Model farmer and exemplar for improved livelihood by being involved in non-farm activities.He is a Unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities).He is a cabinet Member | He works with kebele officials, Cabinet members, local government employees and the community at large. |
| M | Head of youth association | He is a Farmer.He tries to encourage youths to join youth association so as to benefit in the future. | He is a Unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities). | He works with other kebele officials who organise the community members for developmental activities  |
| M | Kebele Vice Chair | He is supporting the kebele chair in the administration of the locality | He was a former kebele chair.He is a Unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities)He is a cabinet Member | He works with kebele officials, Cabinet members, local government employees and the community at large |
| F | Kebele Women and Child Affairs representatives | She is involved in supporting people for the protection of women and Children’s rights | She is a cabinet memberShe is a member of OPDO | She works with kebele Cabinet members, and the community, mainly women at large |
| F | Head of women association | She makes members of women association aware to protect and exercise their rights.She supports women who have gender based violence case at court | She is a model Farmer.She is a member of OPDO | She works with members of women association, district women and children affairs officials  |

#### Kebele Cabinet

| Sex | Social Position | Main Activities in the community | Other elite status? | Who is in their networks |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| M | Kebele Chair | Administering the community | He is model farmer and exemplar for improved livelihood by being involved in non-farm activities.He is a unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities) | All of these cabinet members work with all of the local government employees, kebele cabinet members, and the community at large.They also have work relation with district government officials. They are powerful as they are the ones who make decisions about what has to be done in the community and order the community for needed activities. |
| M | Kebele Vice Chair | Supporting the kebele head in the administration of the locality | Former kebele chair.Unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities) |
| M | Kebele Manager | Facilitating conditions for clients who need service from kebele | Secretary of youth association |
| F | HEW | She works in disease prevention and control activities | Secretary of women association |
| F | Kebele Women and Child Affairs representative | She is involved in supporting people for the protection of women and Children’s rights | None |
| M | Development Agent -NRM | He mobilises the community to protect natural resources found in the locality | He is a unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities)He is supervising development activities done at sub kebele (zone) level |
| M | Representative of Security and Good governance | Farmer | He is a unit extension (organiser of group for developmental activities) |
| M | Representative of Kebele Education  | Teacher | Teacher and acting as principal in one of the new schools |

#### Kebele manager

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time in community | Appreciation level by the community |
| 26 | M | Gele Wacho Kebele, Kersa district | 2 years | Good: The community appreciates the assignment of kebele manager, which was done recently. But he is not available at all working times rather mainly he is available when there is meeting at the kebele. Due to this there are circumstances when individuals who seek service need to come another day or time so as to get him and get the service they need. |

#### Head teacher

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time incommunity | Appreciation by the community |
| 38 | F | Weter Kebele, Kersa district  | 6 years | Excellent: The community members appreciate her as she made efforts to mobilise the community so as to be involved and contribute to improve the school facilities.  |

#### Health Extension Worker 1

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time incommunity | Appreciation by the community |
| 23 | F | Kersa town, Kersa District | 3 years | Excellent: The community members highly appreciate her as the technique she uses in providing health education is excellent. Unlike the other HEW she stays in the village by renting a house. Furthermore, she has been serving the community in her home since the HP is under construction for longer. The community even does not notice the availability of the other HEW. Due to this there are instances where women who came for service do not want to get the service provided by the other HEW.  |

#### Health Extension Worker 2

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time incommunity | Appreciation by the community |
| 23 | F | Chelenko kebele, Meta district | 3 years | Good: She has been living in another area, Dengego kebele. Thus, she has been serving by travelling to and from that area. Unless there is an arranged programme she is not available on weekends to service needy clients. Due to this the community do not value the service she provides like the other HEW. |

#### Development Agent Crops

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time incommunity | Appreciation by the community |
| 29 | M | Kersa town, Kersa District | 3 years. He also served for 2 years in Somali region.  | Excellent: Since he was assigned he has been serving the community as much as he can. To serve the community better he rented a house so as to be closer to the community. Daily he used to visit and serve 3 up to 4 villages.  |

#### Development Agent Livestock

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time incommunity | Appreciation by the community |
| 29 | M | Gara Muleta Kebele, Kurfa Chele district | 7 years  | Excellent: He has been greatly working to make the community aware about the importance of livestock rearing in improving livelihoods. In addition, he has been supporting the community by facilitating conditions so that people get access to modern cow. As a result, more individuals have started to buy milking cow and benefit from sale of milk. |

#### Development Agent NRM

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time incommunity | Appreciation by the community |
| 30 | M | Mede Belina Kebele, Haramaya District | 2 Years | Excellent: He works closely with the community in informing on the value of protecting natural resources. He also mobilises PSNP beneficiaries to be better involved in public work programme so as to care for the natural resources found in the locality. |

#### Vet

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Age | Sex | Place of Origin | Time incommunity | Appreciation by the community |
| 26 | M | Kersa town, Kersa District | 1 Year | Excellent: After he was assigned the community, even from other neighbouring kebeles take their cattle whenever they see a symptom of disease. He also serves by moving village to village, especially by arranging programs in different villages turn by turn. As a result, there is vaccination for cattle so as to prevent disease and medicine for cattle fallen ill. Due to this the health of livestock has improved. As he is serving in good way the community highly value the service he has been providing.  |

## Important events since 2005

### Crisis events

In 1998 there was untimely excessive rain caused naturally. At this time crops ready for harvest were on the way to being destroyed. At this time students were ordered to collect crops in a campaign. Due to this effort crops were saved from damage but the output was no more useful to use for seed. As a result, the community lack seed to be used for the next cultivation. To cover this government provided some seed for severely affected community members.

In 2004/5 there was a ***severe hazard of drought***. As a result all crops were lost. The drought was caused by lack of rain. There was also frost. The frost completely destroyed chat, which was ready to be collected. In order to help the community cope with these crises government provided seed to farmers. Disaster prevention and preparedness bureau also provided emergency food aid. Due to the prevalence of drought at that time and general shortage of farm land the community has been included in PSNP and community members included have been benefiting from PSNP for 5 years. Currently also the community has been included in the second round of the PNSP.

In last year there was a severe ***reduction of crops*** harvested. This was caused by shortage of rain in the 2010 summer season. In order to help the community cope with this problem there was provision of ***emergency food aid*** for poor by government and a European NGO (CISP). Due to the drought more than human beings, livestock were affected since because of lack of food around 25 ***livestock have died***. Because of these droughts farmers resist buying seeds on time fearing that the drought would be prevalent in the coming year too. Upon this the cooperative (Gerbededo cooperative) that has been selling selected seed and fertiliser to the community does not supply them since farmers resist buying. But at the right time in May and June (2011) the rain comes and the farmers face severe lack of seeds.

In general, in October and November livestock face outbreak of disease caused by cold. As these months are the colder season facola parasite and pastrolosis bacteria affect the livestock when they eat grass obtained from the lake. In the month of May also livestock suffer from outbreak of black leg disease due to excusive sun. Upon this vets were coming from the district to provide treatment service for cattle. But last year a veterinary centre was built near to kebele office and a veterinary officer was assigned and has been serving. Due to this the livestock of all kinds get vaccination to protect them from so many possible diseases.

In general, ***frost*** in the month of October and November is a ***concern*** for the community as sometimes it affects crops, especially chat and vegetables. Due to this the community plant vegetables late so that they would be ready after the frost months have passed. Farmland closer to the lake is exposed more to frosts. Due to this the community fear to plant chat in these areas rather they plant lower value crops such as maize. The DAs emphasised that until now they do not get frost-resisting seed, which will be good to use in the area. In addition to frosts the water from the lake is salty and the saltiness of the water further affects crops grown in nearby areas. For instance, in this year (still current time) in other areas crops are in found in good condition but crops grown in nearby lake area are not grown in a good way.

 In 2009 there was ***flood***. It was caused by excessive rain. As the bridge (constructed by Chinese) was small it underwent a small amount of rain and the flood was flowing over it. As a result, about 10 houses fell down, household equipments, stored grains and goats were lost. For those who lost, emergency food aid was provided by government.

Over time the change of ***weather conditions*** has becomeprevalent and become problematic. The time rain has to come in most seasons is delayed about a month. However, farmers sometimes plant seed late so as to wait for the rainy time though the rain still does not come as expected. When they plant at the usual time the rain mostly does not come at the right time. As a result of this there were instances where farmers were exposed to replanting seed. It is exceptional that last year the rain came in the month of July (at the right time). Due to this until now (the month of September) crops are found in good condition. But, what will matter is the situation of frost in the coming month in the sense that if frost is severe it would affect these crops, mainly found near the lake.

***Crop pests have been affecting harvests***. There are different kinds of pests that are prevalent in every year that reduce productivity (minimise the amount and quality of crops harvested). In the past government was directly supplying anti pests. **Anti pests result in environmental pollution as they are chemical**. For instance, in 2007 and 2008 upon using 'Lafora' type of anti pest ***all bees were killed***. Due to this in the last 2 years there was no honey produced at all in the community. Because of this pollution over time ***the supply has been reduced***. Now anti pest is supplied only for hazardous pests. But to increase productivity farmers greatly need anti pests but they cannot get them. For instance, the DA stated that farmers extremely need a type of anti pest called 'stingush' but they did not find it yet. Moreover, it is very expensive. In the past farmers have been using DDT on chat crop as an anti pest. But the DDT was resulting in liver problems for chat users. After they understood this consequence some farmers stopped using DDT, rather they started to give other care such as weeding on time and to avoid damaged parts, etc. A few farmers also use weha agar (Water purifying tablet, which should be used for purifying drinking water) believing that it kills pests.

The direct advantage of chat production in the community is ***commercial,*** ***however it has indirect health impact for chewers***. In the past farmers used to chew some but over time they started to chew more. As the chemical content of chat is very high since farmers use DDT or Malatine as anti pest it results in ***liver illness***, which exposes them not to work harder. As they chew overdose they spend more time for chewing and less time for work.

In 2004 and 2005 a lot of individuals, especially under 5 year old children and pregnant women, died because of a ***malaria epidemic***. Since then a lot of activities, which include provision of bed nets every 3 years, sprinkling DDT twice per year, and eradication of stagnant water that may facilitate mosquito breeding, and provision of anti-malaria at HP have been done. As a result of these activities the problem of malaria has been much reduced. Furthermore, malaria testing service by Rapid Diagnostic Treatment (RDT) has started last year at HP.

 In 2005 ***Acute Watery Diarrhoea (AWD)*** affected the community and 7 individuals died. AWD has resulted from poor sanitation and unsafe water as people used to drink water from the lake. Through continuous treatment the problem was solved. In 2009 also AWD affected the community. At this time the treatment was provided in a campaign, even nurses from zonal level participated in the campaign. People affected by AWD were cured sooner because of the campaign. Even currently (during our fieldwork time) the epidemic of AWD has affected the communities of 7 neighbouring kebeles (one after the other). Due to this prevalence there was a fear that it may also affect the community. To raise awareness the community district health workers have visited the community twice and informed the HEWs to force the community to construct and use toilets.

As to the information obtained from different respondents there are no other crises that have affected the community since 2005.

### Economic events

In 2006 when Chinese were constructing the road from Kulbi to Harar that passes the kebele youth had good wage work opportunities. A few girls also benefited. Similarly youths were involved (in wage work) in the expansion of Harar drinking water project (when the water pipe from Dire Dawa to Harar was implanted). Recently a lot of young men have been involved in chat trading related activities such as a broker in Aweday (chat trading centre). Some youngsters also sometimes engage in wage work in Harar and Dire Dawa construction-related activities. Some women also have been buying milk from the community members for resale in Aweday and Haramay towns. This milk trading activity has been expanding over time.

Since 2005 a new ***seed variety of maize called Finer PHV3253*** has been introduced and many farmers have been using it and producing better outputs, it gives 80 quintal per hectare. For instance, last year 12.5 quintal seed were used by the farmers on 40 hectares of land. This seed is distributed through the cooperative for cash. In getting the seed priority is given to the cooperative members (25 farmers).

In 2009 Haramaya University introduced ***new seed varie***ties of ***potato and boloke (similar to bean).*** These seeds have been provided to the community through the financial support of a European NGO (CISP) and Harerghe Catholic Secretariat (HCS). These seeds are a revolving seed, whereby those farmers who get the seed distribute the product of the seed to the remaining farmers.

In this year a European NGOs (CISP) distributed ***apple seed*** to PSNP beneficiaries and to some model farmers. As its seed is expensive, which is 40 birr per piece, before its introduction by CISP the community did not know about it.

Since the last 2 years Oromiya Micro finance institute provides credit for males and females separately. The credit was given on group bases so that members are guaranteeing each other. Females used the credit to rear sheep and goats, for cattle fattening, and chat and milk trading so as to improve their living condition. The credit has been given to males to prevent them from sale of chat when its price is lower. Thus, as they use the credit for what they need, they do not sell when its price is cheaper rather they sell it when its price increases so as to get better income. Some men also opened small shop with the loan they got.

European NGOs (CISP) with Harerghe Catholic Secretariat (HCS) last year provided credit for PSNP beneficiaries so as to strengthen their livelihood by involving them in income generating activities (IGAs) so as to prepare them for graduation. 4,000 birr was given per household and such beneficiaries have been using it for IGAs stated above (last paragraph). It is free from interest. The credit is a revolving credit. After year when this loan is repaid it will be given to other households.

European NGOs (CISP) also established ***milk processing cooperative for women*** called Amensa Aneni so as to buy milk, process and sell its products (butter and cheese). Accordingly, they have built a home and bought some milk processing equipment. When the remaining equipments will have been obtained the cooperative will be functional.

Starting from 1995, especially since 2004 those who have large size of land has been using modern ploughing equipment (***tractor***) for ploughing. They get the material from the neighbouring district areas through rent of 150 birr per hour. However, over time as families are giving out land for younger children when they get married the land size of most households is small. Due to this, very few farmers use these tractors. Due to this small land holding a few households have oxen, which are used for ploughing and the rest are ploughing by spade.

When the Chinese were constructing the main road from Kulbi to Harar (that passes Adele Keke) in 2006 they were using ***underground water***. From this the community members got a good lesson of how they can use underground water for farming purposes. Due to this they started to organise in a group and rent an excavator from Dire Dawa to dig a well. Now near to the lake there are a lot of water wells dug. The reason they dig the wells near to lake is that this area has a good source of water as compared other areas. Over time the number of wells has been increasing. They take this underground water to their farm area by ***water pump***. As there is distance from the water well and farmland farmers connect many hand pumps, about 7 (of different farmers) for temporary storage of water so as to take the water to their farmlands turn by turn for each of them. Those who do not have water pumps also rent and use the water by paying 700 birr per hour. Using this underground water through hand pumps has greatly increased productivity as it a bit solves the water shortage during the winter season. Due to this water access most farms have covered large area of farmlands with permanent crop (chat), which has high cash value by reducing production of other cereals. Due to this the production of maize and sorghum has been reduced and what they produce is not adequate for consumption. As a result mostly they buy grain for consumption. Those who do not have underground water use surface water from the lake. But this water is not good for crops as it is salty. So, only few farmers use this water. Over time the number of water pumps found in the kebele has been increasing. Currently DAs estimate there can be 146 water pumps.

Formerly farmers were intercropping grains with chat (they mix chat with maize) but now they have greatly reduced mixing as they understand mixing reduces the productivity of chat. Before 2 years people use to sign agreement letters for sharecropping and renting farm lands in kebele and whenever they faced a dispute over land they were taking their case to kebele social court. But in the last year a new regulation has been introduced and nothing related to land is handled or taken to kebele or kebele social court. Except these there is no change in land use since 2005.

The community also uses this underground and surface water for washing clothes. A few boys also swim in these wells.

Since last year some ***fish*** have been found in the lake. Thus, some boys have been using this new means of livelihood. Due to this the DAs have been thinking to establish a cooperative that would engage in fishing activities. But the problem is that during the winter season the lake always dries.

Only once last year one investor come to the area and proposed to buy 0.5 hectares of land for 80,000 birr so as to open a fuel station. But the land he proposed belongs to siblings. As the siblings face conflict over that land the case is still in process at court. Except this there is no new commercial investment in the area.

Now a few farmers have changed their livelihood from farming to small investment as three farmers have bought a minibus, others opened shops and others bought a mill (currently there are 10 mills). Of these 3 are un-functional due to technical problems.

Formerly most participants stated that in 2004 government provided 11 hybrid milking cows for 11 households. But different respondents mentioned different years for this provision (there is time inconsistency). Since 2000 Haramaya University has a centre in Kalu village with modern ox, where people take their cow for reproduction purpose. Over time due to technological improvements recently artificial breeding techniques have started. Due to this whenever people see symptoms in their cow they tell the veterinary worker and he calls the wereda official to come to the area and give artificial breeding service in the form of injection. As a result, over time the number of farmers engaged in rearing modern cows for milking has increased. DAs stated that in the future it is expected that the community will be specialised in milk production. Still what prevents more farmers to be involved more in this activity is shortage of quality modern cows. In addition, their price becomes expensive.

There is no new migration opportunity but sometimes young females and males illegally migrate to Arab countries to search for work.

### Social events

Last year there was an interesting start up when students graduated from college. After they graduated when they came to their village their parents prepared a feast and the community gave money. An individual gave 100 or 200 birr as to their capacity. Last year the son of the kebele chair graduated in nursing. When he came back and his parent prepared a feast he got about 40,000 birr. Another 2 girls who graduated in private college also got 18,000 and 20,000 birr each. But in the past people were eating without giving anything. Graduates can use the money until they get a job. During these ceremonies parents have retained the value of education, as formerly what they knew about celebration was when their children got married. As one of the teachers, said the aim of giving this money is to encourage parents to give due emphasis to educating their children up to higher educational level while thinking to get back the money they paid when others’ children graduated.

Last year there was training for 15 days continuously for model farmers. Up on completion of the training money, about 9,000 birr was contributed by the community. As a graduation ceremony for the training an oxen was slaughtered and a T-shirt (written Adele Keke Development expertise) was published and distributed to DAs and model farmers. The DAs and model farmers were also invited to attend a ceremony prepared at wereda level. At different times there is training, about a week, for local militia men. Upon the end of the training a graduation ceremony with the money contributed by the community members is arranged so as to acknowledge the training and its benefit for the community at large. Except these there is no other notable celebration in the area. The major purpose of training for militia men at different times is to create peace in the community by preventing crime.

In 2006 the community was visited by federal level officials ***acknowledging how the community got electric light by*** ***their own money*** and the change the community members brought in their livelihoods.

There are no notable conflicts within the community. But at different times there were some conflicts between individuals. For instance, in 2007 in Kalu village two individuals entered conflict over land. They took the case to court. Formerly the kebele social court was handling simple land related cases but since the last 2 years such cases are not handled there, rather they are taken to district court. Since the longer past community elders have been playing a vital role in resolving disputes between individuals.

One man living in Kejero Oli village has been challenged in a dispute over land in boundary with his sister and brother. His wife had been taking the case to kebele court for longer. Her husband's brother insulted her. She told this to her brother. In 2009 Election Day early morning the man's brother came to the kebele and participated in the election process and returned home and slept as he spent the night by keeping chat in the farm land. The brother of the wife went to the home and killed the man as he slept by carpet. Since then he has been in jail, up to 10 years.

Last year one man was found dead in the lake. He had no Identification card that showed from where he came to the area. No evidence was obtained on how he died. Due to this his burial was done in Harar through the cooperation of the municipality. In addition, last year in the boundary between the kebele and Haramaya district one man was found dead in a water well. His siblings and uncle were imprisoned until the perpetrator was found. Later on they were released from the jail as no evidence was obtained on how the deceased died.

In the PA taking 'Mencah' (big knife) while travelling to farm and other areas is common. Mencah has dual purpose. It is used for hoeing and cutting crops. At the same time people use it to protect themselves from rivalry when they face conflict with each other, including relatives, they use this tool to beat their rival too, they use this tool to prevent theft of their chat, etc. Thus, there were many crimes using this tool. For instance, last year upon dispute over land somebody cut off the body of another man. Now the person got medical surgery and is a bit cured but still he cannot work. The perpetrator was taken to jail for 5 years. Thus, Mencah irrespective of its major use has been expanding crime among individuals in the community. There is no other notable crime or conflicts with other communities that have affected the community since 2005.

### Cultural events

In the past people usually used to drink ***Hoja***(milk boiled with leaf of coffee) while chewing chat. A few elders still sometimes use hoja but over time people understand using milk usually is wasting a resource and almost all have started to use water while a few use soft drinks, mainly coca while chewing chat. As sometimes people used to have soft drinks there is soft drink distribution shop at the centre of the kebele. In each also there are small shops. These shops buy soft drinks from the distribution centre to resell to village members.

Around 2003 the technology of using biogas for lighting was introduced and it was planned to expand it. As the community got access to electrification a bit later biogas was not functional in the area. Following electrification there is a big change in the kind of household equipment the community have been buying in the sense that some of the community members have been buying and using TV, Dish, mobile phone, rechargeable batteries, modern mattress, bed, Bufe and kumsatin (wooden big box used to put utensils and clothes in respectively), etc. In the last year it was expected that the number of mobiles found in the kebele was 670. Now the number will be higher as still now people are buying them. Refrigerator is found in one home. Generator is also found in the house of the kebele chair. In one home they use boiler and electric bakery [oven?]. There is a barber shop in the kebele.

The presence of electric light enables community members, mostly male, to stay together on neighbourhood basis in the evening time. Thus, they stay and recreate at evening time by chewing chat. It exposes them to chew more and some sleep in the morning as they spend about half of the night time chewing.

Since 2002 the number of houses made with corrugated iron roof sheets has been increasing (99.5%). Now due to this houses made with grass roof are very few. Most households are separating the cattle house from the main home. Those who have a small home within the main home make a separate room for cattle.

Formerly, well to do farmers have been constructing homes in other towns (Aweday and Haramaya). At these times people did not like to build homes in the kebele near the main road as they perceive they will be exposed to car accidents but now they do not perceive car accident cases. Due to this ***starting from last year people have started buying land*** ***near the main road and new houses are under construction***. There is an instance that one farmer bought 200 square metres of land for 15,000 birr and started house construction. When building houses people have started to use methods that save corrugated iron. Thus, the shape of the house built in the past is different from the house under construction now.

Regarding changes of clothing some women have started to wear sheet while in former times they were wearing Dria'a mostly. Young males also have started to wear jeans trousers. Since 2009 traders have been bringing clothes and walk to different villages to sell clothes. This creates opportunity for the community to buy clothes while they are in their village. They can even buy on credit to pay when their crop, mainly chat, is collected. Due to these opportunities the buying habit of the community has increased.

Regarding what people eat there is little change. Before the last 3 years the community ate maize and sorghum. Since the last 2 years merchants are bringing other kinds of grain such as wheat and teff for sale on the main road. A few households started to mix these grains with maize and sorghum. Richer households also started to eat rice, pasta and macaroni. The eating habit of the community is as the former time, which is eating only breakfast (around 9 am) and dinner (around 6 pm). As they cook in the morning and late afternoon small children may not get adequate food during lunch time. In relation to this the HEW stated that one cause for children’s malnourishment in the area is shortage of food. However, some younger community members started to have lunch at midday.

In general, the quantity of chat people, mostly male, are chewing is increasing and the value of eating seems lower. The number of cigarette smokers also has been increasing. The HEW stated that chewing also causes loss of appetite. As a result of this males do not mind even if they do not eat dinner, rather after the community get electric light they have been chewing in the evening time too. Thus, chewing in the evening, sometimes at midnight is a new activity or pattern of leisure for male youngsters or adults.

Like the past time mostly the household heads eat first and then mothers and children eat later. Due to this mothers and children may not get adequate food. Like the past time priority for quality food is given to the household head. So, women and children sometimes may not get quality food. However, if the children are attending school children eat first on school day so as to go to school on time. Some young couples also eat together.

Since the long past women ask others to contribute money so as to support their daughter, who got married recently. Culturally they call this practice '***Gumata'***. After the money is contributed they go to the home of the daughter who got married soon. The daughter also waits for them preparing gruel and milk. But since the last 5 years the community has become aware that preparing gruel and milk is wastage and they stopped preparing it rather directly they give the money collected. In 2009 like mothers fathers also started asking for Gumata to support their daughters, who got married recently. More importantly, recently the community members started asking for Gumata whenever they encounter some difficulty or need help.

Regarding religious practice or religion there is no change. But the religious education had been provided under tree at a different village. But now a new Quran school has been built by community contribution and through the support of one rich person from Aweday town. Due to this religious persons emphasised that children will get better religious education. But this has been a concern for normal school teachers as more students are shifting from formal school to this religious school (for more detail look at module 3 under preschool education section).

### Political events

Over time government has been changing the way of doing various developments and other activities. These include, in 1999 there were contact farmers, who informed the community about meetings and organised certain development activities. Then on group bases (25-30 households in one group) one person was selected to organise the households for various community based activities. Last year higher officials were coming to the area to make the community aware of GTP. In order to make information flow simply a structure of networks of 1 to 5 households was established in each village. From these 5 households 1 household is a model farmer that leads and updates the other 4 households on various activities. There has been a separate training for model farmers or network leaders on how they make aware other households found under each of them. As the local network leader is a model the other households also get experience on how that household’s living condition has improved. These have created an opportunity for the other households to get knowledge and skills from the successful farmers.

In 2005 election opposing parties were entered into competition. In 2008 there was election of local political parties. In the 2009/10 national election no opposing political parties participated as while the poster were stamped they did not come to the area. All these election processes were done peacefully. Due to this peaceful election process the kebele received a certificate from federal administrative bodies.

In order to energise the community for development activities there has been a continuous participatory meeting whereby the community members freely discuss everything. This meeting has been organised so that the community members better understand the benefits of the outcome of the development of the community and the country in general so as to meet GTP.

OPDO (Oromo Political Democratic Organisation) also has been mobilising the community so that people become members. Due to this since 2008 youth and women league has been established. The members also celebrate the annual OPDO day at district level. Beyond this still nothing is done by OPDO.

Regarding local leadership in 2007 the kebele chair was changed as there was a conflict between individuals. One of the individuals belonged to the clan of the chair. Due to this some community members perceived that the chair might support the individual from his clan. Because of this reason they elected another man. But the chair was very active in serving the community, as a result of this last year this person was selected as a vice chair since the former vice chair was not working effectively.

The chair elected in 2007 served for 2 years. Then in 2009 he was replaced by another man. The reason for the change was that the chair had not brought improvement in his family’s living condition. Due to this he could not be a model for the other community members. In addition, he did not serve the community as expected. The chair was elected in 2009 and has been leading till now. He is a model in different parts of his life, which the local people take as an indication that others will follow his experience so as to improve their living condition.

Last June there was an illegal cutting of eucalyptus trees in Kalu village by the village members. The security and good governance official was also expected to have been part of this illegal activity. Due to this the official was changed to another person in July.

## Livelihoods – changes in the last five years

### Marketing outputs

As the cost of living has increased people are selling more chat than they did five years ago. Similarly, over time the price of chat also has increased, which is about 800 up to 1,000 birr per kilogram and now as at this time harvest/supply of chat is high. But during winter season due to shortage of water its harvest/supply will be reduced. As a result, in the winter season its price will increase to 2,500 birr per kilogram (though the price depends on the kind/quality of chat since there are about 3 of types of chat in the area). To get more income from sale of chat people are reducing production of other crops and grains rather they are producing more chat. Due to this the community do not sell grains such as maize, sorghum and peace. Even what they produce is not adequate for consumption.

As the area closer to the lake is not good for crops, especially for chat, farmers start to produce vegetables in that area. Due to this people are selling more vegetable than they did before five years. It is becoming common that some wholesalers such as Awash Agro Industry from Haramaya come to the area and buy the vegetables before they are collected.

Before 5 years people were building homes by begging eucalyptus trees from neighbours and relatives. But repairing older houses and building a new house is become most common those who have eucalyptus trees have been selling it. Due to this farmers also start to plant more eucalyptus trees.

*Though selling land is illegal, starting from last year a few farmers who have land near the main road has been selling such land as other people have started building a houses in that area by buying the land.*

### Buying inputs and consumption goods

As the community is producing more chat and less grain what is produced is inadequate for consumption. Due to this they are buying more grain than they did five years ago. On average most households consume what they produce only for 6 months per annum and the other 6 months they buy grain, mostly maize and sorghum.

As the area closer to the lake is not good for crops, especially chat, farmers start to produce vegetables in that area. Due to this people are using these vegetables and most farmers are not buying vegetables, unlike what they did five years ago. Those who do not produce vegetables also buy from market like five years ago.

As stated above, 5 years ago people were building homes by begging eucalyptus trees from neighbours and relatives. But repairing older houses and building a new house is becoming most common to do so people are buying eucalyptus trees.

*Though selling land is illegal starting from last year people have started buying land near the main road and new houses are under construction.*

Before five years people were buying more meat as its price was cheaper, which was 12 birr per kg but now its price has increased to 100 birr per kg. Due to this people have greatly reduced buying meat. Similarly, before 5 years people were rearing more sheep and goats. Sometimes they slaughter these sheep or goats for meat. But over time due to shortage of land now people rear few sheep and goats and they slaughter only for a big fasting season. Sometimes in a group people buy and slaughter sheep.

Now some people have started to drink coffee. But before 5 years people were drinking only Hoja. Due to this people are buying more coffee than they did five years ago.

Following having electrification people are buying more household goods such as TV, Dish, modern, mattress, bed, Bufe and kumsatin (wooden made big box used to put utensils and clothes respectively).

As compared to five years ago farmers have become familiar with using improved seed and fertiliser . When it was supplied by cooperative more farmers started to buy more but as its price is increasing farmers minimise the quantity they buy and use. Furthermore, those who cannot afford it have been using compost prepared from animal dung.

Over the last 5 years more farmers, about 200, have bought water pumps. But as their price has increased people are not buying rather they rent from others.

### Theft and burglary

There is a problem of crops from farms. Theft is a common during the night time when chat is ready to be collected. Over time the theft problem is increasing. Due to this farmers stay the night on the chat farm area so as to protect their chat. As males stay the night to protect the crop they sleep in the morning. This has minimised the time they are involved in work activities. In addition to peace creation in order to prevent stealing and catch criminals a lot of militia men have been getting training but a satisfactory result has not yet been obtained.

To punish the thief responsible district officials need good evidence, which is difficult unless they are caught while taking the crop on hand.

During the fasting season more thieves are taking crops in the night time as during fasting time farmers mostly stay home (since they are eating in the night time). In last fasting season 6 thieves were caught while taking chat. They have been punished and now they are in prison centre and they will stay according to their engagement in theft in former time, some will stay in jail for 3 years, some for 1 year and some for 8 months. There are a couple of community members who were repeatedly caught while stealing maize in the day time and the husband also stole chat in the evening time. Until now they have been told to stop it but they continue stealing. And the militia men planned to take them to the district if they found them while doing so.

As livestock stay in the compound tied up while the owners go to market or other place there are some cases when the thieves steal such livestock. Last year one thief was caught while taking cattle and then he was taken to jail.

As in each village where there is a development committee there is no house burglary and robbery from people in the community. But while coming from the town thieves steal money when they are inside cars for transportation.

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

### Child-rearing changes

Since the last 10 years, especially following the introduction of health extension service in 2008 parents have become aware of the need for giving special care to infants. In the past they were giving similar food to small and older children. But recently they started to prepare a balanced diet for small children. Unlike the past they start to wash their child's body and their clothes with soap. This special care continues until children reach 7 years old. Then they send them either to religious or formal school. In the past boys were eating with their fathers and girls were eating with their mothers. As mothers eat later girls were not getting quality and adequate food. But now parents understand the need to feed children first. Unlike parents children also eat lunch. For adolescent boys and girls those parents who can afford them buy quality personal care items and clothes.

Still in caring for children it seems priority is given to boys since parents emphasise that it will be the boy who will remain in that area while girls will get married to other areas. That is why if a couple only have a girl the husband likes to marry another wife so as to get a boy. But they do not mind if they get boys only. In general it seems that mothers are inclined to give more care to older female youth as they help her in domestic work. Similarly, fathers are inclined to give good care to older male youth.

### Traditional medicine

People mostly go to traditional healers for some illnesses like haemorrhoids so that the healers give them medicines made from herbs. Some also visit spiritual healers, called Sheikh so as to be healed from bad spirit related illnesses. In the neighbouring (Adele 01) kebele and Aweday town there are well known bone setters when local people go for bone related problem. For these illnesses the community members believe that they are cured by such practitioners. Other community members try these options whenever they are not cured when getting modern treatment.

Those who cannot afford to go to modern health care centres also treat their illness by going to the above mentioned traditional practitioners. Some also used to visit holy water found in Dire Dawa, especially for cold related illness. As the price is lower, which is about 20 birr for full day, some community members like to try this option.

Above all for some illnesses such as common cold people use self-treatment such as taking garlic and lemon.

In general, in the last 10 year the community members better value modern treatment. As a result, most of them initially seek modern treatment. When it does not work they try traditional treatment later.

### Attitudes to education

Since the last 5 years the attitude of the community members to educating both boys and girls has been increasing. As compared with the last five years currently the enrolment of both boys and girls has increased. Until now some parents send their children (both boys and girls) to religious school rather than formal school as they are interested in their children getting adequate religious knowledge.

Unlike 10 years ago now parents send girls like boys. However, when the girl reaches grade 7 continuing education will be problematic as most girls at this age leave school due to marriage. Now most parents like their girls to continue school but it is girls themselves who need to get married.

Recently, three of the teachers employed in the three new schools are from the community, which a bit increases parents’ interest in sending their children to school. More importantly since last year the community members have highly valued higher education. Due to this after graduation from university or college parents prepare a big feast, where people give gifts so that the graduate uses this money while searching for a job. After this celebrating begins in the community most parents become interested in educating their children (both boys and girls) to a higher level.

As there are no students who have joined TVET recently the community members’ attitude towards the importance of TVET seems less. While the community is informed about TVET it seems the community members need some examples to change their attitudes.

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

### Marriage

Before 5 years there was gift of 'gebera', whereby the bridegroom gives cattle and some money to the bride's parent. The bridegroom also buys traditional clothes for the bride’s mother. Over time the provision of this gift becomes impractical rather the bridegroom gives money to the bride to buy shoes, clothes, other personal items and household tools. The customary age of marriage for girls was 17 on average in the past. But now the age of marriage has become a bit lower as mostly they get married when they become 15/16 years old. One of the elders stated that now girls have physically grown faster and they look as if their age is higher. The factor for this may be better eating unlike the longer past irrespective of inflation. Furthermore, girls become active earlier.

The customary age of marriage for young men was at age of 20-22 years old. The same holds true now but some also get married earlier at age of 18-20. Even from a household with only one boy they get married earlier, about age of 15. There were 4 types of marriage. The first is Ayama, which takes place according to the normal procedure. The second is Weltensa/Weljeledema, whereby both the couple agree and stay some place until the normal procedure follows. Others stated that this is the other form of the earlier abduction but the difference is that the man take the girl somewhere with her consent. In this case the wedding ceremony is less than what is arranged for marriage that takes place following normal procedures. The third is when a woman voluntarily enters the house of the man. In this case if the man sits to the right of the woman it means he has accepted her offer. In this case there is no wedding ceremony, rather only neighbours are invited. If the man sits to the left of the woman, who entered the house, it means that he did not accept her offer. But this type of marriage is extremely rare. The fourth one is Chebsa, unexpected arrival of the bridegroom to the girl’s parent so as to take the girl. Before the last 10 years unless the girl’s parents agree to give their daughters the bridegroom’s team does not leave the girl’s home. But now the girl’s parents agree only if the girl accepted the offer. Currently this kind of marriage is extremely rare, almost unpractised.

Over time the costs of weddings have been reduced. Now food (gruel and chat) for the wedding costs about 4,000 birr. It may cost the bridegroom or his parent 2,000 for personal items of the groom and 5,000 birr for household equipment. The bridegroom or his parents initially meet this expense from their own pocket or by borrowing. But later on they can ask relatives for Gumata to contribute money for them. As a result, later they will get the money spent.

Over time people better understand the consequences of polygamy type of marriage. Due to this now it is not so prevalent. It exists in rare cases when the couple do not get a child through the consent of a wife the husband marries another wife, who is divorced or widowed or who remains longer without getting married. The major reason to get married is to get a child. So, mostly young girls are not married as a second wife. For polygamous marriage there is no wedding ceremony in most cases.

### Widowhood and divorce

The practice of widow inheritance also has been reduced. Unlike before the last 10 years now women are not forced to be inherited. In this case the household property is left for widows and her children. There are some instances where the husband’s brother is married to the widow through her consent or interest. When widows want to remarry another man, who is not the sibling of the deceased, his family argue so as to prevent another man inheriting the property of the deceased. Due to this mostly they do not remarry. However, if there is no property she can remarry. In most cases those who need a second wife marry such widows. Similarly, unlike the past marriage to a dead wife's sister is not prevalent. Even in the past such practice was low as compared to getting married to a dead husband’s brother.

The community members give high value to married life. Due to this divorce takes place seldom, about 3-5%. In case of divorce, 10 years ago women were taking one cow and some amount of money. But now the rights of divorced women are better respected in the sense that she equally shares the properties that the couple earned together. In some cases divorced women get married to a man who needs a second wife.

### Death ceremonies and inheritance

Death ceremonies in the PA have not changed in the last ten years. What has been changed is inheritance after death. Formerly, if a husband died, it was his brother who inherited. But now it is the wife and her children who inherit.

### Holidays

There are three holidays in the PA: 1. Arafa 2. Id-Adaha and 3. Molida. During these holidays, there is no work and no farming except giving feeding livestock. People stay at home and chew chat with their families, neighbours and friends. Also, they invite each other with their 'Iddir' and enjoy food. They send food to sick or any vulnerable people in their home.

### Work and other exchanges

There is customary work exchange in the PA. For example, those people who did not have maize or sorghum can exchange these cereal grains with what they have. Formerly, people exchanged quintals of cereal grains. But now they exchange some amount of cereal grains.

### Dispute resolution

If people have disputes with each other, elders together with the families negotiate with the disputants.

## Social inequality

### Social support to vulnerable people

The Muslim community give 1/10th of their total property to vulnerable families. On the day of Alfatir, every member of the household contributes some cereal grain and gives it to vulnerable people before going to Salati. A person does not starve in the face of his neighbours. He will be given cooked or uncooked food. There is no charity institution in the area. There is no distinct support by social institutions like "Iddir" except at time of death; harvest can help these vulnerable people. Government including FFW/PSNP screens vulnerable people and gives them support. There are no NGOs working on this.

### The informal social protection system

There has been no changes as such regarding the informal social protection system in the community. For example, if a person is being harassed and threatened by someone, he appeals to his friends, neighbours to protect him from the threat. They negotiate if the threat is internal (i.e., if it is within the family), by saying that "it is you who will inherit yourselves so, do not quarrel, it is you who will bury each other"; and they negotiate for peace and live together in peace.

### Advantages of inclusion in community leaders’ networks

Kebele leaders are being selected by the community believing that they will bring change to the community. If they cannot do that, the community lets them resign and instead selects others who are believed to bring changes. There are various sub-kebele leaders like party leaders, peace and security structures, and sub-party leaders who play great roles and closely work with community leaders.

Clan leaders are also selected by the community itself to act as heads, to go in front of citizens in every matters and protect them from crimes, teach the members of the community to work together, love each other, and to strengthen social bonds and interconnections and experience sharing. These leaders are also made to swear to do their responsibility.

Firstly, members of the kebele council are selected by the community and they travel to the wereda and select wereda officials and then go back to their respective kebeles. So, the relative importance of wereda officials is to serve the community, work for development, administer equitably, and the like.

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### Clan rules and roles of clan leaders

There are different Oromo clans in the kebele who have their own clan leaders. For example, Sirba, Tulema, Kura, Nunu, Aniya, Machitu, Diramu and Kalu are some of the clans in Adele Keke. Of course, there are traditional rules governing clans. Since recently, the community has been sticking to these clan rules for different perceptions of life styles. For example, formerly it was by clan rules that the community was governed in the PA.

Now, however, this dependency on clan rules and perceptions has been changed as it has so many problems even among the community members who are members of those clans. It was also creating problems by interfering with government interventions in the area. In earlier times, there were clashes, and disputes among the community as well as between kebele and wereda officials as there were differences and perceptions and interests on various issues like authority, land and the like.

Cognizant of this problems of clan rules and perceptions, recently the administration has been made village-based, not clan-based. In one village, there are different clans and people who are selected as leaders of villages are from these various clans. The same is true for kebele and wereda as officials at all these levels are appointed based upon their equitable, fair and just outlooks and perceptions for all. So, there is no room for one owner of village, or kebele chair, according to current administration structure, to favour some clans and neglect the others. He/she should govern all equally and fairly with justice.

In addition, currently together with the owners of each village in the PA, there are elders who are assumed to be leaders, or 'go-betweens' of different clans. Their role is that they deal with and discuss issues in the community, they also act as go-betweens for the community and the government – they link the goals of the government with the goals of the community and work for the benefit of the community. Even, for example, these elders accept or take different issues from government and deal with them. They strive to settle and negotiate matters but if it becomes beyond their capacity they again hand it over to the government. In this case, elders formed from various clans are working in the PA.

The other recent change is that all clans and ethnic groups and all religious groups are working together, participating in development activities for the betterment of their life.

### Lineage rules and roles of lineage leaders

If a person is an Oromo, he/she is identified or known as Oromo and if he/she is from another ethnic group, then he/she is identified as a member of that lineage. Regarding lineage, first the person has to identify and expose himself to the community. Without undermining each other, he/she has to interact with the other lineages so they get to know each other well.

### Religion

There are different religions in the PA. These include Muslim, which is the dominant one and Orthodox, very few (5-10 individuals). There are no Protestants, Catholics or Traditional Oromo Religion (i.e., 'Wakefata') in the PA. The change includes that no one undermines or discriminates against each other on the basis of his/her religion. These days a Muslim boy marries a Christian girl and vice versa in the PA. For example, there are four girls who have converted to Islam in this case and are currently attending their education in the local higher primary school. Similarly, there are three Christian boys who loved and married Muslim girls and converted to Islam.

### Community-initiated organisations

There are different community-initiated organisations in the community.

20 Iddir - includes groups like old men/women, males, females, fathers, or children. Activities include serving each other, improving each other’s wealth to build a house, get married, teach saving

6 Equb - includes groups like males, females, farmers, merchants, and employees. Activities include teaching and saving

There are no women's spinning or butter groups in the area. There is no spinning, just the selling of milk by women. The Women's Association/cooperative of 'Amessa Anani' (Women's milk cooperative) – member contribute milk and sell milk for profit.

Changes brought about by these are that it was possible to assist, help each other to become economically independent. For example, people have been building houses, buying cars for each other as they come together and contribute money to be used as starting capital for themselves to solve their problems. There is no change regarding costs of membership.

### NGOs and CBOs

The NGOs active in the community include:

1. Catholic: it has been assisting FFW/PSNP so that poor people can be supported.

2. CISP: It has given 40,000 birr credit to people who have graduated from FFW/PSNP. The credit was given to 20 females and 100 males.

Of course there are different micro-credit and saving schemes in the PA which can be taken as CBOs. For detailed information refer to section on *Credit and savings opportunities in the kebele* in Module 3.

### Social cohesion

There have been no peace and security problems in the area, except the recent illegal cutting of the community forest on Mount Keke. As we were informed by various people there have been no threats or security and peace problems in the last ten years. As discussed under different questions, there is high tolerance, love and respect among the community members as we have also witnessed during the research period in the PA.

## Community management in 2011 – popularity of government interventions

### Generally

The plan that the government came up with to alleviate poverty and increase development has been greatly accepted and endorsed by the community in Adele Keke PA. A few people who cannot understand the current government policies and programmes may oppose those development interventions. They may not know the benefits and as a result oppose simply for the sake of opposing; they do not know even what to say, what to oppose or not oppose. This is how the respondents expressed things regarding the government interventions.

### Land use

Recently, every farmer understands that agricultural plans have great benefit for the development of agricultural outputs. For instance, the community has been convinced about land registration as it stops the disputes that they experienced over land boundaries for a long time. Since this policy has been implemented, there has been no form of land boundary disputes in the PA.

### Environmental works

People in the PA have been accepting and cooperating and working with environmental programmes for their own benefit. For example, as there is frequent erosion on Mount Keke, people have planted eucalyptus trees. In addition, they have constructed stone bunds. People also use eucalyptus trees for construction of houses and for fuel.

### Livelihood policies

There are different livelihood packages that have been changing the life of the community. For example, getting "Holstein Friesian" breeds in the PA has brought great changes in households’ life styles but some people who did not get the breeds when they arrived still cannot get them.

### FFW/PSNP

This programme has benefited those people who have nothing or those who could not feed themselves. So, it has been benefiting the poor in the PA.

### Drinking water

This is the major benefit to the community. It is recently that many manual, piped drinking water services have been constructed in the PA to get clean drinking water.

### Preventive health services

Health extension package professionals are teaching the community about preventive health education. As the informants said, if a person keeps his health beforehand, he/she cannot get sick and have to spend his/her money.

### Curative health services

The respondents stated that after having health posts and clinics in near areas, the community is happy and consider it as if they have got the services in their home.

### Education

As schools have been constructed in the PA and other schools are near the PA, community children are attending their education without any problem. However, for example, farmers when they go to clinics are asked about their house number and are troubled with not knowing and for this reason, they want to learn skills especially in simple mathematics, reading and writing.

### Harmful Traditional Practices

Recently HTPs have been reduced in the PA. However, there are some people who are opposes to the use of contraceptives, but the majority use them.

### Campaign approach

This included planting trees, constructing or maintaining roads, working for each other, known as 'Guza' in local Oromiffa, 'Debo' in Amharic.

## Ideas in 2011

### Local modern repertoires

As members of the community described, progressives are those people who work hard, who are not weak, who are not thieves, a person who does not make people quarrel, and a person who wants to develop through hard work. These progressive members of the community are around 400 in the PA. These people fully support the government interventions on development and as a result, if they teach, discuss and train the community in various development interventions, the community gives them great support; the community accepts understands them. However, they do not want to sit in meetings during harvesting time, also they do not like extended meetings, they rather prefer that training is given to them or the community as a whole on their farms.

### Local customary repertoires

Conservatives are those people who simply like sitting and chewing chat the whole day. These people also want to disturb and make quarrels with people. Such people are weak; their outlook and perception are also weak. So these people do not want to change their lives by working hard, but they simply oppose others. These people like to oppose everything. A few but not all may oppose with convincing ideas; however, it is important to tolerate and accept them and then educate and convince them; finally they will stop simply opposing the reality and become progressives

### Incoming ideas

There have been recent key messages coming in to the community. For instance, from the government:

* If communities cooperate and unite in groups, and participate in different development activities, it is likely that they can achieve development.
* Cooperating together and receiving credits and working and saving from profits, getting improved seeds, fertilisers, from cooperatives with fair prices and the like is good.

From NGOs:

* Giving credit to cooperatives and individuals of which the majority is a revolving fund.