



WIDE Bridge

Ude/Sirba Community Report 2018

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This community report is part of a series produced by the Ethiopia WIDE team, based on fieldwork carried out in four of the twenty WIDE communities in the first quarter of 2018 under the WIDE Bridge research project.

Ethiopia WIDE is a rigorous independent longitudinal study of 20 rural communities in Amhara, Oromia, Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples, and Tigray regions, selected in 1994 by researchers from Addis Ababa and Oxford Universities, as exemplars of different types of rural communities in Ethiopia. They represent wide variations in a range of key parameters notably livelihoods (including surplus producing, drought prone, cash-crop and agro-pastoralist sites), remoteness or ease of access, cultural institutions, and religious and ethnic composition. The team has recently published a book entitled *Changing Rural Ethiopia: Community Transformations*, as well as a compilation of an earlier series of discussion briefs under the title: *Twenty Rural Communities in Ethiopia: Selected discussion briefs on change and transformation*. Further reports and data are available on the website www.ethiopiawide.net.

In the Bridge Phase in 2018, 4 sites were selected one from each of the 4 regions for a fourth round of research: Yetmen in East Gojjam, Amhara; Ude Dhenkaka in East Shewa, Oromia; Aze Debo in Kambata, Southern Nation, Nationalities and People; and Harresaw in Eastern Tigray. The community reports represent a part of the evidence base used in a range of analytical research outputs under the WIDE Bridge project. This includes twelve papers presented at the 20th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies in Mekelle in October 2018 (<http://www.ices20-mu.org/>), and seven policy-oriented discussion briefs on land and urbanization, farming systems and livelihoods, nonfarming systems and livelihoods, young people's economic experiences, rural modernisation and inequalities, selected aspects of social protection, and local governments and governance, which will be available on the WIDE website., and will be compiled in a book which will also be translated into Amharic.

The Ude Dhenkaka Community Report 2018 describes the situation of the community in 2018, using a number of different perspectives. The database from which the report was written was produced in two rounds of fieldwork. The first two-week fieldwork was undertaken in January 2018 and provided a basis to develop more in-depth lines of enquiries for the second, longer fieldwork, undertaken in February-March 2018. The Research Officers were guided by Protocols which are available on request. Our methodology ensures that all statements in the Report are connected to interviews in the database so that in case of queries we can go back to the sources of the statements. These sources are a multitude of interviews with *woreda* officials, kebele officials, other community leaders and notables, rich-to-poor farmers (male and female heads of households) and wives, rich-to-poor nonfarmers/businesspeople and urban residents (male and female heads of households) and wives, rich-to-poor young women and men in three age groups (17/18, early 20s and late 20s), as well as people (women and men) interviewed because of holding a specific position in the community (e.g. leaders of community social organisations), or because of their status with regard to a specific government programme, or in relation to inequality in the community. (Random initials have been used to refer to information related to individual respondents wherever the case occurs).

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has not been affected by drought at least in living memory. Residents of the kebele said they do not remember the people receiving food aid in their life time. Officially, the district is considered as high production and surplus producing area so that the wereda has never been and still is not a target for free food aid, productive safety net and asset building programmes.

Some say the agriculturally suitable ecology of the wereda is one reason for the establishment of the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute in the wereda. This institute has been providing new agricultural technologies such as seeds, fertilisers and improved livestock breeds for the people of the kebele and the wereda. Physical proximity of the kebele to this institute has greatly benefited the people and in fact the institute has been using individual plots in the kebele to multiply seeds. As a result of this, the kebele has been experiencing the use of modern agricultural chemicals including pesticides. This has helped improve agricultural production and productivity of particularly those who have the resources to purchase these modern inputs. Nonetheless, farmers suggested that over the years the soils of the kebele have been less responsive to chemical fertilisers and farmers have started applying more fertilisers on the same amount of land to sustain the productivity of their plots. In the meantime, the government has introduced new soil-specific fertilisers (three types of fertilisers) since the last two or three years. Farmers have enthusiastically accepted these new inputs and have started applying them. Ecologically, the new fertilisers might also have lesser negative impact compared to the past blanket application of DAP and Urea fertilisers, as the new ones have the capacity to respond better to the specific nutrient deficiencies of the three major soil types in the kebele. These days the kebele has been experiencing very cold mornings and very hot days, a significant weather change compared to the past. The forest coverage of the wereda is said to have decreased over the decades. In response to this and the agricultural and economic needs of trees and vegetations, the government and farming households have been planting indigenous as well as imported trees over the recent decades but more of eucalyptus trees survive and grow than others.

Altitude, terrain, floods and erosion

The landscape of the kebele is largely flat and is used for rural residence, farming and industrial buildings. However, residents said that due to expanding farming activities and soil erosion and construction of new structures, and also because of illegal land possessors, the size of flat landscape in the kebele has been shrinking over the years.

Soil and water conservation activities have been in practice as a farming strategy and throughout the last seven years the government has been implementing a soil conservation strategy by building new physical structures and revegetating the area. Community members have been providing free labour two days per week that is every Wednesdays and Fridays for three months from January to March after harvests are collected and fields are ready for conservation activities. Through this organised operation they have been building bunds, trenches and the like in selected areas and peoples' perception is that soil erosion has been significantly reduced over the last five years. Kebele officials mentioned that tree planting and to some extent land enclosure are also applied to arrest soil erosion in the context of a government watershed management programme carried out in consultation with the community. A wereda respondent said trees are planted every year in the wereda as a soil conservation intervention but as no care and protection is made for the planted seedlings very little survive and properly grow. The respondent added that most farmers plant eucalyptus trees because of their value as a commodity and raw material in house construction.

A development team leader said for years they have been doing quite a lot development works like land terracing and afforestation with community members within the last few years' activities, which, according to him, have contributed to highly reduce soil erosion in the kebele. According to wereda respondents, watershed management, afforestation and terracing are the main activities being undertaken to prevent soil erosion and fertility depletion. Kebele respondents, as do wereda and community respondents agree that many activities have been done and that there is a significant positive change regarding soil erosion in the kebele but mentioned that they have not

been receiving government support like other kebeles in the wereda. At time of data collection for this report during the first quarter of 2018, the community members were providing free labour on a full month watershed management public campaign.

The kebele is prone to occasional flooding but community members mentioned that the worst flooding they experienced in 40 years were that of August 5, 2017 and that of September 5, 2018. These floods washed away the crops in the fields and blocked the old highway and vehicles were unable to pass on those days. One of the residents mentioned that if it were not for the terraces and other soil and water conservation structures built in the area, the damages of these floods could have been more severe.

Rivers and springs

Ude/Sirba kebele does not have perennial rivers but there are several seasonal rivers used for human and livestock consumption and domestic purposes. The kebele does not have springs either.

Underground water

Over the last five years, there has been more use of ground water for industrial, drinking as well as irrigation purposes. Many investors who have erected industries and farms in the kebele have dug wells to get water for their industrial and farming purposes. Some rich farming households have also dug water wells to supply drinking water for themselves and for the residents for some payment but also to irrigate vegetables. Extraction of water for drinking and irrigation purposes in the kebele is expected to significantly increase in the future as there is lack of water which is the number one problem of the community except some residents living in the centre of Ude town. Community respondents said that currently there are 12 private water sources dug by private investors in the kebele who use the water for irrigation purposes in addition to those built by individual farming households. The pump test made on nine deep wells dug by government some six years ago in the kebele, shows that the area has high underground water potential. These wells meant for irrigation purposes are not yet complete and functional because of a prolonged delay.

Watershed management

In the kebele, watershed management activities have been focused on environmental resource rehabilitation, protection and conservation activities. The same physical and biological soil conservation activities namely terracing, tree planting and some area enclosures have been carried out over the last five years. These activities are coordinated by government and carried out in consultation with community members who provide free public labour on scheduled days and in the form of campaigns. According to wereda respondents, afforestation, terracing, trenches and other environmental measures are planned and carried out every year. The communities are informed of the incoming watershed activities and sites are selected by experts who inspect affected areas and develop the design for watershed activities. The plan is then discussed and reviewed in consultation with the community and an annual plan of action submitted to the kebele. This has been the procedure since 2010/11.

Irrigation

Irrigation was raised as an agenda in the wereda in 2009/10 and deep wells were dug for the purpose but are not yet functional. Despite this, small-scale irrigation has been generally improving since then. Wereda respondents said currently irrigation is given due emphasis and it was organisationally separated from the wereda agriculture office as an irrigation agency at wereda level.

The kebele does not have perennial rivers that can be used for irrigation. People who do have wells are using generators to practice small scale irrigation of vegetables both for household consumption and for sale. Private investors who have come from different places are also involved in growing

some fruits in addition to vegetables. There are also some people who fetch water manually to irrigate their gardens.

According to wereda and community respondents, there is ground-water potential for irrigation both in the wereda at large and in Ude/Sirba kebele. Nonetheless, attempts thus far have been unsatisfactory. In Kuftu kebele where 83 hectares of land was taken back from an inactive investor who said was going to produce organic teff, 80 hectares of the reclaimed land were given for jobless young people organised in associations and the remaining three hectares for the construction of a youth centre. Wereda respondents reflected that the assumption was that the Irrigation Authority of Oromia will dig eight deep wells for these associations to practice irrigated agriculture but this has not yet come true and they have been producing just rain-fed chickpeas. At time of data collection for this report in the first quarter of 2018 the young people were waiting for the next rains to grow chickpeas. They were organised in 33 associations each of them with some 25 members. In total, 840 young people (228 females) have been using the land.

There was an attempt in 2009 in Sirba to introduce drip irrigation by an NGO called Passion Connect which organised 24 farmers into groups. The NGO dug water wells for the members as a demonstration so that they would build more wells by themselves; however, even though the group was able to irrigate several hectares of land, the operation was not sustained when the NGO was dissolved. After that there was a very big irrigation project called Ada'a-Becho which was started by government to irrigate some 300 hectares of smallholder land but due to various reasons the project that was designed to be completed within two years has taken more than seven years after having dug nine deep wells (already mentioned), 75 water collection chambers and an electric powerhouse and some other activities.

Koticha irrigation scheme which is based on extracting ground water for farming also started five years ago with the aim of irrigating 80 hectares of land belonging to 60 farming households. This unfinished project is also totally financed by government and has committees to facilitate and oversee its progress but it has not been yet finalised to meet its objective of increasing productivity and reducing poverty. Similarly, Awacho irrigation scheme is located in Sirba zone and is planned to water an estimated 60 hectares of land belonging to 30 households. This project which started five years ago and was financed by government was also not yet complete.

As a result of all these delays and unmet expectations, irrigation agriculture has remained small-scale and limited to people who have the financial ability to dig water wells and generators to pump and distribute the water through channels in their fields. Most people who are engaged in garden vegetables production do this during the wet season. Therefore, shortage of water, including for domestic purposes, remains the most important problem of Ude Dhenkaka kebele community. Wereda respondents said the delays were caused by financial problem.

Wereda respondents said there are also some associations/groups organised at the wereda level. The members of these associations are six hundred (male and female members). They use rented land, digging the wells for irrigation themselves in addition to livestock fattening. They use electricity to draw the water from the wells. Community respondents said almost all functional wells used for irrigation in the kebele are owned by private investors coming from Bishoftu, Addis Ababa and some local residents. Digging wells started many years ago and still people are digging some wells in their gardens and farms. There are public wells which were not functional because of lack of repair and probably going old for their design period.

Water harvesting

Community members have been practicing small-scale irrigation by digging water wells and collecting water during the rainy seasons. Some small-scale investors are also involved with their water wells and generators to pump water for irrigation. Apart from this, water harvesting has not shown improvement over the last five years. These private investors are operating land they have

informally bought from some smallholders in the kebele on which they are also extracting water for irrigation. In return, the investors have been selling their produce of vegetables to the community members as well.

Water quality control

Respondents from the kebele said that on the whole the community does not have access to safe and adequate water supply in the kebele. They are using hand dug wells some of which are fitted with pumps. In fact, as already suggested, getting potable and sufficient water is the most important problem in the kebele. Nonetheless, these respondents have also said that some households buy and use the water purifier called *wuha agar* for drinking purpose, mainly in the rainy season when there is high risk of water contamination.

Forests and wooded areas

According to residents of the kebele, the size of land covered with forests has been decreasing from time to time because of expanding farming practices and deforestation. Currently, there is only a patch of forest left on the only mountain in the kebele. Nonetheless, tree planting has been practiced in the preceding five years as well. People have been planting many indigenous trees on the mountain and in their gardens. This remaining forest land is protected and there is the likelihood that its size would increase in the coming years. Afforestation programmes that are led by agricultural development agents have been in practice as a regular activity over the years to prevent soil erosion and conserve the environment.

Kebele respondents said about 81 hectare land is covered with forest in the kebele on communal lands including two grazing lands that were enclosed some years ago. There is a guard looking after the mountain forest; his salary is paid by the community. Nobody is allowed to cut trees from these protected forests without consulting the concerned authorities.

Grazing land

According to kebele residents, the kebele used to have two stretches of communal grazing lands in Sirba and Kelala areas on the way to Gafat Armaments Engineering Factory where people used to graze their animals. All the same, around 2014, the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute in collaboration with GIZ and the community, organised the people to protect these grazing lands as an environmental measure to adjust to the changing local climate. During the rainy season (mid-June through mid-September) the community members cut the grasses and share the produce among them. Due to this, there is no communal grazing land as such in the area but whenever harvests are collected and the farmlands are left fallow (inter season), people leave their livestock to freely roam and feed on the stubbles and the undergrowth. Over the last five years, households have been adopting more of zero grazing or the cut-and-carry method in addition to depending on factory products as livestock feed.

Waste disposal and environmental sanitation

Kebele respondents said there are no significant wastes in the rural areas and in case there are solid wastes they dump them in the lower river basins. One of the three health extension agents in the kebele has been working in Ude town where there have been much construction activities and booming business to inspect environmental sanitation of the area. As a result of this, female residents of the town mentioned there is proper household disposal of solid and liquid wastes in the town except in some parts of the kebele. However, they also mentioned that the municipality is weak in terms of fulfilling the basic needs of the community with respect to drinking water, improved road and properly managing the sanitation of the town so that one major problem of the community is lack of clean environment in some parts of the kebele.

Secondly, there is a stone crushing factory in Gafat area and big vehicles travel to and from the area. The dust raised by these tracks pollutes the environment affecting not only humans but also field crops reducing their productivity. Since many trucks and big vehicles have been travelling on the road every day, the women gave their advice that the road be asphalted but they also added the municipality has made no attempt to address the problem. Thirdly, there are also widespread complaints against the bad odour created by chicken wastes resulting from the many poultry farms that have been established in the kebele, particularly over the last five years. Many residents complained that their environment has been polluted and this has already become a health problem they have to live with.

One of the health extension workers mentioned that the provision of hygiene and sanitation services is active and people are accepting what has been educated. Accordingly, most people are preparing and using latrines but still there is a challenge in terms of the quality of latrines constructed so that they would stay longer. And hand washing after defecation is still not done properly. Given the increasing urbanisation of Ude town and the kebele more wastage is expected to be generated in the future and with this an improved system of waste management much better than now.

Weather and climate

According to respondents from the kebele administration office, the kebele is found at an altitude of 1,700 m.a.s.l. It has a temperate (*woina dega*) climate with an average temperature of 21 degree centigrade and an annual rainfall of 800 mm. The area has been experiencing weather change in recent years with very cold temperatures early in the mornings and very hot temperatures in the day times. Frost, when it occurs, significantly damages vegetables on the fields.

Community land use

Land use

There have been different land use types in the kebele: croplands, grazing lands (until recently), residential areas, public building areas, religious sites including cemeteries, land covered by roads, internal roads and paths. Mostly, as of the last 10 years, and significantly as of the last five years, many industries and private farms have been established taking more and more of the smallholder farmlands and stepping onto public zones as well. There has not been land use plan in the kebele thus far and the Ude municipality master plan developed in collaboration with the wereda and the Oromia region and with some public consultation is not yet executed. When its implementation starts and through time it is expected to affect about 75 percent of what used to be in rural administration of Sirba and Qumbursa villages.

Spatial patterns

The kebele is relatively flat dissected by many seasonal streams or small rivers and has one hill and a mountain. The landscape has been affected by human activities so that the land use types mentioned in the preceding sub-section are conspicuous features of the kebele.

Settlement pattern

The residents of the kebele are settled in three clusters also known as zones or villages namely, Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa villages. Ude is a rural town concentration which has got its municipality five years ago and is poised to expand and intensify based on a master plan developed recently. Particularly over the last five years many modern houses have been built in the kebele as many newcomers have erected residential houses and more commercial facilities have been built. The implementation in the near future of the master plan of Ude is very likely to reconfigure and expand the settlement pattern of the kebele. An area has already been identified to be distributed for residence for civil servants in Ude kebele and other parts of the wereda.

Urbanisation

Small rural towns have been expanding in the wereda and in the case of Ude Dhenkaka kebele Ude rural town and Sirba village have been expanding turning farmlands into residential areas as new houses have been built over the years by newcomers and the locals for residential and commercial purposes. The establishments of many poultry farms by investors who have been 'buying' land from the farmers have contributed to the intensification of urbanisation of the kebele. With the municipalisation of Ude nearly 75 percent of the landmasses that were under Sirba and Qumbursa villages have been incorporated into the municipality and when the master plan of the town is implemented in the near future more formal urbanisation activities are expected to be intensified. The process of urbanisation has been faster in and around the kebele centre which is Ude. The municipality has already built a market place attracting more marketers from Mojo and Bishoftu towns and, as just stated; a residential area is set to be distributed to government civil servants in the wereda. Gomeju fuel station, Arose hotel, other medium and smaller hotels and restaurants, butcher's shops, beauty salons, wood and metal workshops, different consumers' shops, private clinics and electricity in Ude town centre are among the features of expanding urbanisation in the kebele. House construction has expanded into the rural parts of the kebele with new style buildings with metal and mirror doors and windows and decorated interiors not well known before in the kebele.

Big companies involved in various activities such as flower farms, vegetables and fruit farms, a textile factory, packaging and plastic material manufacturing firms, motels/hotels are major features of the process of urbanisation as they have also created job opportunities, mainly for the youth. A range of respondents mentioned that electricity, an additional aspect of urbanisation in the kebele, has facilitated the functioning of business enterprises such as hotels, groceries and tea houses assisting them in refrigeration and cooking and serving more hours in the evening. It has also helped the majority of the community members to use mobile phones to communicate with relatives as well as for business purpose. Access to electric power, though with limited coverage, has also helped people to have better access to water since people who can afford it are digging water well that has a depth of about 25 meters using electric power to pull in the water.

Infrastructure

Public buildings

Not many public buildings are found in the kebele and it seems there has been no change in this regard over the last five years. Public buildings in the kebele are limited to schools, health posts and maybe some other sectoral offices delivering basic services. Both of the urban and rural kebele administration offices are housed in a compound in Ude town in rented houses. With the implementation of the new master plan, the municipality is expected to have its own office building. Now that the municipality has its own plan, revenue and budget, the coming five years are expected to have new public buildings built to satisfy the rapidly growing number of the population of the kebele largely as a result of investors and other newcomers from the surrounding towns and other parts of the country, including the capital, Addis Ababa. A greater number of people from the rural parts of the kebele might also be building houses in the town.

Internal roads, paths and bridges and transport

All categories of respondents (wereda, kebele and community) underlined the problem of internal roads or blocks which get very muddy during the rainy season rendering travel very difficult, especially for heavy duty trucks that need to come to transport purchased crops out of the villages. There have been unsatisfactory attempts to clean and improve internal roads to make them better accessible through public labour except in a few cases as in Ude village. There is no URAP in the wereda as priority is given to other weredas that do not have road connections to their zonal seats.

Residents stated that the main means of transportation used by the rural residents to support their livelihood activities, mainly for taking crops to the market and bringing inputs and supplies from the market is horse carts that link the internal roads to the main road. Most farmers also use donkeys to transport grains to and from the market and to fetch water. A few people also use bicycles and motorbikes to travel from place to place.

Recently, some bajajs also started to provide services like horse carts rendering the service better as bajajs are more suitable and comfortable. The respondents were hopeful that when the roads would be improved more bajajs would start providing this service in the villages so that it would be easy for the community members to travel. To go to the nearby towns for market and non-market purposes they can use taxis, minibuses or buses. People walk to travel between their homes and farmlands. It was four birr for a person from Dhenkaka to Bishoftu town but the fare increased to five birr this year and respondents have the fear it may keep increasing every year. Some motorbikes and bicycles are also in use while cars and horse carts are the most commonly used means of transportation in the area. Some respondents stated there is no shortage of transportation services in the area but the fare is always increasing.

Residents of Ude said the main transportation means used by non-farming economic actors to conduct their business are trucks (for big traders), minibuses (medium traders) and horse-drawn carts (for small traders). There are also a few residents who use their own vehicles. Internal roads are the third most important problem of the community of the kebele. Wereda respondents said AGP is working to enhance internal roads in the wereda. On their part kebele respondents said the major problem and long-standing question of the community is about internal roads which are very narrow and eroded by water and are rendered non-functional during rainy season. There are places which need bridging to connect areas within the kebele, especially in Qumbursa zone. The residents said they have informed the concerned bodies about the problem and are waiting for their responses. There are also places which need foot paths to connect zones and developmental teams.

Irrigation infrastructure

Irrigation infrastructures in the kebele are traditional. Hand dug wells and distribution channels are used. Some rich households have generators to pump out the water and discharge it to the fields. Irrigation and its infrastructure are treated in more detail under the 'irrigation' sub-section above.

Drinking water infrastructure

Women respondents stated that lack of water infrastructures has been seriously affecting the community. In fact, a range of respondents from the kebele mentioned potable and enough drinking water supply is their most important problem which has not been resolved in the past five years as before. Wells fitted with pumps and hand-dug wells are the water infrastructures currently serving the people but most people in the rural kebele have to purchase water from individual well owners while some are still forced to use seasonal rivers. A communal water point in Sirba which was in use by the residents was also interrupted because of technical problems. What is more, a number of these water facilities built by others such as the Chinese Road Company and a stone crushing factory and some others built most likely by government have been dysfunctional and residents reported this is so because of technical problems. This may suggest that there is practical challenge in the area of operation and maintenance of the water facilities by the user community members and the wereda government office responsible for rural water supply. Electric supply has assisted well owners to pump the water up from a depth of up to 25 metres.

Mobile phones

According to community residents, every community member, mostly age 15 and above, has a mobile phone. It is common to find more than one person carrying a mobile phone in a household. In addition to communication, people use mobile phones to listen to music, FM radios and to access

social media, mostly Facebook. Residents said access to electric power has greatly assisted in the use of mobile phones in the kebele. There are also some individuals using smart phones and in the future more people might want to change their phones into smart phones. Mobile phones have been in use by service providers, administrators, businesspeople and the community members at large. Communication has become vital for all, especially for those living in towns and running businesses both in the rural parts of the kebele and the urban centre in Ude. The number of people using mobile phones has increased over the years. Nonetheless, some residents have also mentioned of the potential disadvantage or misuse of mobile phones in social media.

Electricity

Electricity has increased use of television sets, tape recorders and radios, especially for households living in the centre of Ude town. Young people can have access to different television channels such as OBN, EBS and Kana and some residents said many young people are adopting new clothing styles and haircuts because of cultural influences from abroad. However, both kebele officials and the residents have mentioned that there is problem of electric coverage in the kebele and nothing has changed even if they have repeatedly reported this to the concerned bodies. Only people along the main road have access to electricity while the other parts of the kebele do not. The impact seems even more prominent as the health post, the school and the kebele administration offices do not have access to electricity. Especially in Qumbursa and some part of Sirba villages, the majority of the households are using solar panels because of lack of grid electricity. Even Ude town, otherwise said to be having better access to electricity, has been facing problems of power interruption and low power grid electricity affecting the smooth running of enterprises and residential houses. Here as well some people have to use solar panels as supplementary source of power. However, many get electricity just for lighting by extending lines from their neighbours which could be risky but which were not mentioned of by the respondents. Electricity has enabled the opening and running of factories, workshops and hotels but power cuts and low power have been significantly affecting their functioning. As more of these facilities are expected in the kebele in the future, the problem would be more serious unless appropriate measures are taken.

External roads, bridges and transport

Both the old Addis Ababa-Adama and the new Express Road pass through Ude Dhenkaka kebele. The old high way, though less in use after the opening of the Express Road, is still very useful for residents of the kebele to travel to the nearby towns and to different rural places along the road. About 14 households lost some land to the Chinese Road Construction Company that was stationed in the kebele but although they regained the plots they were rendered useless after the company left.

Community social fabrics and economy

Main social traits of the community

Population and households

The total population of the kebele is 1,702 out of which 830 are females. There are 346 households out of which 47 are female headed and two are headed by children. Female headed households may receive particular support from immediate relatives.

Ethnicity and clan

According to community respondents, about 75 percent of the people of the kebele are Oromo while about 10 percent are Amhara and about 2 percent are Wolayta. There are also three households from Tigray. Some residents claimed clan membership does not influence social interaction in the community and they do not have clan leaders like in the old days but there are some signs that clan affiliation may count in some occasions.

Religion

The great majority of the people of the kebele are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox church while recently some people have converted to Protestantism. There are also a few people who are Muslims. Some also said Waqefana, the traditional Oromo religion, is prompting for establishment. Some residents said Protestantism has been expanding within a short period. Followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church have associations called *mahaber* in which religious and social activities take place. These institutions also serve as platforms of social and economic support among the members.

Independence of the economy

While agriculture is still a major source of income for rural households in the kebele, decreasing *per capita* land holding and landlessness in the case of the younger generation and modernising livelihoods and life styles have increasingly created the need to diversify out of farming. As such, non-farming economic activities such as trading in crops and other items have become a necessity of survival and at the same time the path to good fortunes for both the rich and to a limited extent for the poor. Increasing urbanisation has also meant increasing dependence on imported raw materials, including agricultural inputs without the use of which the land does not provide good harvest. This dependence on imported agricultural inputs is encouraged in the kebele as in other parts of the country where crop farming is dominant. Many farmers in the kebele stated despite the increasing prices of modern inputs such as fertilisers and seeds, more households are applying these inputs. A few said they have started applying more fertilisers on the same unit of land to sustain the amount of harvest but this may be a sign of further dependence that the land is becoming less respondent to fertilisers. Farming is nearly fully dependent on rains. And while the kebele and the entire Ada'a wereda are not identified as drought prone areas, reduction in precipitation has been affecting the livelihood of many rural people who during such times fail to feed their families for the full year from own produce. Therefore, the economy is significantly dependent on modern inputs and the national macro economy as this is reflected particularly on supplies that farmers have to procure from the national markets and prices for commodities they supply to the market.

Balance of livelihood activities

The broad livelihood categories in the kebele are farming and non-farming activities. With increasing urbanisation, people have become increasingly perceptive of the need to diversify out of farming that is to do non-farming activities as well. A range of respondents from the community mentioned that in order to do better and even to survive people have not only to work hard but also to diversify out of agriculture. While rich and poor people have differing opportunities to diversify out of agriculture, still many poor people do a bit of farming, sale of labour and sale of the traditional drinks *tella* and *areqe*, in short wage and self-employment. Most people try to keep the balance among these economic activities while a few households have preferred to do more of non-farming than farming activities because they have found the latter more profitable and difficult to manage together with farming. Some farmers also work in the different flower, poultry and other factories in addition to doing their farming. Diversification is also emerging as a need within the non-farming sector as well, as in the case of a hotel owner who has been selling food, drinks, and butchery services and scaled up her business into serving as a wholesaler or distributor of drinks.

Nonfarm activities are becoming important aspects of local economy even though farming is still very crucial. In this regard, it can be said that what used to be mixed crop-livestock farming has been transforming to mixed farming-trading livelihood for many households. The trend is that this would continue in the future as more farmlands are turned into residential, commercial, industrial and other service provision quarters.

Main livelihood portfolios

The main livelihood portfolios for the rural residents of the kebele is crop production which is largely rain-fed and to some extent supported by irrigation of vegetables and livestock production, particularly dairy cows and poultry farming for some households. Government agricultural offices, the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute and some private companies have been providing smallholders with modern inputs such as seeds and fertilisers. Nonetheless, because of high cost, the poor are unlikely to access these resources and have limited capacity of sharing the improvement in agricultural production and productivity in the area. The same is true with livestock production, as with increasing lack of traditional livestock feed and high cost of hybrid dairy cows and factory-made feed, as mostly the rich are able to keep these animals. Non-farming activities such as trading in crops, sale of tella and areqe, shop-keeping, working in factories as well as agricultural labour are serving as important supplementary sources of income. There are also some young people organised into economic groups through government support who are fattening and selling oxen, work in mining quarries and producing fodder and keeping some dairy cows. In the town of Ude, some people live as government civil servants, as merchants and petty traders, including those engaged in the hotel and transportation sectors. Sales of milk, milk products and eggs have become very important source of income for the people especially over the last five years.

Mixed economy

Exports

The major items exported by the smallholders of the kebele are crop and livestock products. The kebele is one of the kebeles in the area known for best quality and massive teff production and sale. Over the last five years, chickpeas and lentils have been produced in larger proportion compared to the past because of their increasing market values. Milk and milk products are also in high supply in recent years because of increasing number of households keeping hybrid dairy cows and establishment of some milk processing factories in the area. Eggs have also become important source of income for rural households in the kebele because of increasing poultry production run by farming households in addition to those produced by incoming investors. The presence of the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute and private farm input companies close to the kebele and engagement of farmers' service co-operatives and local seeds growers has increased the chance for the kebele to improve on its traditional position as a supplier of farm produces.

Imports

There are different commodities imported into the kebele from the surrounding towns. Modern agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides are imported and sold through the farmers' union and the farmers' co-operative in the kebele and private retailers. The importation of these inputs has increased over the years as farmers awareness of the benefits of these inputs has increased and some farmers are applying more fertilisers on the same unit of land. Household goods and utensils are also imported and this has increased with the growing urbanisation of the area. Therefore, people have been buying more of such items as television sets, radios, sofas, shelves, tables and chairs over the last five years. There are also rich households with refrigerators and satellite dishes while those who are running business have more of these facilities to support their business. Factory-made construction materials are also imported as many local people and newcomers have been constructing modern houses both in the urban and rural parts of the kebele. Among consumables soaps, sugar, cooking oil and half-processed factory foods are regularly imported to supplement people's diet. Modern beverages and alcoholic drinks are imported through hotels, restaurants and consumers' shops running in the kebele. As the kebele is urbanising, more of these commodities have been imported over the last five years and more of this is expected to continue with intensifying urbanisation in the future, also with the implementation of the new master plan of Ude town which is expected to start in the near future.

Savings, credit and debt

Some people save their money in the formal banks and some others in the traditional saving scheme called *iqqub*. Community respondents said women, mostly those involved in trading activities, have been saving money in *iqqub*. Recently, due to the growing urbanisation of the locality and re-establishment or expansion of the market in Ude, the number of women involved in business activities has been increasing and new *iqqubs* also have been established. Some *iqqubs* give lots for those who are in urgent need of money, including starting a business. There is also a trend of getting money in the form of loans from those who get money from the *iqqub* by paying additional money before their turn arrives. *Iqqub* entails regular contributions on weekly basis and mostly it is used by those who have regular income. People have access to group credit from micro-finance institutions mainly WALQO, Busa Gonofa and a farmers' cooperative which lends money to members alone. Well-to-do people also give loans to needy people, to their friends, relatives and neighbours. People's habit of saving has been improving over the past five years.

Inward investment

Along with increasing urbanisation the kebele has been experiencing different investment activities over the years. At time of data collection there were 17 investments which were given land in the kebele in different sectors or types of business namely vegetables and fruit farms, flower farms, motel and recreation, printing house and others. Poultry farms have been major investments in the kebele mostly run by newcomers from other places such as Bishoftu and Addis Ababa and a few residents of the kebele. Big tin-houses are seen here and there in the kebele used for the production of chickens and eggs. The Gomeju fuel station found in Sirba but that is now incorporated by the expanding Bishoftu municipality has been part of investment practices in the kebele. The 17 investors that have taken land in the kebele have a total proposed capital of nearly 97,000,000 birr. Textile factories, packaging and plastic factories and flower farms are among those that have started operation. In the town of Ude, there are also local residents who are investing in the service sector like the woman who is running a big hotel with a butcher's house. There are also small-scale investments like wood and metal workshops and beauty salons (see the chapter on nonfarm livelihoods for more). Currently, as in the wereda, land is not given for investment until there is a solution for public complaints that industries are affecting the peace and comfort of residential areas. These investment activities have created job opportunities for the local people and in-migrants from other parts of the country.

Inflation

The cost of goods and services has been increasing. Prices of agricultural inputs, grain crops, consumables and inputs or raw materials used by enterprises such as wood and metal work have all increased. Even though the increasing prices of grain crops and livestock products are advantageous to the very rich and the rich farmers, it has been disadvantageous for those farmers who produce very little and have to buy from the markets during times prices are very high.

Cultural ideas and practices

Conservative and modern repertoires

There are some conservative ideals in the kebele. For instance, except for the newcomers, the local people are mostly averse to working for others for payment in their community. They think that this affects their self-esteem and working under the supervision of someone they know in the community is considered lowly. While poverty might compel some individuals to work for others, the effect of this attitude is there and seems to be creating more job opportunity for newcomers while even very poor households from the kebele could shy away from this. This does not seem to be so far affecting local entrepreneurs as they can rely on newcomers who are not only willing to work but also accept lower rates but the cost of labour has been on the increase. Residents also said

older people tend to be conservative in many respects. For instance, they are opposed to young couple concluding marriage agreement by themselves without involving their families. Also, they do not appreciate music and films and also tend to favour and maintain the status quo. They prefer stability rather than change.

Education, health, agriculture, communication and transportation as well as consumption are the hubs of modern repertoire in the community. There is much better health-seeking behaviour, the practice of sending both girls and boys to school, increased use of modern agricultural inputs, increased use of vehicles and mobile phones. Modern housing styles, modern furniture, modern household or kitchen utensils, use of entertainment facilities such as hotels and restaurants are also among the new cultural practices and wishes shared by all regardless of age and economy. Diversifying both within and out of agriculture has become a matter of necessity and the path towards good fortunes. Throughout the years, there has been less of cooperation and mutual support because of growing privatisation, increasing consumerism, comfort-seeking behaviour, and perhaps the need to accumulate more fortunes. With increasing urbanisation of the kebele and the entire wereda and more rural-urban links, more modern cultural ideals and practices are expected to be introduced in the future as traditional ways of thinking and practicing will have to give way. Migration, particularly to the Arab Gulf countries mostly by women, may introduce more of new thinking and practice in the future if more young people are going to migrate.

Attitude towards education

Public attitude towards education is generally positive and this has come as a result of continuous and serious efforts of many years. Since many years ago both males and females have equal opportunity for education and parents are convinced that they have to send girls as well as boys to school without discrimination. Harmful traditional practices such as early marriage that used to force female students to terminate their education are much less prevalent. Poor households get waivers from school contributions at the beginning of the school year even though some students still find difficulty in affording uniforms, books and other school materials. Nonetheless, over the last five years, as before, there are issues that seem to be affecting the well-established positive attitude towards education. Wereda and community respondents stated that the quality of education is a source of serious concern. They complained that children are not taught according to the set schedules and teachers do not have residential houses in the places they teach and have to consume most of their time travelling between their residence and their schools. Different respondents said it is advisable to provide residential places for teachers in the areas they teach creating conducive environment so that they can concentrate on their job rather than thinking of the distance they have to cover every day. They added that more focus on knowledge and skills transfer is needed than mere attention on the number of students passing to the next grade in a clear emphasis on quality rather than sheer quantity.

Kebele respondents said, generally speaking, some students want to get money by involving in paid jobs as there are many factories in areas. Because of this, they added, a few students give proper attention to their education. This was also mentioned as one of the reasons for the reduction of the number of students attending secondary school. There are also some students whose objective is just completing grade 8 as this is one of the requirements to get a driving license after which they seek employment as drivers. Similarly, some female students also drop out of school, mainly after completing grade 8 and they join paid jobs in factories since they want to earn money rather than continue to upper grades. There are also some young people who go to Arab countries and even though most of them seem to be grade 10-completers, this trend may, through time, invite lower grades as well to migrate as in other parts of the country. That grade-10 complete and some college/university graduates cannot find employment and have to live with their parents, has some impact on young peoples' and their parents' attitude towards education.

Cultural imports

Lifestyle, clothes, hairstyles

Over the years there have been some changes in lifestyle, hairstyles and clothes to some extent. The life styles of the rich imitate the urban rich and middle class. Living in modern, beautiful and comfortable villas furnished with modern sofas, chairs, tables and beds are important aspects to distinguish the rich and the poor. Modern household utensils, televisions, smart phones and consumption of factory processed food and drinks have come as aspects of modernisation along with the traditional dishes and drinks. The hairstyle called freeze is mostly used by young people who also keep their hair long which is said to be conducive for a freeze style. As there are beauty salons young women also get their hair dressed in new styles. They wear different new hair fashions apart from the traditional braid and common hairstyle known as *shuruba*. Young people are using skinny trousers called *kara*.

Media

Different TV and radio channels such as EBS, OBN, Kana, JTV are followed by residents, mostly young people for whom they have been serving as sources of new ideas, information and knowledge. Electricity supply in Ude and Sirba has been facilitating the use of these communication tools more often. Young people also make use of their cell phones to access these channels and social media, particularly Facebook. There are also film shops renting videos to young people but some people negatively view them as a negative influence since they believe romantic films are bad for the young and watching films is done at the expense of their study times. The Health Extension Workers also said Kana TV might expose girls to early sexual debut and mentioned that last year six unmarried young girls dropped out of school because of unwanted pregnancy.

Diet

The traditional, thin and circular bread called *injera*, bread and the stew (*wot*) are generally consumed. With increasing production of milk and milk products many households have started consuming much of these products which would significantly contribute to nutrition and health. Factory processed food and drinks are also consumed, with beer being among the modern drinks recently introduced. In addition to other factory made alcohols and the home-made *tella* and *areqe*, *chat* and *shisha* are commonly consumed by young people in Ude.

New economic activities

There are few really new economic activities that have been introduced over the last five years in the kebele as it already featured a quite wide range of these. One such new activity is mobile repair. However, there has been growing need to diversify out of agriculture to ensure survival for poor households and to earn more fortunes for the rich so that the numbers of those involved in the nonfarm sector may have increased. As such, trading in crops, renting land and selling land for investors and newcomers have continued over the last five years.

External links and relationships

Rural-rural links

Rural/agricultural migration linkages

Ude/Sirba is rather a sending than a receiving rural kebele. Many people have been migrating into the kebele over the last five years from different rural places in Oromia and other regions in the country. Particularly during peak agricultural seasons many young men come, work for money and go back to their places with their earned incomes. There are also those who stay long and become residents of the area as farm workers and day labourers. There has been no sign that agricultural labour in-migrants have decreased over the years. Increasing cost of farm labour is also unlikely to

suggest that incoming agricultural migrants are decreasing as many locals shy away from working for others in their community. Nonetheless, with increasing conversion of the farmlands of the kebele into factories, commercial places and residences the number of agricultural migrants may decrease as that of non-agricultural migrants may increase.

Other rural-rural relationships with other kebeles

Residents of Ude/Sirba kebele share the service cooperative in Ude with other kebeles in the neighbourhood. They also share with other four kebeles the health centre in Dhenkaka and students from other kebeles come to learn in the secondary high school located in Ude town. Farmers of these neighbouring kebeles have the chance to meet at wereda level for agricultural training and administrative matters. Rural markets, marriage, death and other social events also serve as lines of linkage between the residents of Ude/Sirba kebele and the adjacent kebeles. There has been no change in this regard over the last five years.

Impact of neighbouring irrigation

There is no impact seen in the kebele because of irrigation practices in the neighbouring kebeles.

Rural-urban links

With growing urbanisation of the kebele, particularly Ude town, many service providing private enterprises have emerged over the years, including the last five years. There is a high school, a health post and three private clinics in Ude and a health centre in the adjacent kebele of Dhenkaka. There is also a producers' co-operative in the kebele where people could buy agricultural inputs. Therefore, people need not go to the nearby towns for small and fast-going items like soaps. However, with increasing modernisation, the demand of the residents has increased still rendering linkage with urban centres very crucial. Residents stated that anchors of rural -urban links are markets, health services, training, credit services, religious affairs, enjoyment as well as hotel and social interaction, wedding and funeral services. Justice and administrative matters also link the residents of the kebele with the wereda. Mobile phones and public transportation have been intensifying this linkage throughout the years. As such, the rural residents have links with Ude town and larger towns in the area such as Bishoftu and Mojo.

Urban migration linkages

There are many young people working in private companies or factories in the kebele and the wereda at large. However, a number of young people still migrate in search of better job opportunities to places like Addis Ababa and Hawassa. A 63-year old man said all of his children (three males and two females) have migrated to Addis Ababa for work where they have been living. There are also some households from the kebele who have bought bajajs and hired drivers who commute for business between the towns of Mojo and Bishoftu. However, the kebele appears to be more of a receiving community rather than sending as there are many people who have migrated in from other places in the country and are working in the factories and the flower farms, also serving as labourers for the resident smallholders. Residents said the pay and work environments of these factories are unfair and less conducive but the in-migrants are tolerant of these inconveniences. Many people have also migrated into Ude and the kebele at large for residential purposes and as investors, a practice which may be intensified in the coming years.

Urban market linkages

Mojo and Bishoftu are the towns Ude/Sirba kebele residents are most linked to for market purposes. Grain crops, livestock, consumer and durable goods as well as some agricultural inputs are among the items transacted between the people of the residents and others in these urban markets. Local businesspeople serve as intermediaries.

Urban travelling linkages – paths, roads and transport

Bishoftu, Mojo, Adama and Addis Ababa are the urban places people visit for different purposes. Travelling to these towns residents use public transportation namely mini-buses and buses while taxis, bajajs and horse-driven carts can be taken within some of these towns. In addition to the old Addis Ababa-Adama highway, the recently built Express Road is also an opportunity for those traveling between towns.

Industrial migration linkages

Bishoftu and the other towns along the Addis Ababa-Adama route including the rural kebeles such as Ude/Sirba have seen increasing numbers of industries and farms over the last few decades. This process has been intensified over the last five years and in fact has been significantly contributing to the urbanisation of some rural kebeles and expansion of the town of Bishoftu incorporating some rural kebeles in its peripheries. As a result, many job opportunities have cropped up and people are coming into these places and Ude/Sirba kebele where they are living as wage workers. People come from Amhara, Southern Nations and other places in Oromia region such as Salale. As the local residents consider the monthly payments too low they leave their jobs more often than the people coming from other places so that the opportunities are largely taken up by these in-migrants. Owing to the growing urbanisation of the municipality of Ude which has incorporated the great majority of the rural places of the kebele, more industrialisation and more in-migrants seeking industrial jobs are expected in the coming years

Trade and business networks

The socioeconomic links that traders and businesspeople have outside the community are more in business dealings. With increasing urbanisation and industrial activities in the kebele, trade and business networks are expected to have increased over the past five years. Big crop and vegetables traders from outside the kebele and the wereda have connections with the farmers and small traders to purchase these items, especially during harvest seasons. There are also milk processing factories which go to the villages and purchase milk from the smallholders. These traders come from Bishoftu, Adama, Meki, Addis Ababa and other places into the kebele to purchase these supplies. The traders bring in heavy duty vehicles to transport the purchased items and a few residents who have vehicles may also transport these goods to where the big traders are. And this depends on the type of arrangement entered between the two parties.

The same is true for goods coming into the kebele from outside. As such, suppliers or traders from the same towns come with loads of factory-made household consumables, alcoholic drinks, soft drinks and the like for the retailers in the rural and urban parts of the kebele. There are also people from the kebele, like the woman owning a hotel and who brings goods with their own vehicles from other places and sells the commodities for retailers in the kebele. For instance, two hotel owners (including this woman) are bringing fish from Ziway for their hotel customers in the fasting seasons in addition to supplying fish catches to other hotel owners in Bishoftu. The influence of these linkages is good for the community as they have been encouraging more people become involved in business activities. Traders in Ude communicate with traders in surrounding towns, including Addis Ababa and share useful information such as market prices.

International migration linkages

According to residents of the kebele, Saudi Arabia, Dubai, Kuwait, Bahrain and Beirut are the most common destinations young people, especially young females, migrate to for work. Male residents of the kebele remarked that the intensity of migration is increasing despite all the facts about the consequences of migration. A young man said, including him, the majority of young people do not listen to what the government and the media say about the negative consequences of migration. They just consider the experience of a few young people who have become successful after

migrating. The male residents added that education opportunity is equal both for girls and boys but only a few girls have the plan to finish and become successful in their education. Rather, their objective is to migrate abroad and come back home with big capital to invest and lead better life. A young man described international migration as the most common economic option to establish independent livelihoods for females.

Currently, not only females but also young males have started considering out migration as an option for independent life. The young man who gave this information has finished all the processes and was ready to fly to Dubai at the time of this interview in the beginning of 2018. Those who have migrated remit money and send some materials to their parents whereas a few who have returned and are resettled in Addis Ababa have extracted ground water from wells in the kebele which they are selling for the people in addition to engagement in poultry investment. Residents said young females failing the national grade-10 exam want to go to these countries for work. International migrants, assisted by their relatives and friends who have gone before them, travel by air through the formal channel (for more on this see the section on 'Migration' in the Nonfarm Chapter).

Other international linkages

There are no other international linkages mentioned.

2. Selected community topics

Local government and community management

Government management structures

Wereda

Local government in Ada'a wereda level is constituted of the three organs of government: the law makers, the judiciary and the executive organs. According to wereda respondents, the wereda administration office, which is at the top of the executive body, is headed by the wereda chair person. There are 30 sector offices in the wereda; 26 of them have their own heads, who are ex officio cabinet members while the remaining four are led by agencies. Three core activities under the wereda administration office are: monitoring and evaluation, human resource management and complaint handling. The highest executive body is the wereda cabinet with 50 members, including heads of each sector offices, deputy heads of selected sector offices, wereda vice chairperson, ruling party representatives from each levels and associations such as women's league and youth federation and the wereda chair person who is at the head of the wereda cabinet. The wereda administrator enjoys a dominant role.

The executive members at the wereda level are the wereda chair person, wereda vice chairperson (who by default is also head of the wereda agricultural development office), as well as heads of the wereda health and education offices and party representatives. The wereda cabinet members are individually assigned and are responsible for the follow up, supervision and support of one kebele each from those in the wereda. All kebele activities are organised by that cabinet member in collaboration with the responsible people at kebele level. Some sectors have offices at kebele level like education, agriculture and health. Thus, the sub-structures of the wereda administration office are wereda sector offices (30); wereda cabinet (members 50); and the three main divisions that run the day-to-day operations of the wereda administration office (human resource division, monitoring and evaluation division, and complaints handling division).

The wereda management structures have remained the same over the last five years. However, four kebeles adjacent to Bishoftu town municipality have been incorporated by the expanding urbanisation of this town which is found in Ada'a wereda but has a separate, independent administration. The number of sector offices has also increased as for instance what used to be the wereda agriculture office was divided into agriculture, livestock and fisheries and forestry offices. The five kebeles were incorporated without the consent of the Ada'a wereda administration or the people of the wereda and hence were causes of dissatisfaction, appeal and debate. All these kebeles used to be very important sources of revenue for the wereda because they are industrial and business areas. Inability to collect taxes they used to from these kebeles had rendered the Ada'a wereda unable to pay salary for its civil servants until higher officials resolved the salary issue.

Kebele / Municipality

According to wereda respondents, Ada'a wereda is constituted of 23 rural kebeles and four rural town municipalities (Godino, Hiddi, Dire and Ude). A kebele is further divided into at least three zones which in turn are divided into development teams. Each development team (having 25 to 30 members) is further divided into 1-5 networks which are the lowest level structures. For instance, Ude Dhenkaka kebele has three villages called zones: Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa zones. In each zone there are five selected individuals called *kore misoma zoni* (zonal development committees). The leader of each zone has to be a member of the kebele cabinet. Under each zone are developmental teams. Depending on the number of people, there might be four or more developmental teams in each zone.

The main functions of the development teams and networks are facilitating agriculture, health, security and other issues within the kebele about which they do joint planning with the concerned bodies. All zones prepare and submit their own plans and after execution, in which they have significant role, implementation evaluation is done at the same level. If there is security problem, effort to address this starts from developmental teams, then to zone and to kebele. The same is true during decision making. People cannot bypass this hierarchy. If somebody bypasses his/her own developmental team, the kebele officials will demand from him/her a letter written by the respective developmental team. If this letter is not provided, they will re-direct the person to his/her developmental team. Nobody will entertain people's complaints or needs at kebele level without consulting with or trying to solve the issue with their developmental teams first. For instance, if farmers want to register for such inputs as fertilisers and weed killers, first they have to register with their respective developmental teams. This system is instituted to facilitate administrative and developmental work, and there was no complaint about this from the community or the kebele administration.

The structure in place has its own advantages and disadvantages. For instance, respondents said it is convenient to administer such activities as training events and to communicate effectively, easily and quickly information, education, and message coming from the zone through the wereda and through the kebele down to the community through the different structures reaching the community through the 1 to 5 structures. The disadvantage, according to most respondents, is that there is no uniformity in equally communicating the information or message to the community. Wereda respondents said some zones under each kebele are too wide and some are too small and the wereda does not expect equal convenience in communicating with the lower structures.

Ude/Sirba kebele has urban and rural parts and, as before, the offices of the rural and urban kebele administration are in one compound and the two offices work together. There are different kebele chairpersons for the rural part and for the town. The kebele manager serves as a secretary for the kebele cabinet and the kebele council on every Sunday and other meeting days.

The zones are sub-kebeles. According to kebele officials, rural Ude/Sirba kebele administration has 2 zones, 11 development teams and fifty-five 1 to 5 networks. Female urban residents said there are 1-to-5 structures in each village and this arrangement contains both males and females. The 1 to 5 networks reach every household but their role in disseminating information is depreciating as members are assigning priority to their own businesses. Kebele respondents, on their part, described the role of development team leaders as organising every activity within their teams, as well as leading and influencing them. They do also address conflicts that might arise within their teams and inform zones in case of serious cases to be handled by them. All the same, two men, a rich farmer and a rich non-farmer, made the remark that developmental teams and 1 to 5 networks were strong means of mobilising the people a few years ago but currently people started resisting the directions coming from development team leaders and 1 to 5 leaders. The 1 to 5 networks and developmental teams are gender-mixed; members of a household could belong to different 1 to 5 networks if the size of the family is large. While the 1 to 5 network is the lowest government structure at the kebele level there might also be other groupings like the all-female 1 to 5 health development armies that are organised by health extension workers to facilitate health related activities in their respective villages.

As before, the ruling party structures go down to the kebele level. There is a party leader at kebele level and cells at community level, each cell having nine members. They work for the party and are at the same time engaged in developmental activities. Kebele officials said there are 11 cells in their kebele. Cell leaders work with developmental teams and sometimes may do party agendas of recruiting members.

Wereda respondents stated that government /development and party structures functioning in the kebele do interact and work closely because they have common agendas to fulfil. There are party

members who lead public sectors and no developmental agenda and plan take place without the knowledge and follow up of party members. All plans are presented in the presence of party members because they are there to follow it. In fact, government and party structures have joint planning and evaluation activities. According to respondents, the party has also its own political agendas apart from developmental agendas.

The management of rural kebeles is taken care of by three different entities: the rural/urban kebele administration, the social court and the kebele council. The rural and urban kebele administrations have their own cabinet composed of eight members in each case: constituting four unpaid and four government employees. The social courts have a chair, a secretary and a member. The chair person, vice chairperson as well as women's affairs and militia heads are the unpaid kebele cabinet members whereas the kebele manager, head of the agricultural development office, head of the health post and the head teacher¹ are the government employees working as members of the kebele cabinet. The kebele councils are composed of lawmakers elected by the public. In the kebele council there are aba gada² local elders and other people. They are selected from each zone by the community. It is said to be functional but not consistent. The kebele structures have some problems. Respondents from the kebele said sometimes it is difficult to follow all the procedures on the structures. There are situations when these structures do not work.

While the division of kebeles into zones, developmental teams and 1 to 5 structures is still there but with diminishing significance, a significant change over the last five years is the municipalisation in 2012 of Ude rural town. The master plan of the town developed by regional, zonal and wereda experts, also involving community consultations in two rounds, is said to have taken at least 75 percent of the landmass under Sirba and Qumbursa zones or villages. The master plan which is not yet implemented is said to be under revision in response to public commentary and perhaps other reasons as well. The impact of this decision is not yet felt by both the rural and urban residents of the kebele but this is going to turn what used to be farmlands into residential quarters (some are already set for this), industrial as well as commercial areas. When implemented; rural households would no longer be able to erect houses on their holdings without the authorisation of the municipality. Some respondents believe it will only be a matter of time before the remaining portions are also incorporated into the municipality which has been recently renamed as Ude Dhenkaka instead of just Ude.

Government financing

Taxation and contributions

There are different sources of revenues at the wereda and kebele levels such as taxes and contributions.

Land taxes

Land taxes, the only form of taxes kebele administrations are allowed to collect, are the main taxes levied on smallholder farmers depending on the amount and quality of land cultivated. Different respondents from kebele and community mentioned that in the rural part of the kebele land taxes are collected by the kebele administration: the kebele chair, vice chair and the kebele manager. There are also instances in which jobless young people volunteer in the job of land taxes collection. Sometimes, all cabinet members can collect land taxes from their respective villages issuing the receipts in the custody of the kebele chairman. Kebele respondents said only land taxes are collected by the rural kebele. The remaining taxes namely; business taxes, license taxes, sales taxes and other types of taxes are currently collected by the municipality administration as opposed to the wereda

¹In case of more than one school in a kebele, the head of the higher level school becomes member of the cabinet.

²They are traditional Oromo leaders of the traditional democratic system known as gada system.

which used to collect these taxes before a few years. According to kebele respondents, they are collecting land taxes from about 363 people and last year they had collected more than 16,000 birr from these farmers. Kebele chair persons have some incentives for collecting land taxes, according to wereda respondents.

Land taxes are paid annually. Two middle wealth male farmers stated land taxes now are high compared to the past. They also complained about the timing saying they are asked to pay land taxes in January and February when the market prices of crops are very low, adding that this is another unfairness related with taxation. They were wondering as to why they were not asked to pay later in the year when the market prices of crops increase. The opinion of a rich farmer is that the actual land taxes are fair but many people are complaining about payments added onto the actual land taxes that inflate the amount they have to pay finally. In fact, from the figures given above, the average a farming household has to pay for land tax in the kebele is 44 birr per annum and by all standards it is difficult to consider this as a burden and a reason sufficient to have farmers sell their produce at cheaper prices. The opinion of the rich farmer might carry weight but since there are no data on this it is difficult to confidently say about this. There is information, however, that other fees collected from the land taxpaying households are many and according to some sources one may produce up to 11 receipts for these payments. The premium for the recently introduced CBHI, though voluntary, is quite substantial and like all other payments or fees, is collected together with land taxes. Hence, ultimately, the complaint might count since they will have to pay all at one time which many compel many households to sell their produce during the cheap months of January and February.

In addition to land taxes, the rural kebele administration collects these regular community contributions made for sport, for schools, for the Red Cross (which is seen as an annual membership fee), for road construction and some others. According to kebele respondents, it is also the responsibility of the kebele to collect additional community contributions to cover the salaries of the FTC, school and kebele office guards. Voluntary labour contributions are regularly carried out on scheduled days in the year which the kebele office and development agents have to organise. Such activities as terracing and tree planting, already mentioned in this report, are carried out in this form of labour which could be expressed in monetary terms. Officially, it is not regarded as tax but it was in feudal Ethiopia³.

Non-land taxes

Sales taxes, business taxes, income taxes and license fees are collected by the municipality or urban administration as of recent years. Female urban residents and other respondents said all business owners except those who prepare and sell the local drinks *tella* and *areqe* and petty traders⁴ have a duty to pay taxes and service charges to the municipality of Ude, now Ude Dhenkaka municipality. Wereda respondents said these taxes are collected by town administrations in each kebeles. However, this is a recent change as some respondents from the community mentioned that these taxes were collected from licensed traders by the wereda revenue office as licenses were given by the wereda trade and industry office. That time the traders just paid service charges to the municipality established in the kebele as their businesses are physically located and operated in the municipality. Licensed traders who should be paying taxes are those who operate consumers' shops, hotels, restaurants, wood or metal workshops and the like.

A female urban resident said the process to get business license is easy and compared to the time before five years the demand for and issuance of new business licenses have increased. The amount

³ This form of labour contribution called *wuju* in feudal Ethiopia was regarded as a tax and was used to construct government offices, police stations, prison houses, court houses and do their fencing and other activities that need labour for the landlords and the imperial administrators including serving as guards.

⁴Registration and licenses are required for these low profile activities.

of tax paid is assessed by experts on the basis of estimated daily sales. The respondent gave her judgment that getting license and paying tax has not affected the performance of commercial activities in the community. From what she knows of no one mentioned about tensions, conflicts and appeals related to taxation and licensing. A kebele respondent said licenses for business activities are given by the urban administration and clients need not go to the wereda as before five years. This respondent thinks about 450 birr is paid to get a business license.

A small female trader mentioned that in the past those who were licensed from the wereda used to pay taxes to the wereda revenue authority only but very recently business organisations established in the kebele also pay some service charge to Ude town municipality. A respondent from the wereda said due to the establishment of many business centres and enterprises in the area, the municipality has started collecting business income taxes. There is expectation that the revenue from this opportunity would help the municipality to address basic service problems in the kebele such as water, roads and electricity.

Contributions

Different kinds of contributions made by the community over the last five years are still made. Wereda respondents have classified community contributions into two forms. The first one is contribution to be used to support basic services such as road infrastructure and schools within their kebele. The second is general community contribution at regional or country level. In the first category are in-cash and in-kind contributions for schools, for Red Cross, for sport, for hospitality in health post, for road construction, for FTC and other basic services for the community members themselves. As a kebele official and community respondents mentioned, for instance, community members meet at the beginning of every year before school opens to discuss and fix the amount of money they should contribute for the high school found within urban Ude. Only families sending children to school are required to make this payment to their respective schools and the amount depends on community interest and decision. Hence, school contributions may vary from one year to the other based on the decision of the community. A male urban resident and other community respondents said the two school guards are employed by the kebele and are paid from community contributions, as well as those working as guards for the FTC and the kebele office.

In Ude Dhenkaka, as in the other kebeles in the wereda, health extension workers now coordinate with the kebele officials to collect 2 kg of grain contribution from each household (wheat, barley, teff or any other crop) to be served when pregnant women come to the health centre in Dhenkaka kebele with their relatives or friends to deliver. The health extension worker said coffee, sugar and flour for porridge are provided as the woman and her relatives stay in the space provided for this purpose in order to improve the quality of the service and encourage institutional delivery. Female urban residents stated about 200 kg of wheat is collected from each of the three villages (Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa). Land possession or paying land tax, as in the case of other contributions, is not a criterion for this and every household is supposed to contribute. Paying 10 birr is also possible in lieu of the 2 kg of grains. This strategy has become very effective. That paid for Red Cross is a membership contribution. Interested households have been paying premiums for CBHI, a scheme which was started in 2014/15. Currently, the health insurance program has an annual premium of 245 birr per household while a proportion of poor people such as those who do not own land and poor females heading households are exempted from this annual premium. Nonetheless, since the quota for the kebele is not enough not all such households or individuals in the kebele are beneficiaries of this exemption.

The second category of contribution is like that made for sport, Red Cross, and party membership and special national contributions. Kebele officials said these contributions are directly submitted to the wereda finance office. While the community may benefit from these contributions, there is no direct utilisation of the revenues. While there is no exemption from land tax, very poor people may be exempted from contributions such as school and sport. However, the first category contributions

made with a specific intended purpose within the community are not remitted to the wereda. Community members, together with the kebele, have their own ways of handling such money and there are committees established to deal with the collection and implementation of such contributions. These committees are legally accountable. Nonetheless, the second category contributions have receipts to be submitted to the wereda finance as per the rule. According to wereda officials, the kebele officials have a mandate to collect community contributions for different purposes such as for road and water provisions.

Women's association, Youth Association, ruling party membership and fees for the party organ "Revolutionary Democracy" newsletter are collected by the kebele administration from the public on a monthly basis. Those who pay these contributions are those who are dutiful to pay land tax and not the 230 landless and the 78 in-migrant people in the kebele. The latter are not supposed to pay any contribution. There are also farmers who pay a co-operative membership fee of 600 birr per annum. These membership fees are paid separately and not with land tax because they are collected monthly. What is more, followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity pay 50 birr per year for church services. The money is used to pay the salaries of the priests and the guards of the church. There are also cases in which some materials are purchased for the church. This is service charge made on the laity as a member of a parish. Those who have turned to the Protestant sect also contribute to their new church.

Respondents from the wereda said community contributions may be in cash or in kind. Cash contributions collected by kebele officials are mostly used to pay the salaries of the guards looking after the FTC, the school and the kebele office.

Labour contribution for public services has been an important form of community contribution. For instance, in Ude village, the internal road from Ude's part of the road to Giche Gere Abuu area was cleared and improved with selected materials or gravels laid over it by the municipality. The community, upon the request of the municipality, has contributed 100 birr per household in addition to labour contribution⁵. However, in the other two villages, that is Sirba and Qumbursa, there was a plan to do the same but nothing has been done so far, except clearing some overgrowths and side bushes. It was said they have the plan to do the full job in the future. Over the years, community contributions in labour form have increased in preparing terrace as well as internal roads. Many said voluntary labour contribution has become common in the kebele particularly for erosion prevention and forestation campaigns.

Debt and insurance

According to a wereda informant, Ude was never named as a kebele failing to return credit or loan except the time fertilisers were first provided to farmers on credit. The respondent reflected even then the problem was not serious and her knowledge of Ude is that they are good in loan repayment even though she lacks detailed information. She also did not provide information on levels of debt. In fact, according to female respondents from the kebele, the wereda Micro and Small Enterprises Office has acknowledged Ude for having the largest number of groups, for their good performance and timely repayment on monthly and quarterly bases, according to their agreements. The situation in Ude is favourable for associations since it is a commercial area that has been urbanising at good pace while, for instance, Hiddi kebele does not have groups and Godino has only one association. While there are some groups who failed in Ude as well, in Hiddi and Dire lack of water is said to be a major challenge. Owing to its success story and availability of good facilities, the respondent added Oromia Saving and Credit Association prefers lending money to associations in Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

⁵The original request from the municipality was only in monetary terms and that was ETB 200. Community members discussed the issue among them and decided to contribute just ETB 100 and free labour on behalf of the balance, which the municipality has accepted.

There is Community Based Health Insurance introduced by government on the basis of the interest and willingness of the community members. Identification cards have been issued for member households with the photos of the household head, the wife and children under 18 posted on it. While household members under 18 are eligible without additional payment, those above 18 are required to independently buy the insurance. The premium was 36birr per individual when it started in 2014/15 but that was raised to 48birr in 2016/18. According to the health extension workers in the kebele, the annual insurance payment initially was 180 birr but it was raised to 245 birr in 2009 EC that is when individual payment was raised from 36 to 48 birr. This annual contribution that each voluntary household has to pay is the same for all households irrespective of the size of the household, occupation, income, wealth or status. In addition, there is payment of 10 birr to get the membership card.

The wereda CBHI officials explained that the premium was increased because when the programme was started in 2008/9 in 13 weredas as a pilot; the federal government was covering 25 percent of the cost. However, when the programme was expanded into almost all weredas, the federal government withdrew its subsidy and the wereda started to cover 30 percent of the contribution whereas the region covered 70 percent. What is not clear here is that the increase is still reflected on what households have been paying.

The insurance serves only for one year and it has to be renewed to be eligible for the services the coming year. CBHI contributions are collected together with land and other taxes for two months from December 31 to February 30. This means, if a household cannot renew its membership during this fixed time, it cannot do so after that and the insurance will expire for the year. Officials said this time is deliberately selected as it is a favourable time for farmers to pay CBHI contribution since it is harvest time and farmers are expected to have money from the sale of crops compared to other times of the year. It is also meant to encourage them or enable them develop interest to be a member of the CBHI. Nonetheless, this may only come as an irony and more of a burden for a community which has been already complaining about being made to pay land taxes and all other contributions at once and during period the market prices are cheap for crops. Premiums are collected by health extension workers but the impact of this on their routine activities is not reported. Kebele and community respondents see the scheme as a good start but also mentioned that its implementation has some problems which need to be resolved in the future to attract the non-members but also to retain those who are already in the scheme.

There is no plan in regard to crop insurance and livestock insurance in the kebele.

Wereda policies and budget

According to the wereda rural land administration head, the wereda budget is discussed by all sectors that come together for the purpose. There is a budget allocated at the wereda level by the wereda council; however, the amount of budget coming from the region is insufficient to carry out regular programs of the wereda so that the budget allocated by the wereda as a whole is not adequate. Every year all sectors complain that their budget is insufficient and particularly, the budget for health sector is said to be very essential. In the face of this, wereda-wide shortage, during budget allocation priority is given for poverty reduction sectors such as education, health, agriculture, finance and economic development and co-operatives. As such, a certain contingency percentage is added to these sectors. Again, in spite of the problem, because of the availability of many schools in the wereda- 63 first cycle primary schools and 23 second cycle primary schools according to the wereda education officer- relatively higher budget is allocated for the education sector.

While the shortage affects all, in general terms, there are programmes that are more affected by lack of budget. Sectors such as environmental protection and climate change adaptation do not get due attention during budget allocation. The respondent from the wereda said the mandate of this

institution is too broad and their activities add value. However, she added, the wereda has not enabled this and some other institutions to be as productive as they could. The environmental protection and climate change adaptation office was under the Rural Land Development Office until very recently and together was known as Rural Land Development and Climate Change Office. Since 2009 EC, Environmental Protection, Forest and Climate Change Office has become an independent sector office and the other sub-sector has become Rural Land Administration and Control Office. The respondent said the split into two has been beneficial in a number of respects. For instance, it has resulted in additional human power and various additional departments and teams to own and execute the mandates of both institutions.

The wereda may have access to Regional MDG Fund but the two respondents approached from the wereda women's affairs and the wereda rural land development offices do not have detailed information about this. Other wereda sources said irrigation, health, agriculture and environmental conservation are highly supported by the regional MDG fund. While no information is provided on budget consultation in the wereda administrative office compound there is a board used to post the budget allocated for each sectors for transparency purpose. Wereda respondents said wereda finance is responsible to post budget for each sector even though this was not functional at the time of this report. Also, posting the budget of each kebele was started before five years but it was discontinued at the time of data collection. Again, there is no information as to whether the public has developed the interest to make use of these posts.

The wereda is also a beneficiary of the Federal Youth Revolving Fund but respondents recalled in 2016/17 only 13 million birr was allocated for the wereda as a whole but 11.5 million birr was used in the year. However, after the release of 5 million birr, these respondents said, and the remainder was withheld and young people organised in groups and were waiting for the release of the loans were claiming the release of their advance saving to run some business. About 80 groups were organised but only 51 of them were given the loans and started business whereas the rest did not start their business because of shortage of fund.

In 2017/18, 23 million birr was allocated from the youth revolving fund for the wereda and nothing was released up to March that is the eight month of the fiscal year. In reference to this problem the respondents said it was very astonishing to have the revolving fund not released up to then. The wereda, on the other hand, is required to continue forming associations of jobless young people believing the fund will be released later. However, even those who were grouped before were claiming to dissolve their associations. From the loan disbursed in 2016/17 600,000 birr was repaid the time this interview was carried out. The wereda combined the carry over budget from the previous year with this repaid amount and disbursed the sum to 68 groups of young people who had already started running their income generating activities.

One recent change, according to wereda respondents, is that there are reforms to leaders at each level as per the direction from the higher officials both at kebele and wereda level. Several years ago, it was confidential how much budget was allotted for the wereda but now it is obvious and everybody knows the total budget of the wereda and for whom it is allotted. The same wereda source said the main complaints from the public are about infrastructure especially about electricity, water and roads. Complaints are handled at the kebele, wereda and zonal levels according to their nature, and of course sometimes at regional level. They added because of capacity limitation, the wereda cannot solve many problems like roads and electricity. However, services like rural water that are or that need to be within the capacity of the wereda are problematic as in the case of Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

The same wereda respondents stated that in the wereda structure there are many unfulfilled positions because of lack of budget, especially after the introduction of JEG (Job Evaluation Grade). JEG is a recent career structure which is highly specific to level of education, experience and specialty. The main purpose of this programme is to decrease high staff turnover. Accordingly, this

year, 2010 EC, all transfers and promotions were on hold waiting for the implementation of the JEG. There are also new positions created, renamed and revised after JEG process and many unfulfilled positions at kebele and municipality levels because of budget shortage.

Last year, Kaliti kebele was incorporated by Bishoftu town municipality from Ada'a wereda as a result of which the wereda faced serious difficulty even to pay civil servants' salaries. Kaliti kebele has many investors and used to be a major source of revenue for the wereda, together with four others which were similarly resourceful but taken by Bishoftu town. The wereda gave up the push to regain Kaliti and the other four kebeles after regional officials promised to seek other budgetary solution for them.

Kebele budget

According to kebele respondents, they do not have a budget at the kebele level. Respondents at the wereda added, there is no direct government cash given for the kebele but sometimes they may get some assistance from NGOs and local investors working in their kebele to do some infrastructures for the community. As already stated in this report, kebele officials have the mandate to collect community contributions for different purposes, including for road and water but this cannot make up for budget deficiencies of the sectoral offices running in the kebeles.

The health extension worker mentioned polio and measles vaccinations, frequently provided in the form of campaign, have been halted due to budgetary reason. Speaking of government services provided in the area, a female heading a middle wealth household remarked: "The civil servants provide services to the people. The weaknesses of the services are not caused by the civil servants but by the government or the offices. The problem is associated with budget inadequacy which is beyond the capacity of the civil servants." She added, "*The workers only execute what is brought for them; they cannot provide what does not exist in their office. They properly serve the people with the available services, distributing sugar and cooking oil for instance.*" However, sugar and cooking oil marketing is a source of serious complaints according to other respondents. The kebele manager, who has a diploma and two-year work experience in this position said they are unable to respond to the community requests all the time because of lack of adequate budget to implement their plans. He added this is a perennial challenge that has been faced over the years.

Budget problem in the kebele and of course in the wereda has another dimension as the health extension agent mentioned. She stated that she is having difficulty executing her duties because of transportation problem. She underlined that health extension workers need motor cycles to go from one place to the other, and this is more so in their case as the kebele is vast. As a result, sometimes they face difficulty covering the sites and this has made their job tiresome, which is one of the reasons for resignation of HEWs in some areas. She said HEWs have applied about transportation problem but still they have not received a response even though there are many motor cycles in the wereda health office. In the same line, the wereda rural land administration head mentioned logistics as a major challenge in the wereda as a whole. Almost all sectors working on and with poverty reduction and rural development have no vehicle despite the said priority given them during budgeting. As she stated, this was more of an issue about the wereda budget.

Kebele officials mentioned that the improvement needed is decentralizing budgets to kebele level so that kebeles can plan and implement their own priorities. As already stated the kebele submits to the wereda finance office land tax it collects and any resource it can use is that collected from community contributions and free labour services. They also said as Ude town with its own municipality is already separated from the rural administration, it is directly responsible to Ada'a wereda. Consequently, it has its own separate budget and administrative structure with three major sectors namely, IMX, revenue and land.

According to a wereda informant, the major reason of municipalising the town is to improve the provision of basic services and quickly urbanise the area so that there is also good amount of budget

to support the modernising process. In line with this, he said due to the current establishment of many business centres in the area the municipality has started to get taxes that would be used to mitigate such problems as drinking water, internal roads and electricity. In this regard, the respondent was hopeful that these and other problems would be solved within a matter of about three years if the urbanisation process goes successfully.

Government services and interventions in the kebele

Perspectives on progress and problems

Kebele officials said agriculture is the most successful programme in their kebele because of hard working development agents. On the contrary, they said education is the sector with most problems especially in relation to adult education the problems are significant. Lack of awareness among the community about adult education makes it very difficult to solve the problem.

Wereda officials said some sectors were separated into sub-sectors to make discharge of responsibilities across the sectors easier. As an example, they mentioned agriculture which was a major sector and then was divided into fishery and forest sub-sectors. They mentioned that among the wereda programmes education is most effective as new primary schools have been established and in most schools there is grade expansion. However, to some extent there is shortage of teachers in a few subjects mostly Amharic and English languages because when the wereda education office wants to hire a teacher in a specific subject sometimes these teachers are not available.

Some other sectors in the Wereda are also very successful in discharging their responsibilities. Though the respondent is working as Rural Land Development Administration Head, she is also an agricultural professional (she worked as a development agent in a rural kebele, in this wereda) and witnessed that there is tangible change in the agricultural sector. She stated that there are some farmers who were destitute before but were able to own even cars within some period of time. Now they are model farmers who have changed their livelihood. There are farmers who have transformed to investors as well. According to her understanding, agriculture and health sectors have made tangible changes in the wereda. The challenge is that the benefits in agricultural and health sectors are not all-inclusive as some farmers are left out. The main changes in the health sector include family planning services health posts are providing in each kebele, the accessibility of vaccination services, hygiene and sanitation, use of clean water, facility-based delivery and advices on the importance and utilisation of balanced diet for children. These are some of the fundamental changes in the health sector that every farmer can tell. In the agricultural sector, provision of fertilisers and particularly improved seeds stand in the list of success stories.

On the other hand, the wereda respondent said land administration is among the most problematic areas in the wereda. Land leasing and compensation for lost land to farmers are challenging areas. There are many informal land leasing and evasive land sales and the compensation payments provided by government to the farmers are smaller compared to those individuals and investors informally pay to farmers. The wereda respondent added there is also problem of internal road in the wereda. In most of the kebeles, the internal roads are dusty in dry season and difficult to deal with in rainy season as they get muddy. Unemployment is also quite a problem in the wereda. Many people coming from other places are working mostly in the factories located in the wereda and neighbouring areas. This is quite an opportunity but since payment is small there has been high worker turnover. There are youth organised in groups who are involved in some income generating activities with the support of the wereda and the youth revolving fund. However, the number of youths or youth groups that have accessed loans as start-up capital is less than the number of unemployed youth because of fund limitation. Therefore, despite government interventions and the availability of job opportunities in the wereda as well as the neighbouring weredas, Bishoftu and Mojo, where there are lots of industries, still there is a problem of unemployment in Ada'a wereda.

Public services and sectoral interventions

Health

There is one functional health post in Ude town serving both the urban and rural population of the kebele. Also, urban residents said there are three private clinics in the town in addition to those in the nearby Bishoftu town where a hospital is also found. The community of the kebele are using Dhenkaka health centre which is established to serve the population of five kebeles. One of them said, "Frankly speaking health facilities in our town are few. However, Dhenkaka health centre is very close to our town and the community is using that."

A very poor man who lost his wife five years ago and is living with their two children said the only government intervention which is benefiting the community is community based health insurance even if its implementation has many problems. Otherwise, he said he did not see any other government intervention which is benefiting the community in this area. Regarding health services in the kebele he said it is very helpful that they have a health extension worker in Ude where one can get drugs for free or for very low cost. If it is beyond her capacity, the health extension worker refers them to Dhenkaka health centre.

Education

All community respondents said there is no problem in their community regarding access to education. A secondary school is found in the kebele itself. Rather, they said, the problem is the quality of education and high school dropout rate. The problem is differently affecting the different sections of the community the poor and the rich.

A rich farmer residing in the town said even though being from a rich family is not a guarantee, most students drop out of school because of economic constraints. And because of other reasons as well girls are more likely to drop out of school than boys. He also mentioned of many children who cannot afford buying uniforms and textbooks and are too psychologically depressed to attend their education. Others living in rented houses without adequate support from their parents discontinue education as a result of lack of food and money for house rental. The rich farmer just mentioned has a son studying medicine at Haramaya University and seven other children all of whom are doing well and are supporting themselves. He said the role of parents to shape children and put them on the right track is very significant. Also, the way young people behave themselves has some impact in their education. While all these multiple problems need to be solved he underlined that the availability of schools alone does not make sense if the necessary inputs, logistics and qualified teachers are not fulfilled.

A very poor man from the kebele confirms the ease of access to education: "We do have school in our village up to grade 4 and a high school in Ude. Everybody has equal opportunity and right to go to these schools but the problem is there are people who cannot afford buying textbooks and uniforms for their children. Otherwise, everybody has equal opportunity to access education."

Agriculture

About accessing agricultural inputs available in the area such as fertilisers, improved seeds, weed killers and tractor service, a very poor farmer said it is very difficult for him to purchase and use these inputs. In this regard, he underlined the problem is that one needs to get them for cash which is a bit difficult or impossible for many poor people like him. They did not find loans helpful, either, "We took credit from WALQO to do so and the amount we produce from the farms will not pay even the amount of our debt from WALQO" (there is more on credit in the Farming chapter).

The community has an FTC in their kebele which is located in Ude town. According to one of the agricultural development agents, the FTC has good performance and has been serving as a model for other kebeles in the wereda.

Natural Resource Management

Wereda respondents mentioned that in all the kebeles, including Ude, different activities have been implemented to protect the environment and conserve the soil. For instance, during the dry season, watershed management and area enclosures are done whereas during the rainy season biological water conservation such as planting trees are carried out.

Watsan

A female renting out land to another female farmer said water is the basic problem of the community. She said they are drinking water from a hand-dug traditional well which is not safe, also mentioning that there is no health extension support to treat or purify this water to make it safer for drinking. On their part, she added some community members used to boil the water for drinking. Previously some people were using water from a communal water point (a hand pump most likely) found in Sirba but it has been rendered dysfunctional due to technical problems. The issue of water has been raised many times before the concerned body during meetings but nothing has come out of that so far.

Communication

According to wereda respondents, the kebele has good mobile phone network as a result of which the community is using this technology. This is evidenced in a number of interviews. Two men, a rich urban resident and a rich farmer, appreciated the advantages of mobile phones particularly for people living in town and engaged in business to do effective and timely communication, highly saving time and expense. Listening to music, radio and Facebook were mentioned as additional advantages. In the face of these advantages, unethical uses of mobile phones' social media functions, particularly the Facebook, were also mentioned.

Rural roads

According to wereda respondents, there is no URAP road construction in Ude Dhenkaka kebele as in the entire wereda whereas some other weredas in the zone have the programme. These respondents mentioned that internal roads or blocks are very muddy during rainy season, rendering accessibility difficult for big or heavy duty trucks that come to the villages to buy crops from farmers. There was a start in clearing internal roads or blocks in Ude Dhenkaka and other kebeles but the operation has not been that strong since people focus mainly on their own activities. The problem of internal roads is also resulting from environmental degradation. In fact, internal road inaccessibility is the second major problem facing the community of Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

Energy

A rich farmer and another rich non-farmer residing in the town of Ude stated that the introduction of electricity to their community has many significant benefits. Mentioned among the benefits are education through plasma TV and lighting at home for better living and reading. Its economic benefits are tremendous and businesses like woodwork and metal workshops, beauty salons and hotels are entirely dependent on electricity to run their business. And the community members have become totally dependent on electricity for lighting, cooking and for preserving food and of course for entertainment as well. Despite the fact that electricity is facilitating the economy and life of the people, its inconsistency highly affects those running these businesses. Again, accessibility is limited only to the centre of the town and people living only a few kms away from the centre of the town still do not get electric light which they considered unfair. What is more, in the town of Ude itself all households do not have a counter. They added, "People are crying to have it but nobody listens to them."

Consumables

Four women from different social classes acknowledged that the community is benefiting from such services as provision of cooking oil, sugar and different kinds of agricultural inputs but mentioned huge shortage of cooking oil and sugar (this is a national problem). Most of the respondents have used these services in the last year. Nonetheless, apart from shortages they complained that their distribution by the kebele is unfair. Only some people could buy these stuffs and then resell whereas the majorities do not get the opportunity. Later on, however, the distribution was made for each of the three villages (Sirba, Qumbursa and Ude) separately. Every household is entitled to 2kgs of sugar and a coupon is given to each household as a result of which the distribution has become a bit fair. Some households may be entitled to 5 or 6 kgs of sugar and more liters of cooking oil based on the size of their households. However, it might be difficult to expect that the problem is fully solved. The interviewed female landholder has never got sugar and cooking oil from the kebele because of what she said is corruption. She also said those who sell sugar always say they are already sold out. In this regard, the woman has suggested that the government should improve the service provision system.

Use of government services

This is treated in the sections above.

Community management structures

Elders

As before, elders play a significant role in reconciliation in the community. However, an elder in the community mentioned a change since 2009/10 in which this institution has been reconceptualised. Before some eight years, elderly people were very old and this was necessary for one to sit in elders meetings for reconciliation. Nonetheless, such a practice has been undergoing change in the sense that people who have better knowledge of an issue and can understand a case better are also included as elders. Most of the cases treated by elders are land boundary disputes, psychological harassment, betrayal of money borrowed, failure to fully effect payment for an ox purchased on credit and the like.

According to this informant, who is an elder himself, and women from different social classes, there are about 10 elders in the community. They do not have a chairman or an elders' committee. In fact, each village has its own elders to reconcile or mediate conflicts. There are also elderly women in the community who sometimes engage in the reconciliation of their close relatives. Reconciliation is seen as an art suggesting that communication skills, which do not necessarily go with age, are rather becoming important in the current situation. Individuals' experience in successfully dealing with a case within a reasonable period of time is also seen as a positive quality when people are elected as elders to handle a case in their community.

Elders serve great assistance to the kebele social court as well as the regular court in the wereda. This may be best illustrated by the following case.

Box 1. A case of elders reconciling offenders and a plaintiff

Among the cases the afore-mentioned elder handled with other elders one concerns four individuals about which there was a complaint that they sometimes disturbed the peace of the community. One of them is a teacher working at Bishoftu town while the rest are casual workers. One day, they used different services including food and drink from a hotel in Ude and refused to pay for the services. Instead, they broke different goods such as beer bottles and glasses in the hotel. The hotel as a result sustained damage. The broken items were estimated at 9,000 birr and the services they used to be 3,000 birr, the total of which was 12,000 birr. Elders were called. After assessing the case, the elders asked the offenders to pay up this entire amount, to sign a reconciliation agreement not to repeat the same action in the future and to get reconciled with the owner of the hotel. The offenders regretted that the woman (hotel owner) travelled a long way to

reach this level. Before the elders were called in the woman had taken the issue to the court. However, as the issue was in the meantime addressed and resolved by elders, she withdrew the case at the court. Three other elders were involved with this elder who narrated the case. The reconcilers are given reputation for their elderly activities.

The respondent is 50 and has different experiences. Formerly, he was serving as a soldier, used to collect fertilisers' payment from farmers and currently works as a development team leader in the community and assists the Aba Gadas in reconciliation process. Like other elders, he has been providing free service for his community. And his role as an elder, together with the others, is well accepted by the community.

According to this elder, there is a procedure through which cases are handled. Offences or crimes such as bodily harm are taken to the police station for setting justice in motion. Then, the offender may send elders to the Aba Gadas and to the victim seeking reconciliation with the harmed person. Again the man described a case he knew to demonstrate this point. On 23 November 2017/18, two men ran into a violent conflict with another 19 year-old young man who was alone. The conflict resulted in the infliction of bodily harm on the young man. The fight happened at a drinking house. On the next day, the harmed person found one of the two persons and stabbed him in the stomach. The victim was immediately rushed to the hospital and survived the attack. The offender was put under arrest and still he is under the custody of the police station.

The cost for the medical treatment was 16,000 birr, which, based on the Aba Gadas decision, the family of the offender was asked to reimburse the victim. Besides, the Aba Gadas decided that the offender pay a compensation of another 16,000 birr for the victim. The reconciliation will only be concluded upon clearing this payment which is a total of 32,000 birr and which was well beyond the capacity of the offender's family. For this reason, they were circulating an appeal for monetary contribution from the community members when this story was told. Respondents said after full payment, the offender may be released.

Generally speaking, the respondent stated that each village has two Aba Gadas and he works with the Aba Gada of his village. The chairman of the Aba Gadas is from Ude village. This Aba Gada is older and he may be 70 years and has served as Aba Gada for several years and was also the kebele chairman for some six years. He is more knowledgeable and experienced than others but he is sick and there was a rumour that he will be replaced by another Aba Gada.

In addition to elders and Aba Gadas, kebele respondents said, religious leaders and some other groups are involved in eldership in the community. The significance of eldership in this community can be seen from the fact that when cases are brought to the kebele social court, they are sent to be first seen by community elders. The Gada system also plays a major role in dispute resolution. In the three zones there are two Aba Gadas that settle disputes in their respective village. The 6 Aba Gadas from the three zones meet once per month to see cases they were unable to address at village level. The elders and the Aba Gadas have been working closely with the community elders. Every fifteen days, the chief Aba Gadas report to the wereda level Aba Gada about their performance.

People's view of elders and eldership might be useful to have full grasp of what eldership is among this community. A middle wealth urban resident said, "Elders are those people who value peace and have big recognition in the community. They have skills and knowledge of negotiating different people." A poor urban resident added, "The elders are elected by the two parties involved in conflict. There are known community elders who most of the time spend their time negotiating people." Some respondents also said elders are elected by the community. A rich farmer mentioned, "There are three elders who were selected by the community at the kebele level. We call them *jarsa biyya*. They are at the forefront to solve community problems and to neutrally balance the disputes among people." Also, elders do have other qualities such as supporting people in time of emergency, honesty and some level of education along with the other good qualities. A leader of an NGO

intervention said they are closely working with kebele and community elders. They invite elders to launch new projects that are also attended by residents.

According to community respondents, community elites also may join elders in their reconciliation activities. Such a case is Yami Tufa, an elite and a respected community leader because of his honesty. He is a cashier in kebele Mahibasi Service Co-operative, a member of irrigation committees and closely works with religious and traditional leaders like Aba Gadas. Among the community elders in the kebele are Girma Rata and Tadasa Jote, both of whom are well known for conflict resolution. Community elders, Aba Gadas and religious leaders work to handle conflicts and related issues while the Aba Gadas are also well connected with the kebele leaders in this regard.

Religious organisations

The majority of the community members are followers of Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity. As before, they have different religious associations called *tsiwa* or *mahaber* dedicated to different Saints such as Saint Mary and Saint Gabriel, on every 21st and 19th day of the month, respectively. These days are celebrated by preparing and sharing feasts by the members of the respective association. The celebration goes round every month in the house of each of the association members. The two saints are the most celebrated in the community. Group prayers are made during these occasions in which they praise the specific saint in celebration and glorify God. These occasions also serve to strengthen social interactions among the *mahaber* members, also as self-help associations so that members support each other during serious sickness, accident and other mishaps financially (contributions from members) and materially but also in terms of praying for one another and providing emotional support.

A priest who leads and serves at the Emanuel church mentioned that there are 12 Orthodox Church priests in the kebele. He also said there is only one Protestant church in the kebele and no mosque at all. He said there is no direct relation of the priests with Protestant church leaders and with the government structure. As a priest, he preaches the religion, and reconciles spouses in dispute when they cannot be reconciled by elders. As a result, sometimes he meets with kebele officials and elders for such cases. However, he does not have any relation with the wereda. He also leads a religious association / *mahaber*, specifically Saint Gabriel *mahaber*. He has not faced any problem since he came to the area last year.

The Orthodox Church in the community has her own means of income. For instance, there is a land the church rents out for 40,000 to 50,000 birr per year. Most priests come from Amhara region and only a few of them are born in the vicinity. There is one person who is residing in Bishoftu town who supports the church with different materials every time, particularly on annual holydays. The priest mentioned above stated that nowadays new religious leaders of the Protestant church are coming from other places into the areas and thinks in the future there may be young people shifting to Protestant Christianity. He mentioned hearing of some who have already done so. However, he does not think this might affect his church. The emergence and slow expansion of this sect in this community can be seen as a change in this community over the last five years, and even before that.

Some community respondents said there are three religious institutions in their kebele: Orthodox, Protestant and Islam. Currently, *waqefanna* is another religious organisation prompting itself for establishment which can also be seen as part of institutional change in faith. Residents of the kebele said as of recently, due to modernisation, the local people are not very sensitive about religious differences as in the previous times. As a result of this, people shifting from Orthodox Christianity to the Protestant Sect are not stigmatised as before; in fact now people are aware of people's freedom of faith. And this is believed to be the result of government effort in educating the people about the equality of religions that is freedom of faith. In light of this, in 2016 Protestants got burial place in Ude (close to Amanuel Orthodox Church) and so far two individuals were buried there. Formerly, they did not have a burial place and they were not allowed to be buried in Orthodox Church

graveyards. Before six or seven years, local people were discriminating against those who followed Protestant religion by excluding them from some social activities like Iddir all of which are not the case now. In fact, there have been positive changes in this regard over the last five years. Members of the Protestant Church also contribute money to support those in need on some occasions.

Iddir

Iddir is a traditional Ethiopian self-help association bearing different names in different parts of the country. Female urban residents mentioned that there are different groups of iddir in the kebele. Members gather on fixed days every month. Usually, they meet on the 5th, 12th, 9th, 21st, 23rd and 29th of the days of the month as these days are religious holydays observed in the community. Members meet to pay their monthly contributions and the amount contributed differs from one iddir to the other and even in one iddir. Latecomers or absentees may be fined according to their regulations. The role of iddir has not changed in the last five years in the sense that its primary functions are around death: carrying out burial, providing some financial support, cooking and serving people gathered at the house of survivors and emotionally supporting the family of the dead. Iddir does not have relations with the formal/ government community management structures except sometimes when government officials (kebele and wereda officials) use the opportunity to disseminate information or messages.

A very rich female farmer living with her husband and four children said the Balewold iddir was established 10 years ago. It has both female and male members. The association has 250 members and membership has been increasing from time to time. Newly marrying couples establishing households join as association members and each year about five new members join the association. In terms of its function, every 29th day of the month is the date of meeting of the association members in the shade of a big sycamore tree. There is no food or drink served; members just come in person or send someone to pay for them the monthly contribution to the elected committee members of the iddir. The committee sits from 8:30 to 11:00 am to collect contribution once in a month.

Apart from funeral and related services, the iddir pays out 1,000 birr at the death of a member for his or her survivors. At the death of a family member (child, brother, sister, parents), the amount given is 800 birr out of which 380 is payable for the vehicle transporting the dead body to burial place. The association has division of labour when someone dies. There are people who dig the grave, those who handle the dead body and those who escort the dead body. Godeti village iddir members use Kelela Mariam (in Kelala kebele, neighbouring kebele) graveyard to bury their dead whereas those from Sirba village use Emanuel Church graveyard.

This iddir does not involve in developmental activities and does not lend money for its members for running business activities. However, another association named Michael, which has 64 members, is lending money to its members to buy fertilisers while Balewold, like the former iddir, does not engage in additional support since its members are very large.

The leader of the Balewold iddir said members contribute 10 birr each monthly and the sum is deposited in the names of the chair, the secretary and cashier at a bank. At time of data collection, the saving of the iddir was more than 10,000 birr. According to the chair, who has been serving the iddir in this position since 2015/16, iddir leaders are selected based on educational status and social activity. As per the regulation, he will be serving a three-year term. He also involves in solving disputes with elders.

Members failing to pay on time will be fined 1 birr and will pay 20 birr instead of 10 birr the next month. The punishment does not form part of the saving of the iddir. It rather goes to the three people (chair, secretary and cashier) as an incentive. Except this minor incentive they are not given anything. The chair said, in his role as an iddir chair, if he needs some advice or help, he may consult

the kebele officials with whom he has close relations. They also exchange information as to how best the kebele can make use of the iddir for information dissemination.

Women of different social classes said iddir is open for all, rich and poor. In fact, they said it is a necessity for an adult person or a household to be a member of one since death knocks at the door of everybody. As one of the respondents (wife of a poor farmer) said some people might have more than one iddir. Her household has one male and another female iddir and this might be seen as an epitome of the importance community members give to the institution of iddir. They also confirmed that sometimes the kebele officials use the iddir monthly meeting as a means to convey information to the iddir members, who in turn may pass on that information to their neighbours. Other community members have the same to say about iddir but they have also mentioned other forms of support. A male middle wealth urban resident said *"Iddir is very important for social support during wedding, funeral services and other crisis."* During wedding members may support each other in providing free labour and also may contribute money from their own pocket to support the family organising the wedding. A male poor urban resident described it as something very important for social life and promotion of social cohesion and peaceful cohabitation. The role of iddir as a social organisation relevant for local administration was empathically put by a rich male farmer who said: *"Iddir is another very effective place to mobilize people. The kebele officials may use iddir to transfer information for the community."* And a rich male urban resident added *"It is also another effective social organisation for the community and best place for wereda officials to delivery their messages."* Another rich farmer added apart from social support during wedding and funeral services iddir also plays a significant role in the economic life of the community. Iddirs do provide credit services from their saving accounts to their members to start up business. Iddirs' involvement in such job creation is said to be a recent practice. A male rich urban resident has provided a rather summative description of this institution: *"It is a strong social organisation which plays a vital role for community change and emergency management."*

Meskal associations

There is no data on this.

Iqqub

Iqqub is a traditional saving association in Ethiopia which has also been there for many years in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Individuals who trust one another or the system become a member to save small amounts over time and then get the sum at a future date to be determined by chance. The leader of the largest *iqqub*, established six years ago, said, their weekly saving has increased over the last six years even though this depends on the interest and capacity of the members. All members of the *iqqub* are people involved in trading and who know each other very well. Contributions are collected weekly on a fixed day and time and currently there are individuals saving up to 2,000 birr per week, an amount which may be too large for small traders. Some members save 400 birr per week, which again is difficult for people involved in preparing and selling the local drinks *tella* and *areqe* but in which case, two persons may team to pay for a single lot. When there is a draw, persons saving 400 birr each will get a total of 20,000 birr and in case of two persons involving as a team, the draw will be equally divided into two. The amount of the draw is based on the amount of contribution. This *iqqub* has long lasted in the area and some people use the money to start and expand their trading activities while others use it to buy household tools or furniture.

Members whose turn is later and may need the draw earlier may purchase the draw for 1,000 birr from others. Lots are dropped after the chair of the *iqqub* and the secretary took the first three lots, this being an incentive for their service. The chairman and the secretary are the same persons for long period of time. At the end of each *iqqub* period or cycle, each member is required to contribute a certain amount of money to conclude the *iqqub* period by organising a feast-slaughtering an ox, eating and drinking together. This payment is payable every time along with the weekly

payment/saving while in places like Addis Ababa the payment is deducted when a member takes his/her draw. As contributions are made every week, there is a lot/draw every week for those who get the chance. Therefore, no money is kept in the hands of the chair or the secretary except that collected for the cycle-end joint feasting. This *iqqub* does not have any relation to government or non-governmental organisations. As the members know each other, they have faced no problem thus far and have a very strong likelihood of continuing into the future.

It is likely that there are also much larger *iqqubs* in the greater area. As the leader of the aforementioned *iqqub*, who is a hotel owner in Ude said, he saves 15,000 birr per week in another *iqqub* in a nearby town since except two persons in their local *iqqub* others do not have the capacity for such a big saving. Four women of different social classes said *iqqub* is most important for those who are involved in trading activities as they have regular income unlike those involved in just farming whose income is largely seasonal. Over time, mainly in the last three years, *iqqub* has become more common in the community since more people started to involve in different kinds of trading activities and are able to earn more income. The amount they save over a fixed period of time has also increased. *iqqub* has helped some even to have start-up capital to run business. Among the respondents, the wife of a rich farmer has two *iqqubs* since she involves in different business activities.

While wealth should not determine people's participation in *iqqub*, those who are financially better may use it more. A male middle wealth urban resident said, "*iqqub* is very important and is a backbone for our life. It is simply vital for our survival. Currently, I do have *iqqub* with my colleagues and when I win a turn, I will expand my shop with the money. Contrary to this, a poor male urban resident on his part said, "I do not participate in *iqqub* because my job is not permanent and I have to rely on the availability of jobs for my survival." This case shows that even though poor people can participate in *iqqub*, it needs continuous and reliable source of income. This is in order not to default. Because of this, it seems that *iqqub* is more important for people living in urban areas than in rural areas. It is considered as an effective way of supporting one another in the urban settings who do businesses that guarantee regular income. A rich man from the town added, "*iqqub* is well known and is a backbone for people working in different business activities. It is common and effective in the urban area compared to rural settings." Another male, middle wealth urban resident said *iqqub* is vital to make progress in life. The evidence from the field in this regard is that the importance of *iqqub* in the area has been increasing over the last five years. Most likely this may owe to the increasing urbanisation and industrialisation of the area over the years and thus diversifying income options. And as the area is expected to be more urbanised in the coming years, also because of the municipalised and expanding Ude Dhenkaka town, it is very likely that *iqqub* would be even more common and important economic and also social institution for the people.

Mahaber

This institution has already been treated above but some more information is provided here. In Ude Dhenkaka kebele it is an association of followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in which people organise feasts every month in rounds for worshipping a particular saint but also for getting together and socialising. Both men and women have such associations and there are priests who organise these associations in each parish. Members make no contribution but when it is a member's turn, the person will prepare food and drink to be served for the members. On such occasions prayers, religious chanting and teaching by priests are made and the organiser and her/his or her/his family are blessed. Apart from its religious significance it has also social benefits. (For more see the chapter 'social protection from religious organisations' in the Social Protection Chapter).

A woman leading the largest *mahaber* has narrated the following case:

Box 2. The case of the largest mahaber in the community

The respondent said the *mahaber* was established in the name of Saint Gabriel maybe 15 years old. It has both female and male members totalling about 150. The membership of the association is increasing from time to time. In terms of its celebration, every 19th day of the month, dedicated for this Saint, is the date of celebration of the association at the members' house turn by turn. Celebrations take place in the afternoon from 3:30 to 5:30 in the house of one of the members where a feast (food and drink) is served.

They have a priest or someone from the members to act like a chair. These are the ones who open the program by leading a prayer. The members come from different villages, even from neighbouring kebeles so that some have to travel long distances. Apart from organising feasts they also contribute money once a year to slaughter an ox and throw a bigger feast. They do also contribute money to assist their members who are in difficult situation, particularly up on the death of the member, and their close relatives, and in some other events such as weddings. The association does not have any relation or cooperation from government. The respondent also leads religious associations/*mahaber* and involves in dispute resolution. The respondent stated that to improve the performance of the *mahaber* (to get more blessing from God) it would be good to provide food and drink for destitute people when the monthly feasts are organised.

In other places in the country, such as Addis Ababa, *mahaber* members may also assist one another in times of emergencies and even merry making such as weddings and graduations. While *mahaber* is associated with the followers of Ethiopian Orthodox Church in Ude Dhenkaka kebele it is neutral in all respects. Everywhere it is voluntary. In this kebele *mahabers* are organised by priests as well whereas priests may not be involved in other places. No change has been reported about *mahaber* in the last five years, but the case presented above may indicate that members are increasing and this may have something to do with the increasing number of newcomers to the area over the last five years. And it may also be well predicted that this will continue in the future as the kebele will be further urbanising and expanding.

Historically influential /wealthy families

There are a number of influential people in the community and who do good to the people in different ways. DB is one of these influential people. The sources of his influence are that he is very hard worker, has a house in town which is a sign of good fortune and is a much disciplined person. He is also helpful for others in times of need and emergencies. He does also have negotiation skill that is appreciated by community members. Because of these factors, his family is very influential and contributes towards peace and agreement among the people. The couple are economically self-sufficient and about 45 years old. They enjoy good social acceptance and have more or less good level of education. They are very kind persons in the community and maintain good network with kebele officials and Aba Gadas, an asset which could increase their influence in their community or the kebele. Four women of different social classes said historically influential or wealthy families encourage people to improve their livelihood. They also support people materially as well as financially such as by providing interest free loans.

Two middle income male farmers said GS is another very respected and influential man in the community. He is a positive thinker and is to the service of others always untiringly. His contribution to peaceful cohabitation is very instrumental in the community as he is also serving as a community elder. He is in his late 50s and has strong link with the Aba Gadas and other influential people including religious and community leaders. YT is also a highly respected man for his dispute negotiation skills in the community. Because of his skill, he also works with the Aba Gadas. He is a self-sufficient person and in fact has a house in the town. Due to his good deeds and the respect he has from the community and from the kebele officials, he can influence all for the good of all. He is

in his early 50s and is a very hard working person. He also has good relationships with kebele leaders, elders, religious leaders and local investors in the community that give him an added leverage to his role in and benefit to community as an influential person.

A woman stated that her family has been influential in the community since her parents were hard working farmers and more specifically her and her sibling's economic status has been highly improving. She had completed grade 3 and as the first child of the family, had to drop out of school in order to support the education of her younger siblings when her parents passed away. Initially, she started by hiring a labourer to farm their farmlands, then after, she also started some income generating activities like selling roasted grains on the main road, making use of the profit to finance the education of her younger siblings. Finally, she became a hotel owner. Her siblings are also business persons: her brothers have barber's shop, photo shop and rent out their farmlands to other people in order to focus on their businesses like her. All her brothers have married and have been leading good life. The woman said when the respondent owned smaller car she was assisting the community by providing discounted service to transport corpses to church for burial. She used to charge 250 birr; after she sold the car the community is now paying 450 birr for the same service. No change was reported in respect to influential people or families in the community over the last five years. Nonetheless, as wealth seems to be a very important factor of influence, it may be reasonable to expect more influential people coming since the economy of the area has been improving.

Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)

Not many NGOs are operating in Ude Dhenkaka kebele and perhaps the main reason seems to be that the kebele and the wereda at large are surplus producing areas and have not been rated as drought prone places at any rate. In fact, Ada'a wereda has been one of the best and famous teff growing weredas in the country over many decades well connected to the national teff market. Since 2012, there has not been improvement or increase in NGO operation in the kebele. In fact, it could be said it has decreased as an NGO operating on irrigated agriculture, Passion Connect, stopped operation a few years ago. The NGO Ratson Women, Children and Youth Development, in addition to Passion Connect, have been operating in the kebele over the last years on a number of sectors.

According to kebele respondents, five years ago Passion Connect contributed towards the enhancement of personal hygiene and environmental sanitation practices by building latrines with showers for selected community members as models so that the local people build and use latrines properly. This intervention is among the 18 packages HEWS have been promoting and is at the centre of the preventive health strategy of the country. Similarly, Ratson Women, Children and Youth Development had some role some years ago educating people about major health issues such as hygiene and environmental sanitation, including use of latrines. As a result of government HEWs and these NGOs, many households built latrines. Although use of these facilities has significantly increased, most of the latrines did not last long, a problem that challenges their sustainable use. There is much improvement in the area of waste disposal and households dump waste materials in holes purposefully dug for this in their compounds. However, there is still a gap in regard to hand washing as there are households who do not put water (and soap or ashes) at their latrines for hand washing after defecation. Nonetheless, people are washing hands properly before preparing as well as eating food.

Passion Connect which also introduced drip irrigation in the community by organising some voluntary farmers into a group and had dug wells for some of them had just minimal impact in this regard as the groups were not sustained. However, it has introduced drip irrigation and some of the group members are doing irrigation on their own. A few years ago it stopped working as an NGO and converted into an Agro-furniture PLC which has been well functioning providing paid service in the community in this respect.

Ratson has continued to operate in the kebele. The head of this NGO (an intervention leader) said Ratson is an international NGO based in Canada mainly working in sponsorship for very poor and orphaned children. In this community, poor children are recruited by kebele officials and local elders. There are many complaints regarding the recruitment. The NGO takes photos and other personal information of the orphaned and HIV positive children to send to the Canadian government to generate some resources for these children. The intervention leader said currently the NGO is operating in Ude as well as in Hiddi, Godino, and Dire rural towns. Previously, the NGO was operating on health and had provided many ambulances for the health centres in the wereda. Currently, there are about 1,200 children in their support logbook for whom they are providing textbooks, uniforms and some money for soaps and transport. In addition to providing support for children, the NGO is also providing training for young people on income generating activities and has FM radio programmes for awareness creation activities. There are many voluntary young people working for the organisation.

According to the head, the NGO started working in this area before five years and there have been significant changes to its members and the demand from the community has been highly increasing. The main problem they have been facing, he said, is subjective selection of children for help and complaint from the communities about this. He mentioned of having a strong selection committee so that selection of the children will be objective and fair to prevent ineligible children enrolling at the expense of or harm to the eligible ones. If the mission of the NGO has to be fulfilled, he said, this nepotism has to be corrected immediately or in the near future. Otherwise, the support to vulnerable children would lose its meaning and continue to be yet another opportunity for corruptive practices.

The job of the intervention head is compiling all the personal files of the selected children and sending this document to the Country Director of the organisation in Addis Ababa. In addition, he distributes textbooks and other forms of support for the selected children monthly. Handling complaints from the community and organising training events for young people are also among his duties and responsibilities. The head is rewarded with a salary for his service; he said he likes his job very much as it gives him satisfaction. Speaking of improvements needed, he said their recruitment criteria should be applied in an objective manner and need to include other kebeles in addition to the four they have been operating in.

The improvement suggested may include giving enough time while the selection is announced as some young people were told of the opportunity by the kebele officials after registration was passed and the children were forced to be left out. The young people said, "It is unfair; they need to let us know ahead of time and very clearly." According to male middle income and rich farmers, RATSON volunteers (young people) provide free service mobilising the communities for charity activities like collecting used clothes and old shoes for those students who cannot afford to buy. They also involve in school mini media.

Box 3. *The case of mini media operation in Dhenkaka no. 1 primary school*

The head teacher said that it was the NGO Ratson that brought a "questionnaire box" and established mini media to disseminate information and message to students. In addition, Ratson has selected 10 students (5 females and 5 males) as Sustainable Development Goal reporters. The questionnaire box is used to send SMS/message for Ratson directly. So, among these 10 students any one sends SMS to Ratson whenever they think something is wrong. The school head/director and teachers do not have access to this message. Upon receiving the SMS, if it is some concern the school has already addressed, Ratson from Bishoftu branch does not contact the school head. Otherwise, they ask the school director why the school did not address the students' concern. In this case, the school posts a note that the problem is addressed.

Otherwise, if it is above the capacity of the school, Ratson would contact the wereda education office. For instance, recently there was no sport teacher as the former teacher quitted his job in

this school and the students sent a message about his absence or the need for a new sport teacher. Upon that Ratson contacted the local school head but he responded that it is the wereda education office that is responsible to assign a teacher. Recently also there was no Amharic textbook. The students sent a message about lack of this textbook. When the NGO communicated with the school, the school head said the wereda did not supply the book. Later, when they contacted the wereda education office they responded that they are under process to supply the textbook. Up on that Ratson has supplied this textbook to the school (both in hard and soft copy). The questionnaire box is a means of presenting student complaint as Ratson has trained these 10 students on how to send messages. As no one knows who sends the messages, these students feel free to send any concern or thing they think should be fulfilled. These students also follow up cases of dropping out so that students attend their lesson properly.

Wereda-kebele-community-interactions

Government planning and consultation

According to wereda respondents, there are structural arrangements for consulting the community, calling meetings, reporting and the like. At kebele level, for each institution such as education and agriculture, there are respective structures. There is also a Farmers Training Centre (FTC) at kebele level. The kebele manager and the kebele chairman are also there to facilitate as the case may require. It is possible to communicate with different parts or segments of the community based on the kind of information sought or to be imparted through the kebele level structures. These structures have full contact addresses posted on the kebele administration office building. The wereda communicates with the kebele, the kebele with the Zone, and the Zone with the Development Teams and the Development Teams with 1 to 5 networks and all these structures have their own contact persons. The contact persons are responsible to transmit the messages to the community.

Wereda respondents said there are meetings convened at wereda level involving farmers from the kebeles. Such may include farmers' consultations on overall development issues, annual performance evaluation meetings and so on. Only model farmers participate on such meetings. They in turn would deliver the message to many farmers in their respective kebeles. As far as reporting is concerned, the kebele manager organises reports for the whole kebele. Every representative of each sector organises his/her own respective report and submits it to the kebele manager who is also the secretary of the kebele council. The kebele manager is the only government employee at kebele level. Kebele officials said farmers are consulted about their needs and priorities (choice of agricultural priorities) in regard to the newly introduced modern agricultural techniques such as improved seeds. Also, there is government planning and consultation in relation to watershed management activities in the case of enclosing grazing lands and planting trees to conserve the soil.

In regard to making community plans, starting from last year the community has been consulting over proposed development plan of more urbanising Ude town by providing residential land for civil servants working in the wereda at meetings organised at kebele level. The plan says that any farmer would own only up to 1,000 square meters of land (500 is for the parents and 500 for their children). The remaining will be taken for residential purpose for civil servants and compensation will be paid. Many farmers did not accept this idea, though the amount of compensation per meter square has increased this year to 102 from 62 birr before this year. This is because farmers are valuing more the land for farming purpose rather than the benefits they would get when the area is urbanised. Therefore, still this government planning and consultation is under way.

A middle wealth female heading a household said with regard to public consultation on urbanising the kebele the people have been consulted and the municipality was established in the interest of the people. In the consultation she said the municipality has been involved in designing the plan of the area (she meant land use plan) in collaboration with the kebele and wereda officials. She mentioned that within the last 20 years the kebele land has not been allocated and now the

municipality has a plan to allocate residential land for government employees such as teachers, also in a bid to urbanise this rural town.

Messaging and mobilising the community

Wereda respondents said there are structural arrangements for consulting the community, calling of meetings, reporting and the like. At kebele level, for each institution such as education, agriculture and so on, there are respective structures. There is also a Farmers Training Centre (FTC) at kebele level. The kebele manager and the kebele chairman are also there to facilitate as the case may require. It is possible to communicate with different parts or segments of the community based on the structure that is already put in place. These structures have full contact addresses posted on the kebele administration office building. The wereda communicates with the kebele, the kebele with the Zone, and the Zone with the Development Team and all these structures have their own contact persons. The contact persons are responsible to transmit the messages to the community.

According to wereda respondents, there are meetings organised in the wereda, and training events for kebele leaders, party members and government employees on different interventions and issues. Those attending meetings and training events at wereda level usually disseminate the messages and knowledge to others working at kebele and lower levels, including the community at large. Meetings and training events may concern all sectors running in the wereda and in the kebele, developmental and others as well. In the case of agriculture, for instance, training events have been organised on modern irrigation practices and others for some farmers who were expected to disseminate the themes and intent of these activities for the rest of the community members. The same is true with regard to other sectors such as health.

There are also meetings in which only model farmers participate. Model farmers are champions and promoters so that they also serve to empower the other farmers in the community. Such meetings are convened at wereda level (but also at kebele level) involving entire kebele and topically may include farmers counselling on overall development issues, annual performance evaluation meetings and the like. The model farmers in turn mobilize or deliver the messages to many farmers in their respective villages.

Kebele government structures are also instrumental in communication and messaging. The kebele administration constitutes different zones which in turn constitute different development teams that are in turn divided into 1 to 5 networks, the lower level structures. For instance, Ude Dhenkaka kebele has three zones: Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa. The purpose mainly of such a structure is to communicate effectively in delivering any information, education and messages to the community. The zone-wereda-kebele-zone-development team - 1 to 5 networks pass information and messages from the higher to the lower level structures. While this system has advantages, the disadvantages are said to be difference in effectiveness in passing information and messages. Some zones under each kebele are too wide and some are too small and the wereda does not expect equal convenience in communicating with the lower structures. Sometimes they use phone conversation to deliver messages between administration levels. There are also other ways of delivering development messages. Sometimes there are pamphlets to be distributed to the farmers on use of technologies such as fertilisers both in Afan Oromo and Amharic. However, written information and information dissemination through kebele party structure are not common. Rather, what is common seems to be the use of other community gatherings, specifically monthly iddir gatherings to disseminate development and other messages to the public. This is in addition to the meetings that the kebele organises in the kebele. Iddir is however easier and all or many people come voluntarily and there is a self-imposed fine for being absent in addition to the personal sense of obligation.

Women urban residents said that when the residents of the kebele need to come together for the purpose of various forms of meeting or for messaging, the responsibility lies with the kebele chairman and his deputy chairman. So, by organizing kebele meetings the message is disseminated.

Or, the information or message is shared to the village and development team leaders to disseminate for the households under them. In addition, in one case, on the 29th day of every month, there is a large iddir gathering. There is a monthly payment and if on that date the government officials need the people for communicating some information, the members of the Iddir are not allowed to pay early and leave; rather they are made to stay without paying until the dissemination of some information or message is over. As such, the kebele officials communicate their agenda to the people on this gathering. Even some officials from wereda level come on this day to listen to the questions/needs and opinions of the kebele residents. This is because the kebele people might have been occupied by different activities to be gathered on other days. However, everyone participates in development related activities. From every household, one person has to appear on such development related activities such as cleaning roads. There is also what is known as cell in addition to the one-to-five structure in each village and such arrangement contains both males and females. These arrangements used to reach every household but their role to disseminate information is decreasing as members are focusing on their own job.

A young woman, 23 and grade 10-compelte and living with her parents and successfully running a private business (shop, soft drinks, alcohol sale) said that the kebele administration office is located in Ude town, which is a bit far from her village Sirba and the responsible bodies do not transfer all important information or message for the whole community members on time though there is a development team and 1 to 5 networks to share information. In general, as there is problem of delivering information and message on time, she suggested that the kebele administrative or other body should provide appropriate services to deliver message for all community members at large, in every part of the kebele since the kebele is vast.

No significant changes have been reported in the ways information and messages have been communicated since 2012. However, since the developmental teams and the 1 to 5 structures have been weakening, and people are less responsive to them, it is possible to say that the role of this structure in this regard has also become weaker. The use of mobile phones has increased over the last five years and thus it is possible to expect much more use of them for developmental and related information sharing and communication in the future as well.

Targets and accountability

Accountability

Ada'a administration and all sectoral offices are located in Bishoftu town which has its own municipality. Therefore, both Ada'a wereda and the town of Bishoftu are accountable to the zone seated in Adama. Wereda respondents said that the wereda has different strategies to ensure accountability.

Gimgemma (face-to-face evaluation)

Wereda respondents said on weekly basis wereda officials' performance is evaluated so that weaknesses are identified and corrected in good time and to further strengthen the good side of their performance. In addition, six months ago there was a reform known as tilk tehadeso (deep renewal) in which all wereda officers were evaluated in public that is in front of the whole wereda civil servants. After this reform, the wereda respondents said every wereda official is ready to apply what is set in the law as well as principles developed to provide fair service to the public and to avoid corruption in implementing programs.

Wereda respondents stated before the deep renewal initiative taken by the government, the way unemployed youths were identified was different, even those who had their own job used to manipulate the system (because of facilitators working for undue personal gains) by identifying themselves as jobless. After the deep renewal in 2017/18, however, the public at large started to be involved in the identification and selection of jobless young people for government support. Jobless persons were identified and directly sent to the wereda small and micro enterprises before the deep

renewal. However, starting from the beginning of this year, jobless persons are identified and registered by the kebele and the name list of those registered as jobless is evaluated and approved by public gatherings in the community. After this community process is complete, the kebele sends the approved list of young people to the wereda Office of Labour and Social Affairs. Making his opinion on *gimgemma* (face-to-face evaluation), a poor farmer said that is simply a means of controlling people to not try their best to survive when there are always meetings and *gimgemma*. He said *gimgemma* has no benefits at all and that he is happy there is no strict and fast rule about it now.

Appeals against wereda decisions and accountability committees

See separate section below.

Citizens Report Cards

Citizens' report cards are handled at wereda level by the process known as people's complaint handling services. This work process is placed in the Wereda Administration Office and the complaint is investigated to identify which sector is complained against. Every sector has its own complaint handling focal person that examines complaints against the sector and organises reports to be submitted to the Wereda administration office.

Suggestion boxes

In the wereda, there are suggestion boxes to drop public comments, suggestions and opinions or grievances. However, two middle wealth farmers who said there are suggestion boxes both at wereda and kebele levels, did not see when suggestions are collected and brought to the community for possible discussions or solutions. Two male farmers, (poor and landless), added at wereda level there is also a book to write one's suggestion for specific offices.

Budget consultation and posting

In the wereda administrative office compound there is a board used to post the budget allocated for each sectors for transparency purpose.

Appeals, petitions and complaints

Any person can file a complaint either at the wereda or at the kebele level. If the person is not satisfied by the decision made at the kebele level committee, s/he can take her/his complaint to the wereda administration office. However, the kebele level complaint handling/accountability committee is not as such functional. The wereda level complaint handling process is working in a better way. A person aggrieved by the administrative decision at kebele level comes directly to the wereda and files complaints. Wereda respondents said there are many complaints from the communities always, especially related to water, road, electricity and land taxes, which the wereda administration office is receiving. Complaints mainly come in the form of written petitions but also sometimes orally to the respective bodies at wereda level.

Structurally, there are responsible persons or offices or teams (complaint handling teams/committees) to handle appeals, petitions and complaints both at kebele and wereda level. And they have standing committees to handle tax complaints both at kebele and wereda level. For land tax complaints, the hectares possessed are re-assessed and the same happens for trade in which case their category is re-assessed. Community complaints are mainly solved at kebele and wereda level. Very few complaints might be beyond the capacity of these levels. For example, wereda respondents mentioned they cannot solve complaints about electricity at wereda level; one respondent recalled when the community went to the zone in Adama to complain about electricity. Sometimes community members may go to the level of region. However, government structures from kebele to the region may communicate to pass on community complaints that may not be solved at their level. According to respondents from government and community, water, internal roads, electricity and

land compensation are perennial complaints of the community. When the community files their complaints by themselves, representatives are selected to speak for them at every level of administration, including the regional level.

Ada'a wereda, where Ude Dhenkaka kebele is found, has undergone significant boundary changes as the expanding town of Bishoftu, found in the wereda but enjoying independent administration as a municipality, has incorporated five rural kebeles from the wereda. Out of 27 kebeles in the wereda, 5 kebeles (namely Kaliti, Ganda Gorba, Kurkura, Gerbicha and Dambi) were taken and incorporated into the boundaries of Bishoftu town. Four of these kebeles were taken before last year but it was last year that Kaliti kebele, found on the eastern periphery of the town, has in its totality been taken over by Bishoftu town. The wereda administration has been fiercely complaining about this since these kebeles have been hot spots of investment and revenue from such sources as employee income taxes and investment profit taxes, which used to cover the salaries of government employees in the wereda.

According to wereda officials, the wereda had to stop its argument over this issue only after hearing from higher zonal and regional officials that the salaries of its employees would be covered anyways. Otherwise, the wereda had undergone real difficulties to pay salary for its civil servants. As would be expected, the boundary restructuration has reduced the landmass of Ada'a wereda and increased that under the jurisdiction of the municipality of Bishoftu. Ada'a wereda is now left with 22 kebeles. Bishoftu, a town that has been highly expanding into rural kebeles in its perimeter over the past five years, used to have 15 kebeles before some three years. For the sake of administrative convenience, nonetheless, some kebeles were collapsed such that the municipality now has nine kebeles, including the five rural kebeles it has incorporated from Ada'a wereda. Bishoftu town, as in the time before the incorporation of these kebeles, has been serving as the administrative seat of Ada'a wereda as well, also hosting all of its sectoral offices. The wereda is accountable to the east Shewa administrative zone of Oromia region in Adama.

Community Based Health Insurance (CBHI) is a government introduced scheme which is generally rated very positively. However, the scheme is not free from public dissatisfaction. The kebele health extension worker said some CBHI members are discouraged by the fact that they may be required to purchase medicines from private pharmacies with their own money when they should be getting these medicines for free through the health insurance system. In this case, the HEW in the kebele came across four individuals this year who were complaining about this problem. Upon this, she advised the individuals to go to the wereda CBHI office to appeal or ask about the issue. In addition, the insurance does not cover some persistent or chronic illnesses, also serving as one of the reasons why some households are not becoming members of this insurance scheme. Even some of the community members have the opinion that they should not purchase the insurance policy since it is highly improbable for them to get sick.

Kebele respondents remarked CBHI members can get service from two hospitals (Bishoftu and Adama referral hospitals) and from seven health centres where members can get services for the most common types of diseases which include diabetes, hypertension, surgery and others together with ultrasound services. However, there are chronic illnesses that are not covered by CBHI, which include chronic kidney diseases that needs dialysis, chronic cardiac/heart diseases, injuries resulting from criminal acts and uterus infection/ diseases. Eye and teeth illnesses are treatable by CBHI but clients cannot get eye glasses and artificial teeth as the CBHI budget is not adequate to cover the cost of these types of diseases and services. This has created a sense of dissatisfaction on the part of the community.

The same respondents from the kebele stated the implementation of the programme has some problems. When CBHI members visit health centres, sometimes they are told the type of illness they have are not included in the CBHI program and instead these beneficiaries are told to seek treatment by themselves, for which they have to pay. Upon this, the clients are disappointed.

Nonetheless, wereda CBHI personnel stated that the wereda has an agreement with two private pharmacies and one Red Cross pharmacy so that CBHI beneficiaries would freely get prescribed medicines that are not available at the health centres or the hospitals. Contrary to this, one of the respondents mentioned of a CBHI beneficiary he came across, who was appealing to the wereda office that the health centre he went to told him to buy the medicine prescribed for him because it was not available at the health centre. He was very disappointed.

The kebele respondents added that due to these reasons some CBHI beneficiaries do not renew their membership every year, which became a reason for the number of CBHI beneficiaries to fluctuate every year. The respondents said there is no reason for households to reject membership or to not renew membership. These respondents suspected that some health workers may not be aware of CBHI beneficiaries' right to freely get medicines not available in the government health facilities from the private sector because the client who complained was saying to the wereda CBHI officer that the health worker refused to stamp on the prescription slip so that he could get the medicine from a private pharmacy. Recently, in every health institution, committees of three people (both from health officers as well as supportive staff) were established to receive and solve complaints of CBHI clients. (For additional information see the sub-section Community-Based Health Insurance in the Social Protection Chapter).

While the services of the health post in Ude is appreciated by different interviewees, two men, one who is a farmer and the other a non-farmer, mentioned that there is a major problem regarding health services. They complained there is no health centre in their town and they need to go to Dhenkaka to get basic health care services where there is no electric power. Again, if they want to go to Bishoftu, its waiting time is very long. It is only HEWs who are providing health services for the community at Ude town. Even though it might not be possible to handle this complaint very seriously at the moment, it may only be a matter of time before it will be so given the intensifying and expanding urbanisation of Ude town which has included the most significant parts of Sirba and Qumbursa into the municipality administration, also receiving many newcomers from near and far places.

All sources, including farmers, stated that there is a serious complaint from the community about the rate of compensation the government pays to farmers or individuals who have to leave their land for investment purposes. Also because of lack of experience, many farmers are said to have imprudently finished the compensation and are forced to work for factories as guards and labourers earning income that is not sufficient to support themselves and their families. There are government officials who say this is happening, among others, because of the fact that the government is not providing advice, training and technical support for these farmers before taking the compensation, including how to get involved in non-farm activities and how to get used to this and urban way of life. As a result of this, wereda respondents mentioned farmers have been arguing with the wereda at different discussion sessions and finally the wereda decided to increase this compensation amount. Accordingly, this year it has increased from 61 to 102 birr per meter square of land.

What is also new is applying the principle of compensation for 10 years which is intended to be started with the new rate. Thus, if a farmer has to lose 600 square meters of land, he would be compensated with 612,000 birr. Despite this, respondents said still many farmers are complaining that the new rate because it is much less than what the informal market would offer while selling for investors and individuals. Wereda respondents said this is one factor impeding the implementation of the land use plan prepared. Therefore, the implementation of the decision or intention to calculate the compensation for 10 years seems to be very crucial if the complaints of the farmers have to be met.

In regard to non-land taxes, a hotel owner in Ude said the main problem is lack of fairness on tax and absence of equal treatment among all hotel owners. The other problems are related to getting TIN numbers which were given at Adama, the zonal capital. However, when he went to Adama, he did

not get appropriate service and when he came back and started his business kebele officials came and warned him not to do his job and his hotel was closed for two weeks. As he gave this interview, he complained that the municipality people closed his hotel because of their own fault. He was saying it was up to them to issue him with TIN number but they were telling him to go to Adama to get it. Giving his opinion on the same issue, a rich farmer said many people, especially hotel owners, are complaining about the unfairness of taxes, particularly this year. A rich businessman residing in the town added, "It is totally unfair and taxes never considered the reality on the ground and their income." (There is more on taxation in the 'licensing and taxation' section in the Nonfarm Chapter).

Resistance and conflict

Different respondents stated that the Government Women's Associations, Women's League, and Women's Federation have been getting weak because people are less interested and value more spending time on their own issues. Respondents approached including the kebele women affairs representative, know only these organisations exist just in names and knew nothing about what they did last year. At the beginning of this year, she was told to register mothers who were able to work and who wanted to involve in some income generating activities. Accordingly, she listed their names based on their interest and gave the list to the wereda women affairs officer but nothing has come out of that. What she is aware of is only the Women's League members who are party members. As a result, her final statement was that these organisations are not active. According to these same sources, the Government Youth Organisation, Youth League, and Youth Federation are also getting weak like those of the women's because the youth do not give attention to these organisations unless they have some benefits. The respondent is aware that Youth League members are party members. Because of these factors, these organisations as well are not active like those of the women.

A development team leader said he does not think that 1 to 5 networks will improve because people have been highly resistant to them and their operations. He added if there is going to be punishment people may accept them as before; otherwise, they have already stopped working with their network. In fact, he mentioned resistance from the community to accept orders from their respective 1 to 5 network leaders and development leaders as well. Also, a male rich urban resident said as a new change recently people are resistant to any mobilisation mechanism unlike the past when everybody was afraid of being absent when they were called by kebele officials. A rich farmer said developmental teams and 1 to 5 networks were strong means of mobilising the people few years ago. Currently, people resist the direction coming from development team leaders and 1 to 5 leaders. The urban resident man further said he does not think that this structure is functioning currently and cited himself as an example saying he is personally not taking any order from 1 to 5 networks at this time. He also said that it is the same with the majority.

Justice

Kebele respondents mentioned that many cases are taken to the wereda court and conflicts are managed at different levels as per their seriousness by elders, at kebele and at wereda courts. According to the social court leader of Ude Dhenkaka kebele, there are different cases at kebele level. The majority of the cases are civil code cases and there are also many criminal cases. When cases come to the kebele, they recommend both parties to resolve their case through community elders. If they are not willing to do so, the social court will see the case and pass its verdict. The kebele social court is empowered by law to fine or see cases of up to 1,500 birr or three months of imprisonment. Those who are not happy by the decision at this level can appeal to the wereda court.

People's evaluation of justice in the kebele seems perceptual. A male middle wealth farmer remarked that there are significant improvements to the social justice in their community after the recent reform, adding that it still needs improvement. Contrary to this, a male farmer of same economic standing remarked it is very difficult to say there is justice in their kebele. He asked, "Look,

these people who have poultry factories in this community, who gave them the license? Who are they paying tax to? Kebele officials should answer this?"

Box 4. The case of a couple involved in land dispute and court decision

There was a land dispute case in Sirba village between a couple which was resolved recently. The conflict was between the wife and the husband who wanted to divorce and share their properties equally. The kebele social court could not handle the case since it was more than 1,500 birr. Due to this, the kebele social court referred the case to the wereda court which in turn saw and referred the case back to kebele elders. The elders tried to mediate the couple so that the marriage will go on but the woman insistently refused to continue living with the man since he is a drunkard and no one can be sure about the action of drunken people. They have a daughter of 14 years old. Then, in the end, the court considered the case and gave the decision for them to share their property. Based on the wereda court order, then the kebele shared their property between them, which was their home since they have constructed together.

Not only this but also the kebele has shared them all of the household goods they had. Then, the husband took the house for himself paying her half of the estimated cost of the house. She retained the farmland she got from her parents and he also retained what he inherited from his parents. The court had also decided that the man has to pay 500 birr for their daughter every month so as to cover her living expenses as she was living with the mother, his ex-wife. The community members think the way this dispute was solved is exemplary since there are a lot of divorced women in the area who are raising their babies as single mothers without the support of their fathers since most of them have no consistent income.

The wider public has good perception of the way this dispute was resolved taking into account the right of the woman and the child and as they were aware of how the man used to mistreat his wife as he was getting drunk every day.

According to wereda respondents, there are no prison houses at kebele level. One is found at the Ada'a Wereda level. Kebeles have police stations where custody of arrested persons may take place. Judicial services are in the wereda court in Bishoftu town. The High Court for the kebeles and the wereda inhabitants is East Shewa Zonal High Court located in Adama town. A male landless farmer said he thinks justice is improving from time to time, especially after few years.

Kebele respondents who said people take cases that are not solved at kebele social court to wereda court also said there is no recent change in terms of how the wereda court serves people. However, some people mentioned that there is corruption and sometimes there is no fair decision, mainly in land related cases. That is why some people appeal and take their cases to higher courts such as the zone higher court in Adama and then to the regional Supreme Court of Oromia, in Addis Ababa.

Rights and duties of community members

Every adult person has the right to own land and land holding farmers have the duty to pay land taxes. They also have the right to get basic services in all respects such as agriculture and health but this is contingent on their financial capacity in respect to inputs and services that they have to pay. Commercial business owners except those who prepare and sell the local drinks *tella* and *areqe* and other petty traders have a duty to pay income taxes to the municipality of Ude town. Residents bearing kebele identification cards have the right to get support from the kebele and wereda such as loans to start income generating activities and subsidised consumables as well. As to kebele officials, those who come from other areas, mostly young people should bring official letter of clearance from their former kebeles to get identification cards and enjoy rights in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. That newcomers have clearance from criminal acts and anti-social activities from their former kebele administration is very crucial. After the recent state of emergencies kebele officials have exerted extra care in issuing identification cards for newcomers to the kebele.

Also, there are community contributions as already treated in this report. In the rural kebele, these are made by the land owning households only, while the others are not supposed to. Hence, the 230 landless people/households and the 78 in-migrants are not supposed to make these contributions. The kebele has not started recording vital events such as births, marriages and deaths.

Perspectives on community's key problems

The wereda, kebele and community have almost the same perspective on the community's key problems that have continued over the last five years without significant positive changes. Wereda respondents said managing land is a key problem in the wereda and in Ude Dhenkaka kebele as well. This has different forms. First, because of increasing urbanisation as well as commercial and industrial opportunities, including private farms, many investors, merchants and individuals informally buy land from the farmers. Even though this is somehow benefiting farming households because of higher rates per unit of land and new job opportunities, some farmers selling their land are turning into wage labourers in factories and private farms. Those engaged in petty trading as well are said to be unable to earn enough income to have a decent life.

Second, the government reclaims land from smallholders when the space is needed for investment at a compensation rate farmers said is very small and unfair. Because of this as well, the number of households who sold their land and faced problem after that has been increasing. The wereda officials are very aware of this and are receiving complaints from farmers for reconsideration of the compensation. The government has been defending its position on land that if land was to be sold and exchanged; farmers would simply do this and fall into a problem such as they are falling into now. This seems to be both a matter of policy and practice.

Again, according to kebele officials, the second most important problem in the wereda has to do with internal roads, paths and bridges, even though condition is better compared to other weredas in the zone. In most of the kebeles found in the wereda, including Ude Dhenkaka, the internal roads are dusty in the dry season and difficult to travel mainly in the rainy season. Thirdly, they mentioned unemployment as a key problem. They are aware that people from different parts of the country are working mostly in the factories located in the wereda and the neighbouring areas. Apart from the job opportunity that attracts these people, kebele respondents think the high turnover that is resulting from low salaries serve as additional factors. Locals also are employed but they have higher turnover as they tend to avoid lower rates compared to the in-migrants even in the case of day labour-farming and non-farming. Because of regular government programmes and the youth revolving fund, there are young people organised for income generating activities who got some start up loans and training but this is so small compared to the number of unemployed young people in the wereda. The amount of resource, including the youth revolving fund made available, is small and their disbursement is so delayed discouraging and disappointing many young people. Therefore, even though there are job opportunities in the wereda as well as the neighbouring wereda and the nearby Mojo town where there are many industries/factories, still there is a problem of unemployment in the wereda.

When it comes to Ude Dhenkaka kebele, the two key problems faced are drinking water and internal roads. Again, according to wereda respondents, some people in Sirba, Qumbursa and some parts of Ude town who have not dug their own personal water wells are buying water for fifty cents per jerry can from individuals who own water wells. Even the health extension worker buys water for the health post services as well. The major problem, however, does not appear to be not having enough water points but lack of operation and maintenance of water points that were fixed by government and other actors in the past. Most of such water points are non-functional and the problem is often said to be technical. The respondents said, "Some water wells become non-functional and no one from the wereda water office is concerned to maintain them. Due to this, in some meetings people complain about this. Nonetheless, in Ude town, the centre of the kebele, drinking water supply is better as there are two water pumps built and managed by some community members.

A poor farmer, 51 living with his wife and children and working as a company guard as well since he has just one qert' of land, had tried digging a well but unsuccessfully.

Box 5. Unsuccessful and risky attempt to dig a water well may show extent of the shortage

The main problems of the communities are lack of water, no other problem. We are suffering a lot. I personally dug deep down up to about 80m [this is very likely to be too exaggerated but may suggest the extent of depths) to extract underground water but could not get water. The wereda officials visited and prohibited me from entering down the hole again because it is very deep and may be risky for lack of oxygen. They told me that the wereda cannot support me because of the fact that government cannot extract water for individuals. If we were in groups, they were ready to help us.

The internal roads or blocks are very muddy and during rainy season it is difficult to travel, mainly for bigger and heavy duty vehicles that need to come into the villages to transport loads of purchased crops. There was a start-up of cleaning the internal blocks but the activity is not that much strengthened since people focus mainly on their own personal activities. The inconvenience of internal roads is also said to result from environmental degradation. The respondents did not name an issue that can be mentioned as a third key problem for the kebele but in Qumbursa village electricity is a real challenge. Most households in this village did not get their own electric counters and hence are forced to have informal wire extensions for lighting purpose from their neighbours who have the counters. Even though the kebele and the health post are located in Ude town, both do not have their own electricity. This might arise due to the negligence from responsible higher bodies or the wereda. Women of different social classes said that they have to pay 12-20 birr per bulb for those who own counters.

Other community members also mentioned water as their most prime problem, particularly in Sirba and Qumbursa villages. This is shared by the health extension agent who has been working in the community for the last 14 years, residing there among the community, unlike the others, and having the most appreciation from the community. She stated that though in Ude town there is water well that works through pump, she is not allowed to use it as the water source has money contributing members for the service. Due to this, she is buying water from private individuals for herself as well as for the health post from her own pocket. Hence, for her and some community members, she said there is a problem of water as there is no communal water source. A male middle wealth urban resident complained, "Water problem is a long standing issue of our community. It is shame that we have been asking about water for the last 10 to 15 years."

Box 6. Another case showing the extent of water problem

The respondent mentioned that there is problem of water and electricity that must be improved in the future. In this regard, she mentioned she is buying water at 1 birr per Jerry can. She also bought one donkey for 1,600 birr to transport the water she needs but she added if there was water close to her house she would not have needed the donkey. Due to shortage of water, she is spending more as she needs more water to prepare the local beer *tella* that she is selling as a major means of her livelihood. She does not have her own electricity counter but she gets electric light only for lighting purpose from the neighbourhood by paying 12-20 birr per month. If she has her own counter, she could have used electricity for cooking using stoves saving her time and labour.

It was the view of the respondents that the wereda has to consult with the responsible stakeholders so as to improve these shortcomings and better serve the community. The plan to urbanise Ude Dhenkaka kebele is taken as a measure that would spur the fulfilment of these and other basic services as this would allow the municipality to collect revenue and obtain more budget. Due to the establishment of many business centres in the area, the municipality is already collecting different

taxes and according to a wereda respondent these problems may be solved within a matter of three years or so.

It is also important to note that the ranking of problems may change depending on the perception of individuals. There are people who prioritised youth unemployment as the first key problem of the community. Most of these respondents are young themselves. There are also respondents who mentioned shortage of land as a problem in association with youth unemployment. Two men of middle income said, "The other major problem in the community is joblessness. Jobless young people are spending their time chewing *chat*, drinking and recently using other drugs like *shisha*⁶. What the government is doing is still not adequate to solve the problem." The other problems some respondents mentioned were dropping out of school and increased rate of failure in national exams.

Perspectives on nepotism and corruption

A struggling young woman, 26, grade 10 complete and returnee from an Arab country and who has been running a small shop since 2015 mentioned that youth unemployment is the major problem. Though she migrated to an Arab country for a job and came back with some start-up capital, the small consumers' shop she opened after returning is not that profitable. Talking of Sirba village, she said the youth did not get loans from the revolving fund whereas some youth in Ude town benefited from the programme. In light of this, she reflected officials give priority for those whom they know or for their relatives. As such, she thinks the kebele officials do not treat all young people found in the kebele equally. There were also other respondents who mentioned this dissatisfaction in the kebele. Wereda officials as well said before the deep renewal initiative taken by the government, the way unemployed youths were identified was different, even those who had their own job used to manipulate officials for undue benefits. However, after the renewal in 2017/18, the people at large have been involved in the identification of those who are unemployed and eligible for government support.

Female kebele respondents added that 15 youth groups or associations are organised in Ude town this year, with a total membership of 92 (31 females). From these 15 groups, 11 have taken loans from the youth revolving fund and started income generating activities. The other four organised groups still did not take the loan and were complaining about that. The kebele on its part has explained that they did not get additional funds to be loaned and advised the young people to rely on their own fund. Municipality and kebele officers were aware of the complaint that the fund was unfairly given for those they know but the officers were defending that the loans were given for those who were organised sooner and had properly followed the procedure. There was also a complaint mentioned by a woman of middle wealth heading a household who said after receiving training to keep hybrid dairy cows in a group of 10, they were not given credit or other support to start operation. And she has associated this with the corrupt behaviour of officials or staff involved in the process. She keeps a local breed cow but uses the milk and milk products largely for household consumption and was thinking of earning more income from these products if the group was to be supported.

A rich male farmer remarked problems related with jobs is nationwide and will not be specific to the young people in this community but severity differs from kebele to kebele or wereda to wereda, depending on the quality of governance and commitment of officials as well as of the young people themselves. He appreciated that the government is trying its best to solve the problem organising young people into groups and providing them loans and other services to run business in order to support themselves. Rather, he complained the problem is the execution of the programme as nothing is implemented as per government direction. He added, at wereda or kebele level everything changes its form and the fund from the government will remain to benefit certain groups at the expenses of other jobless people.

⁶This is cannabis or a local version of it which is smoked.

Kebele respondents who said people take cases that are not solved at the kebele social court to the wereda court also said there is no recent change in terms of how the wereda court serves people. However, some people mentioned that there is corruption and sometimes there is no fair decision, mainly in land related cases. That is why some people appeal and take their cases to higher courts such as the zone higher court in Adama and then to regional Supreme Court of Oromia, in Addis Ababa.

There were also community respondents who complained about unequal treatment in the distribution of government subsidised provisions, particularly sugar and cooking oil. Four females of different social classes said there was unfairness in the distribution of sugar and cooking oil distributed by the kebele. Only some people could take and then resell without giving opportunity for the majority of the residents. A woman land holder added that there is no fair distribution of some materials or services from the kebele. She said she has never bought sugar and cooking oil from the kebele because there is corruption and those who sell always say they are already sold out. In this regard, she suggested the government should improve the service provision system.

Even though not much data was provided in the management of civil servants, the case of the HEW might suggest something in this regard as well. The health extension agent in Ude said that she should have been promoted to wereda health office since she has been serving this community for 14 years but still then she did not get this promotion. She thinks there is no equal treatment by wereda officials who rather promote staff on the basis of relations and good acquaintance.

Regarding possible improvements in the discharge of public services, a rich farmer said that the rewards of public officials are the activities and responsibilities they are providing and discharging for the community. They are working for the people without salary and it is better if they have some incentives so that they would own all activities with responsibility and due attention. He praised them as saying they are serving the community with a high sense of ownership. As an improvement, he added, all cabinet members should be assigned on the basis of their capacity and those who are working for their personal gains should be removed. Regarding those who do not serve honestly, the same spirit was conveyed by a rich man living in town and who said, "They know their benefits. If they don't have benefits why don't they leave their post?" Another rich man living in the town added, "It is not totally fair. The municipality and kebele officials are doing only what they want rather than serving peoples' interest. They are openly asking you money to give you a document for your own land. If you refuse to bribe them, you will be there in front of their office for years without any tangible result."

Complaints that people with connections at wereda and kebele level are better served are widespread. Poor and jobless young people seem to be most affected in the distribution of loans from the regular and the youth revolving fund. Improvement in this regard could benefit mostly the poor and specifically jobless young people. A jobless and poor 19 years old young man said, "Till now it is very negative but I don't know what will happen next. People in the governmental structure are very biased and do not care about the majority of the young people." Even though there is some sign of improvement after the deep renewal, it was not clear whether the degree of nepotism and corruption has changed.

Farming

Smallholder Farming

Smallholder farming in transition may well serve to describe the current status of farming in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. As a result of the cumulative effects of modernising interventions in the farming sector, over the last three decades or so, such phenomena as new crops, pesticides, hybrids and new farming technologies like chemical fertilisers, many aspects of smallholder agriculture have experienced changes. What is more, changes and continuities in other spheres, particularly in politics, economics, society, demography and technology, have significantly affected the

performance and dynamics of smallholder farming. Today, access to farmland is no longer as easy as it used to be as many families, if not most, are living on comparatively smaller holdings left after division and re-division of land by successive generations. Consequently, smallholder farming is taking place with cohorts of landless young people, largely or partly, working for and with their parents. Inheritance or transfers are no longer a secure means of land access for many young people who have come of age and seek independent life.

Further, the available farmlands in Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa villages have been encroached and reduced by expanding urbanisation and rurbanisation and the coming into the area of investors who 'buy' or rent-in other people's holdings largely for investment in chicken production and construction of residential houses. This further reduces the chance of getting land for those who are 'living' on plots that are not better than what an Ethiopian agrarian scholar has once termed as 'starvation plot' and Ethiopian farmers in the north as 'seat for the bottoms'. The challenge is severest for young people and the poor who also lack capital. The rich may find ways of increasing the amount of land cultivated; mostly by renting-in, and very occasionally, by sharecropping in land from others, who, for lack of capital or labour, are unable to cultivate their holdings. While family labour is still important, shortage of farm labour has emerged as a formidable challenge, as formal education - yet another aspect of modernisation- has considerably driven youth labour away from the field. Therefore, the problems of land, labour and capital and the strategies farmers apply to juggle farming and non-farming activities to address these difficulties, in the face of internal and external opportunities and challenges, is transforming the face of traditional smallholder farming in Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

Urbanisation, rurbanisation and government interventions have come with opportunities, possibilities and challenges to the dominant way of smallholder farming. Income from farming is channelled to start and run non-farming businesses whereas the profit from the former, including wage labour, can be used to purchase agricultural inputs, dairy cows and rent-in more land to maximise profit. The true picture, however, is one of both mutually supportive and competitive relationship between smallholder agriculture and modernisation. (There is more on this in the Land and Urbanisation Chapter).

Mere dependence on traditional practices, inputs and technologies is no longer enough to do well and to even survive as smallholder farmers for many households. In addition to the use of agricultural extension services, inputs and technologies, diversification within and outside of farming has become a matter of necessity for both those who want to survive and those wishing to capture opportunities to grow more, though it is short of sufficient for many of the less-resourced and the poor. This shift from a purely traditional to a transitional smallholder economy, the seeds of which were sown some decades ago, has been intensified over the last ten, and more significantly, over the last five years, while some key aspects of farming, like seedbed preparation and threshing, still remain prominently traditional.

As community respondents said, some households are diversifying their means of income by involving in different activities such as trading in crops and livestock, generating income from public transport namely carts, cars and bajajs, opening shops as well as keeping hotels and bars. This is without mentioning scale-up and diversification within the farming sector of crops, livestock and irrigation. What a non-farming woman remarked is expressive of the challenges and opportunities of smallholder farming: "Dependency on a single source of income is difficult to support one's living. Households have to engage in supplementary livelihood activities, including wage labour. If the people merely sit and stick to their single livelihood, their life will not be improved. It deteriorates instead." She added, "The people, as a result, have to engage in additional livelihood activities, particularly people who have small farmland have to do this. If not, the single source of income of the people will deteriorate. At best, the people will likely seek loans from others or their life will ultimately deteriorate to the level of seeking support from others".

This Community Report documents the major changes, continuities, challenges and opportunities of smallholder farming in Ude Dhenkaka kebele over the last five years, the drivers and inhibitors of changes and the overall contexts in which the changes and continuities have taken place, largely from the view points of the community members themselves and to some extent representatives of kebele and wereda administrations. Also, the report is concerned with the probable trajectories of smallholder farming as it runs between and betwixt tradition and modernity.

Land for smallholder crops and grazing

Community members recall when the last rural land redistribution was carried out during the *Derg* regime; the largest land holding of a household was five hectares and the smallest one hectare. Over the last few decades, as parents have been sharing their lands to their marrying out children, the size of land held by households has been continuously decreasing. Due to this, currently, there are many households owning only half a hectare (2 *qert'*)⁷ or even a quarter of a hectare (1 *qert*) of farming land. The process of urbanisation that has been taking place over the years is another factor for the reduction of the amount of land possessed by these farming households. After some parts of the kebele were incorporated into the expanding town of Bishoftu, an increasing number of people have been coming from Addis Ababa, Mojo, Adama, Meki, Shashemenne and Bishoftu itself 'buying' plots of land from individual farmers.

With *teff*, chickpeas, maize and wheat being the major crops grown in the wereda and the former two being more important in the kebele, respondents from the community added, the kebele is very productive and there are people from other places who came to this area to farm, especially by buying land and taking contracts from local farmers.⁸ Those who came many years ago and started farming have established their own families and are still working as farmers. Many respondents were concerned that this is expected to compound the problem of landlessness for poor households and for young people in the kebele. Also, some people who sold their houses in other nearby areas came and bought land for residential purpose. More importantly, many individuals came and bought land to start poultry farming which has today become a dominant feature of investment in the kebele. Accordingly, many farmers over the last seven years have been informally selling their farmlands particularly that found close to the old main, asphalted road running from Addis Ababa to Adama. As a result of this, community members reflected, many farmers now do not own all of the lands they owned some seven years ago.

The process of land transactions in this manner has been intensified over the last five years and constitutes a major socioeconomic change in the area. The prices at which farmers have been informally selling their plots varied; figures respondents mentioned include 150, 240, 260, 270 birr and 300 birr per square meter depending on the location of the land relative to the main road, level of urbanisation in the specific quarter the land is located and its position relative to the specific housing landscape in that place. In Ude, which is a small growing rural town with its municipality since 2012, and a centre of attraction, the price is as high as 300 birr. On the other hand, in Qumbursa, which is still more of rural, the price is lowest, about 150 birr for the same measure of land. The newcomers who bought lands have been doing their businesses, poultry farming and others, including those who built residential houses and are living there doing seeding or planting business. This process of in-migration has been increasing over recent years and residents' projection is that it would keep increasing. Consequently, smallholder land holding and agriculture itself would continue to be affected by these socioeconomic features for the coming years as well, most probably increasing in significance as a major source of livelihood for many rural households in the kebele.

⁷ Four *qert'* is equivalent to one ha.

⁸ Ada'a *woreda* is said to be best for its ambient climatic and environmental conditions for producing different kinds of crops grown in different parts of the country.

According to respondents from the wereda, the performance of each kebele differs depending on their income and geographic opportunities for investment. Ude Dhenkaka kebele is the most convenient and investment active kebele in the wereda. It has fertile soil with favourable weather conditions and for reasons not mentioned farmers in this kebele are educated and have better access to new technologies as it has been chosen as a site to do experimental researches. Farmers in the kebele are pioneers in using new technologies and serve as a model kebele for others. On their part, however, they mentioned that the major concerns are illegal expansion of towns into rural holdings and farmers' land. And still the wereda officials stated civil servants in Ada'a wereda have requested land for residential house construction in Ude Dhenkaka kebele and discussion was held with the farmers about compensation payment. In both cases, these farmers seem to keep losing their holdings and smallholder farming shall remain under threat with ever growing need to adapt itself to the changing context.

There are other socioeconomic aspects of the changes taking place to owning or accessing land for smallholder farming in this community. That per household or per *capita* land holding has generally decreased, together with other socioeconomic changes, has been inviting other changes. In this regard, on top of land under their use right, there are farming households who maximise their opportunities by renting in land from others who rent out the service of their land for lack of labour and other reasons. A 48-year old rich man in addition to his own land, rented in about one hectare of rainfed land from others because he wanted to be richer and needed more produce for his family. Many others have been increasingly renting in and out land, rendering the practice a dominant feature of smallholder transactions in the area.

On the other hand, sharecropping, a significant form of traditional smallholder transaction is nearly fully no more so today, and mostly over the last five years, it has been considerably abating. Respondents from the community recall it used to be a common and important arrangement for those who lacked land or did not have enough or wanted to cultivate more land. Nowadays, however, the importance of this institution is significantly decreasing and being replaced by renting land which has become a common practice. Today there are just a few households who let their land for sharecropping, especially because of lack of plow oxen and other reasons that stand in the way of their ability to cultivate their own land.

Male farmers said there have been two stretches of communal grazing lands in Sirba and Kelala areas on the way to Gafat Armaments Engineering Factory where people used to graze their animals. Around 2014, the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute in collaboration with GIZ and the community, organised the people to protect these grazing lands as an environmental measure to adjust to the ever-changing local climate. In order to achieve this, GIZ had deployed professionals and had brought suitable tree seedlings that were planted through community mobilisation, also enclosing the lands and hiring guards for their protection and upkeep. At the time of this research in the beginning of 2018, the Kelala area forest was in a good standing. During the major rainy season (mid-June through mid-September) the community members cut the grasses and share the harvest among them. Due to this, there is no communal grazing land as such in the area but whenever crop harvests are collected and the farmlands are left fallow, people leave their livestock to freely roam and feed on the stubbles and the overgrowths. As the land holding size is becoming smaller, farming households do not have individual grazing lands and to cope animals are fed more of crop residues. This has made the traditional crop-livestock integration all the more difficult and has been serving as a factor of change in smallholder agriculture as households are adopting zero grazing or the cut-and-carry system and have to depend on factory products as additional livestock feed.

Image 1. Livestock foraging on stubbles



Despite growing reduction in farmland and introduction of investment and other non-farming economic activities, land ownership is still an important source of livelihood for those who own relatively more land and can muster available opportunities to work other peoples' holdings. This is evident from the observation of a woman engaged in small trading: having farmland as large as one hectare makes households richer and, over time, this is becoming more so with technological advancement which is enabling them to produce more. Two young respondents from poor households stated that farmland is an indispensable resource for rural livelihood in Ude Dhenkaka kebele but expressed their doubts this can be the option for young people because of land scarcity. One of them remarked this may be true for those working on irrigation cooperatives. Talking about youth policies and programmes a female wereda official said there was no intervention in which farmlands were given to individuals, including young people as private plots.

Community respondents also spoke about land allocation or reallocation, a centre of political gravity in rural Ethiopia across different regimes. They mentioned there has not been new rural land allocation since the one done during the *Derg* time. Land was already allocated and owned by farmers. As in other parts of the country, common lands are in the hands of the kebele as an organ of the state which is by Constitutional law the only legal owner of land together with the people at large. As such, kebele and wereda officials are the main actors to allocate common lands for youths or for developmental activities like building public schools.

It is important to note that rural residents stated that the current amount of land in the hands of households is partly a function of historical factors. The largest amounts of lands in the kebele are in the hands of native residents who took land during the *Derg* regime or before that. There are no young people owning large amounts of land. Those having large land holding in the rural area may also have some land in towns. In the last ten years, there are farmers who have lost significant amounts of land to the construction of the Express Road connecting the capital Addis Ababa and Adama. The farmers who lost their holdings received compensation payments but still complain about this which they say was not fair and sufficient. In fact, it has been repeatedly mentioned by different respondents that small amounts of compensation made by government has been serving as an important factor leading to pre-emptive and informal sale of land in the kebele over the years (particularly along the old highway).

Wives' farming activities

Women's farming activities in the kebele are significant and it can be said these activities take place in two social contexts. Where women are living with their husbands and children, their role is largely about providing support services for the male members of the household to do most of the labour-intensive farming activities. In such households, while the husbands may consult their wives, agricultural management, to a larger extent, is handled by the men. In case of households hiring

domestic labour, there is an add-on to the role of the women in preparing food and other provisions to support farm work.

In the second social context, where wives have become divorcees or widows, the overall management of the household including farm activities rests on the women, supported by their male children, if any, and hired agricultural labourers, where possible, who the women have to manage themselves. Females heading households do the management of farming activities, whether or not the household cultivates its own holding, which means more of managerial work for the women, or the land is rented out. This managerial responsibility is even more pronounced in the case of females heading households and renting-in land in addition to their holdings. In such cases, hiring longer-term, shorter-term and day labourers as well as serving, paying and managing them is a significant, additional responsibility for the women.

In both social contexts, garden irrigation of vegetables is largely carried out by wives or women, while digging wells, done by only some households, is a male-dominated job. Since most of vegetables irrigation in Ude Dhenkaka kebele is carried out during the wet season, this offers the opportunity also for women who do not have water wells, as far as land or garden is available for irrigation. Again, in both social contexts but probably more so in households headed by females, non-farm activities, already mentioned as necessary supplementation to the rural economy, require additional time and efforts of women, affecting their role in farming activities or creating stress on them when striving to cope and effectively divide themselves between the two. A rich male farmer, who said his agricultural activities are increasing over the last five years, enjoys the support of his children who work both on the family holding and rented-in lands, while during the rainy season, his wife is used to cultivating vegetables in their garden. Lack of wells for irrigation, he regretted, prevents her from doing this during the dry season- a lost chance for the family but also an additional burden for the woman were it practiced.

Data from fieldwork do not indicate significant change in the course of the past five years about women's agricultural activities. While the customary division of labour has largely continued as before, it seems possible to sense some or incipient changes that have been fermenting. The growing importance of dairy cows, which has been increasing over the last five years, though many poor or less-resourced households are unable to buy these animals, seems to have increased women's activities in the upkeep of livestock, milking, sale of milk and milk products even though the men are also involved. However, since improved dairy cows are big investment for farming households and sales of milk are made to milk processing factories as well, men are also involved in the management of this business. Chicken production, both for meat and eggs, has been attracting more households and women in the course of the last five years, hence also increasing the extent of women's activities in farming, although men also took up poultry, especially on a larger scale.

Women from all social classes unanimously complained that the extension services are male-focused. For instance, when agricultural development agents make a call for public meetings to disseminate useful information, say, on row-planting; it is the men who mostly attend these meetings. Women may have two opportunities to access second-hand information and advice: either from their husbands who may share this information with their household members or from informal social interactions in their villages, including their neighbours.

Farm labour

In the last five years, Ude Dhenkaka kebele has experienced some changes in terms of agricultural labour even though family labour has continued as a major source of labour for the majority of the farming households. As part of the change, farmers have been facing increasing difficulty getting workers willing to work on monthly and annual bases because of better opportunities such as in the construction and the industry sectors which offer higher, longer-term payment and daily rates. Because of this competitive environment, both male and female respondents agree that the cost of

agricultural labour in the case of both local and in-migrant workers has increased to 2,500 to 3,000 birr per month. Daily rates have also increased as part of the change.

Family labour

Family labour is the main source of labour for most households. Households of all economic status depend on their family labour contingent on composition of household, especially availability of male labour and the circumstances of each household. The source of family labour is both one's own household and to some extent the households of relatives, especially close relatives. The male household head, the mother/wife and children, however, form the core of family labour force, this being very problematic in households headed by women and lacking in child labour. Some farmers, mostly those who lack labour or who do not have someone to work for them, like females heading households, rent out their farmlands to others. As female respondents mentioned, the crucial importance of family labour is epitomized in the fact that most females heading households with no male labour are forced to rent-out their farmlands to others. Over the last five years, the price of renting land has increased, now ranging from about 2,000 up to 3,000 birr per *qert'*, that is 0.25 hectare of farmland, depending on the quality of the land. At first sight, this might give the impression that these women are highly benefiting but it is not so as a closer look would reveal. Those who rent-in other people's land are earning very huge profits the women are forced to give up.

The importance of the male child labour is reflected in the following case:

Box 7. Male child labour

A very poor woman, aged 50, married and having seven children lives with her husband and solely depends on farming to support their living. The woman guessed their land holding is about six *qert'*; but the man corrected it was just four *qert'* (half a hectare) left after they had given a half *qert'* of cropland to each of their sons who married out. At a point, she said, her husband fell down and had a broken hand. Because of that and old age and some hearing impairment, he was unable to work after the injury. It was their able-bodied son, unmarried and living with the family, who took the job of ploughing the land for the family. The family has an ox which is teamed with that of one of their married sons to plough the family land. The married son has been also supporting his unemployed brother by working the family's land.

Brothers and others also extend their helping hand in farming for those who lack the labour. A female farmer who has been renting-in land because she does not own any and was doing this even before divorcing her husband, who was working as a day labourer while she was also working as a small trader, has her brothers support her in farming the land she rents- in. She got divorced because her husband was often drunk and did not work hard to improve their living. She has been renting-in two or three *qert'* for the last four or five years and this year (2017/18 production year) she was renting-in four *qert'* of farmland which she cultivates with the assistance of her brothers and some day labourers. Also, in the case of a middle-income female heading a household, she is the one managing the farming activities of her household in addition to domestic activities but she is supported by her children when they have free time.⁹

It has to be noted that family labour is also very instrumental for farming even in some very rich and middle-wealth households. In one case, a very rich household where the husband and wife are living with their five children (the sixth got married) and have been engaged in both farming and non-farming activities, the husband said the family does not have people working for him as domestic

⁹ These cases suggest that even though female headed households mostly are forced to rent out their holdings, there are such households who maneuver available opportunities to not only farm their lands but also additional rented-in lands. Further studies might better explain the difference in this regard.

servants or day labourers, even though they were also renting-in large plots of land from other farmers.

Agricultural workers

As before 2012, agricultural workers employed on relatively longer-term bases still form a source of labour for many financially able households. Constituted by locals and in-migrants from different parts of the country, they provide seasonal and annual agricultural labour and some household services for payment in cash as well as food and shelter accommodation. Compared to five years ago, the numbers of people working in these activities are decreasing because after serving for some time they shift to work in the nearby factories or to involve in non-farming day labour that offer better income. In addition, indulgence in alcohol affects their performance making the industrious ones limited in number. To cope with this difficulty, an output-based contractual arrangement has been introduced, mostly for such seasonal activities as harvesting and threshing, also allowing the in-migrants to go back to their places when the season's works are finished. All respondents approached in the community stated that in the to-do list of these workers are ploughing, weeding, harvesting, threshing, looking after the cattle, and assisting in such household chores as fetching water. A rich female farmer with five household members, including her husband and three children living with them, remarked that employing agricultural workers requires not only paying and caring for their needs (food and shelter in the case of longer-term arrangements) but also managing them.

Another rich female farmer aged 45 and having seven children, owns 2.5 hectares of farmland with her husband. While her husband is the one who mainly manages the farm work, sometimes the family hired a worker for a monthly salary of 3,000 birr, also covering his food and shelter. Like other respondents, she also stated that since recently, getting farm labourers has become difficult as the labourers want to work in other better-paying activities such as construction of houses which has been booming over the last five years. Due to this, starting from last year, in addition to hiring a farm worker, she started to give some agricultural work such as threshing on contractual bases so as to facilitate farming activities. Her husband is a model farmer and in 2015 was awarded for best performance.

Box 8. A young male labourer from Selale

This man said he is originally from Salale (west Shewa) and has been working for farmers in Sirba as a domestic agricultural worker for many years since he came to this area. Over the years, he has worked for different farming households in this village. Previously, he had worked for two years for a man called Damisse and currently he is working for another man, Tamiru. All the community in Sirba have known him for several years and getting employment is not a big deal for him. It has been almost 10 years since he has been working here as a domestic agricultural worker. His duties are ploughing, fetching water, fencing, and cleaning compounds and other lighter household activities. He works every day except Saints' days namely those dedicated for Virgin Mary, Emanuel, Micheal, Aboye and Baleweld. He has half-day off on Saturdays. Depending on the season, the working hours of the day are different. During the rainy season, almost all hours of the day are working hours because it is a busy season.

He said payment and incentives are contingent on availability of employment. At the time of fieldwork during the first quarter of 2018, he was earning only 500 birr per month because it was a non-farming season and he was almost on vacation. In the rainy season, however, he earns from 1,000 to 1,200 birr per month in addition to food and accommodation. He gets all services from his employers except clothes which he has to buy for himself. Sometimes, his employers may give him their old clothes for free. As he is from a farming family, he came to Sirba with the required agricultural skills. He does not have non-work-related relations with his employers. His future plan is to continue working as a domestic agricultural worker as far as he is healthy and strong.

Working in Sirba, he mentioned facing no problem but has a simple concern that he does not like fetching water because in his homeland this is a female job. It is a shame for a male to do this.

Regarding networks, he said he does not have any relationship with any person in any position. Last year was a very difficult time for him as he was seriously sick and no one took him to a hospital, probably suggesting he has little help from the community members. Then, his parents were called from Salale, came and took him to a hospital where he was cared for and released after treatment and getting well. About providing help to others he said himself needs the support of others.

Daily labour

This form of labour has been supplementing the agricultural labour pool of households for several years and the changes that have taken place in the course of the last five years are the same as those mentioned for longer-term agricultural workers. An agricultural day labourer from the community stated there are local day labourers who work the same activities as longer-term labourers. Work is seasonal so that ploughing activities are mainly during the rainy season whereas other activities like threshing and fencing compounds are during the dry season. He is working all the time as he does not have difficulty getting a job. Like other respondents, he mentioned that the daily rate is now almost 100 birr and this has been increasing from time to time. A few years ago, he recalled, labourers worked for smaller daily rates of 30 or 40 birr. While they may, as in the experience of this male respondent, it is not a requirement that employers provide food and drink for day labourers. Because of in-migrants coming from different parts of the country, competitions over daily agricultural activities are increasing and especially in recent years, competition over non-agricultural activities is very high. Whatever competitions are there, he proudly mentioned his work is highly valued among the community so that he is always engaged. While in-migrants may reduce their daily rate, he added, it is difficult for new faces to get hired as farmers tend to hire those who are familiar with them and whose performances are confirmed.

Day labourers work all the days of the week except Sundays. When day labourers have to commute, travelling expenses are on them and no additional payments than the daily rates are made. In addition to food, a few people may tip them for work done. He does not have relations with his employers. He has a very small plot of land which he rents out for lack of an ox to plough it. He was contemplating a job change in the future because he was a bit going old to go on as a day labourer. However, he lamented unless his livelihood was going to improve, he does not have any other option. About problems he is facing in this job, he said it is very labour intensive and needs more energy. He has relationships with kebele officials and *gare* leaders-development team leaders. He also receives support from the community; this year, his child sustained a chest injury and he borrowed from his brother-in-law the 4,000 birr he paid for medical expenses. He was all paid up at the time of this interview. In addition to help from others, he also extends his helping hand to others; a few days before the interview, he gave 100 birr for his friend who fell sick and was short of money to go to a hospital.

In-migrant labour

In-migrant labourers come from different parts of the country. They are already partly reported in the section on longer-term agricultural workers. Most said for agricultural workers is also true for in-migrant labourers. They are largely, if not fully, males who come and work during peak agricultural times or stay working for years on, some for several, doing agricultural and related works for different employers in exchange for cash payment, food and shelter.

Box 9. An in-migrant daily labourer

An in-migrant agricultural day labourer said his major activities are ploughing, harvesting, threshing and fencing compounds. He works all days of the week except Sundays. The daily rates are now 80-100 birr and rates have been increasing from time to time. He does not get food or other incentives from his employers. In recent years, competition is increasing and day labourers face difficulties of getting jobs because people have their own customers and do not want to

employ new job seekers as they may not trust their skills and industriousness. He pays from his own pocket to commute between home and his work places in Ude Dhenkaka and has no especial relationships with his employers, who, he simply knows as members of the community. He is entirely dependent on daily labour for his living.

He started this job because of conflict over land with his brother in another kebele. He complained his brother did not allow him to inherit his share of their late father's land on account that he was adopted somewhere else as a *gudifacha* child. Nonetheless, now that they have agreed on most of the issues that run them into conflict, his plan is to go back to his village, where he has six *qert'* of land, and do his own farming. Like other day labourers, his problem with the job is that it is labour intensive. He has no relationship with wereda or kebele officials and receives no support from others and does not support others on his part, either.

A rich male farmer aged 48 and owning two hectares of land, has hired a male domestic worker for 3,000birr per month. It is not annual or permanent employment; he may engage his employee just for one or two months after which the worker will have to leave. The man corroborates with other respondents that there is no domestic servant who may agree to work in other peoples' house for an annual salary because of the availability of better-paying daily labour in the area.

Both wereda officials and community respondents agree that there is an increasing number of job seeking landless persons coming from other places to Ude Dhenkaka kebele and the Bishoftu area at large. They, in most cases, work as daily labourers. During the time of harvest, many people come from different places including North Shewa, Gonder and Gojam as well. They are hired to work for a limited period of time and go back to their places.

Customary work exchanges

Farmers suggested that the custom of exchanging labour among themselves for agricultural activities (like harvesting and threshing) has been on the decrease over the years. The two institutions called *walfala* and *debo*, carried out in rounds by team members, are not as important as they were even some five years ago and they have become less useful in the course of the past five years. In the former, individuals team up to work for one another in an equally reciprocal arrangement. In the latter, there is no requirement to work for others in turn but the organisers or the beneficiaries, by custom, will have to prepare and serve food and drink for the people working for them. In other parts of Ethiopia such as Wello, this necessitates yet other work parties for women who prepare the food and drink, suggesting how costly it might be.¹⁰

Despite being a common institution in the past, currently, only a few people request and organise large work parties. Some respondents attributed the decrease to people's waning interest to work in large parties' because of the growing interest in or preference to working for money. This statement suggests increasing number of locals selling their labour over the years but the data do not show this and it might also be due to households' preference to hire labour than organise food and drink for the parties. In fact, respondents also stated no one is interested in *debo*, mentioning growing individualism or decreasing selflessness as part of the explanation. Like the large parties, reciprocal work arrangements between small numbers of farmers have become very minimal compared to the past; some people are interested and a few might be practicing them. The same reason, that is growing self-orientation, partly explains the dying out of this work institution as well. There are few and very poor people who work for rich farmers in exchange for grain crops or food. Respondents also talked about the situation of labour exchange between two farmers- a traditional practice in itself- which has been on the decrease like the other larger forms of work parties.

10In the anthropological literature, this form of collective labour may not be fully considered free labour as people will not be providing their labour unless it is in exchange for the food and drink which incur cost for the organizers. Instances of well- to-do people using this custom as a strategy of amassing wealth are also reported in the literature.

Agricultural modernisation and new farming initiatives

Agricultural equipment or machinery

Tractors

The research site is still heavily, if not fully, dependent on traditional way of tilling the land and, as before, has seen no change in terms of using tractors over the last five years. Before five years or so, use of tractors for ploughing was started but farmers were not interested in it for various reasons such that its introduction was not replicated and expanded like other agricultural technologies such as improved seeds. Farmers did not find tractors as effective as the traditional means of tilling land which is based on oxen-pulled ploughs. Reasons mentioned by farmers are: it does not break the soils fine enough, leaving clods, and this is more so as there is rush to finish as many hectares of land as possible within a short time. This very coarse soil preparation, farmers said, is a cause of low production and, of course, wastes money paid for the service. In addition, farmers stated it is very difficult to further plough by traditional methods using oxen-drawn ploughs land that has been ploughed by a tractor.

That the rental service of tractors is expensive is also an important factor as some respondents have mentioned which at time of this research, stood at 2,000 birr per a hectare of land. The Maibasy Farmers' Union's tractor, which farmers may have access to, has been dysfunctional and might have its impact in not having attracted people to use the technology. A few farmers still have the interest to use tractors, an opportunity that may be exploited to attract others. However, the cost might prohibit many from doing this.

Box 10. A household with the interest to use tractors

A middle-wealth female heading household owns two hectares of land. Last year, she has tried to get her land ploughed by tractor but the land was dry and the tractor did not manage the ploughing. They stopped the ploughing, as a result. Actually, it is easy to get tractor on contract. There are brokers who put the farmers in touch with the owners of the tractors. It is 700 birr to plough a fourth of a hectare. In light of this, she expressed determination to improve her farming trying all better means of doing this.

New ploughs

Ude Dhenkaka kebele has not yet experienced the introduction of new ploughs as well, a probable evidence for the superiority of the traditional tilling technique over the use of tractors.

Combine harvesters

Respondents said no one in the community has so far used combine harvesters. A respondent mentioned of farmers in Arsi and Bale who have been making use of this technology for wheat and barley production, also saying that there is no combine harvester technology introduced for teff, in a way explaining a lack of demand to use the technology as teff is a predominant cereal crop in the kebele

Threshers

The community knows a threshing machine called SELAM is used to thresh teff, maize and wheat. This machine was introduced by the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute mainly for teff. According to one informant, farmers like this technology as it has the capacity of threshing massive quantity of teff within a short time. However, very few farmers are used to rent this threshing machine from other towns such as Meki and Alem Tena to thresh teff so that the majority of the farmers still thresh in the traditional method. That the rental of this machine is very expensive, which is 150 birr per hour, is mentioned as a reason for non-uptake. No one from the community

has bought this machine and made available to the people which might have reduced the rental price. The combined effect is that farmers continue threshing teff in the traditional way.

Image 2. Cereals in traditional threshing method



Other mechanised equipment

There is no other mechanised agricultural equipment introduced or in use by the community.

New and improved seeds and seedlings

When improved seeds were introduced for the first time most of the farmers were not willing to adopt them to avoid risk and chose to continue planting the old varieties. However, after observing the positive results of the early adopters, the others also started using the newly introduced improved seeds. Accordingly, over time, different types of improved seeds have been introduced and adopted: some of them are known as *quncha*, *kora*, *dagim*, *boset* and *Tesfaye*. Community respondents recalled in 2008/9, the Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency introduced row-planting to improve productivity and production and to also economise seeds. As a result, some farmers started planting in rows but the technique was left short of a satisfactory level of adoption; as it is labour intensive, the majority of the farmers did not apply it. On the other hand, improved seeds have been continuously introduced and farmers have always been on the look for improved ones.

The supply of seeds is quite institutionalised in the area. The Farmers' Service Co-operative found in Ude and originally established to serve six kebeles namely Ude, Qumbursa and Sirba, which later were collapsed into one kebele, is currently serving Ude Dhenkaka, Enselale, Gobesaye and Kelala kebeles. The seed provision service is further buttressed by a Farmers' Seeds School (FSS) in the neighbouring kebele of Gobesaye, a school established through the support of JICA (Japanese International Cooperation Agency). In addition to those in Gobesaye, farmers in Ude Dhenkaka and the surrounding kebeles have the chance of learning, knowledge exchange and information sharing about newly or recently released improved seeds. Also, when farmers from these neighbouring kebeles meet at the Farmers' Co-operatives to procure such modern agricultural inputs, they have an extra advantage for farmer- to-farmer- interaction and exchange of resources.

Starting from about 2009/10 the Agricultural Research Institute has been introducing different types of improved seeds. For instance, nucleus seeds were the former seeds that farmers were using so far. After that the institute investigated and introduced pre-basic seeds and following these it introduced basic seeds and finally certified seeds. These are new technologies that have helped farmers get high yields. Seven years ago, some farmers were resistant to use these seeds and rather were using the old variety seeds. Early adopters, including educated farmers, were eager and had properly planted the new seeds. After these farmers witnessed the benefits accrued to these early adopters, including model farmers, they started using the newly introduced improved seeds. As a result of this, there are now some farmers, who, out of full awareness of the benefit and interest to gain more, approach the institute in search of newly improved seeds. The need for ever improved seeds can be taken as a sign as a successfully institutionalised modern seeds provision that needs to

work more in order to satisfy the ever-growing need of the farmers. Even though the introduction and supply of improved seeds are said to be continuous, farmers have been doing with those supplied before five years and no respondent mentioned any new introduction in the last five years.

The other interesting aspect in this regard is the establishment in Sirba of a Seeds Producing and Selling Company in 2013. Apart from producing and selling improved seeds the company buys improved seeds from the local farmers who produce improved seeds in a recently started way called system of clustering, started and promoted by the company. In this clustering system, farmers owning adjoining plots agree to plant same crops in order to avoid mixing while broadcasting the seeds and thereby to also ensure pure seeds to be resold to the company and the local farmers. Bringing local farmers in the process of seeds multiplication has augmented farmers' access to improved seeds and this is a significant change experienced in the last five years.

Pesticides

Traditionally weeds were solely treated in two ways: pre-and post-planting. The first is repeated and interspersed tillage or seedbed preparation that allowed weeds to sprout and then to be pulled up, turned down and destroyed during successive tillage, especially for cereals and most particularly for teff. The second method is removing the weeds by hand, after the fields are planted and the plants are growing. For that reason and non-availability of modern weed killers, farmers did not apply pesticides on their field crops until recent times when they became aware of them and started applying a holistic weed killer called Round-up that destroys all weeds found in a field. It is interesting to note that the farmers have also developed the knowledge that if the weed killer is applied on a field crop one year, then the land needs to be planted with another crop the other year; otherwise, the effect of the weed killer would affect farm productivity. Speaking of this, a male farmer said, Round-up indiscriminately kills all vegetations, including grasses which it automatically kills, leaving just the bare soil. The narratives of respondents suggest that farmers have accepted it as a useful input as it greatly saves them time, energy and cash with regard to weeding, which is labour-intensive and difficult. Therefore, the use of Round-up can be considered a significant change of the past five years in agricultural modernisation. However, it would be useful doing some thinking forward on the basis of what farmers have already known about the effect of this weed killer. Its impact on long-term production and local ecology needs to be understood in the future.¹¹

Fertilisers and soil improvers

All respondents agree that for many years farmers have been applying the two chemical fertilisers commonly used in Ethiopia namely, DAP and Urea. However, from 2016 on, there has been a significant and unprecedented change as farmers were introduced and started using a new type of fertiliser called NPS (Nitrogen Phosphate fertiliser) innovated by an Ethiopian scientist.¹² For other soil types, they use Zinc and *borew* (respondent was not sure about the wording). Thus, unlike three years ago, farmers are not using Urea and DAP; rather these new fertilisers are applied based on their suitability to the three major soil types in the kebele. Also, data from the field illustrate the communities have properly listened to the DAs and have been regularly practicing crop rotation as a soil improving technique. This, nonetheless, may need verification as crop rotation is one of the oldest traditional farming techniques.

Milk processing and poultry farm technology

For many years, farmers have been keeping modern breeds of cows for milking and new breeds of chickens for meat and eggs. Farmers have got used to these cross-bred and exotic stocks mainly

¹¹ A media appearance (government radio) by an Ethiopian weed scientist on 03 August 2018 acknowledges the benefits of weed killers but recommends that these chemicals be used only when the fields are large and removing the weeds manually is difficult.

¹² According to community informants, NPS was developed by Dr. Tekalege, who was awarded a sum of USD 60,000 his innovation.

supplied by the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute but also private companies, and also based on information and education provided them by DAs. With this, sale of milk, milk products and eggs has become an important source of income for many farming households. As part of this development, since last year, chicken production has been experiencing different technologies, including use of improved feed. Nevertheless, all respondents said hybrid dairy cows are expensive so that the number of people involved in rearing modern cows for milk has not increased as one may expect it. There is no new milk processing technology introduced even though the number of people keeping dairy cows has been, though modestly, increasing. Farmers buy the improved Holstein Friesian breed cows from the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute and, when calves are born to them, they sell the new-borns to other community members, helping in the expansion of these breeds.

Honey processing technology

No honey processing technologies have been introduced; in fact, only a few households keep honey bees. Education and awareness creation made by development agents to introduce transition (and then modern) bee hives appears to be just a half-hearted attempt so that no one has one of these hives in the Kebele at the moment.

Irrigation technology

Irrigated agriculture has remained traditional and limited over the years and there has not been significant change over the last five years. Gravity-fed irrigation is not practiced in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. The largely plain landscape and lack of rivers and perhaps the traditional focus on cereal crops might be some of the factors. The kebele's recent history of irrigated agriculture seems to have started in 2009, the time the NGO called Passion Connect, now transformed into an investment company, dug wells and introduced a group of interested farmers to drip irrigation.

This NGO organized 24 farmers in a form of association and supported them to dig wells to get underground water for drip irrigation using electric pumps. The NGO started with some members of the association who it supported digging the wells and getting the pumps, expecting the rest of the members to copy this demonstration by themselves. The initiative resulted in about seven hectares of land that were irrigated. However, the intervention of this NGO was phased out and it is no longer working in the area. Two irrigation canals built under the scheme are not functional, either.

A female respondent stated her husband was one of the members of the association. They used to produce onions, tomatoes, and green peppers on their fields. However, she said, the irrigation was stopped due to lack of agreement among the 24 members of the association. Some of the members were on board while others did not show up at the work place. Hence, they stopped working with the joint irrigation and every member started to separately produce on their own plots.

The introduction of wells, canals and the like were expected to be intensified by a government-financed project which started roughly at about the same time. This project, termed the Oromia Ada'a-Becho Project set off with a much bigger vision and modern technology. It established a committee involving communities and training of orientations were provided for local farmers. In different places; it dug nine wells to the depth of 300 meters using heavy machineries. Many smaller holes (chambers) of about four meters depth were also excavated around the deep wells. The design is said to be linking all these holes together with pipes so that the flow of water from one hole to the other can be regulated. Pump tests were made on the nine deep wells and the results have shown enough groundwater discharge, further igniting hope in the community and the wereda.

The project, initially designed to be completed within two years, is much behind schedule. That it is exceptional to the area and needs much cost are stated as justification for the delay. Also built was an electric powerhouse; and a generator made available as a backup in case of power interruption. The plan was to fix the deep wells with submersible pumps. According to wereda and other respondents, each and every cost was and to be covered by the project with no community

contribution at all. The project, when complete, was said to be having the capacity of irrigating about 300 hectares of land (including about 117 hectares in Sirba, 50 hectares in Qumbursa, about 75 hectares in Ude). The plan was for the wereda irrigation office to complete and hand over the scheme to the community who would then manage it by themselves. Wereda officials said when the project is ready for use; it will significantly scale-up the use of wells, pumps and canals/ditches for agricultural irrigation in these communities. It is the government that is fully funding the installation of this project. It has been six years since the installation of the project was started.

Image 3. Part of the outputs of the delayed irrigation project



Community members have been feeling the negative impact of this prolonged delay, an example of a significant problem in the quality of local governance. In this regard, a woman heading a middle wealth household stated she did not try to use motor pump to produce vegetables since it takes 10,000 birr to dig a well and 30,000 birr for the motor pump. Besides, she said starting from 2012/13, it has been said that irrigation water from this project would be released for the community. There are two water harvesting chambers dug in her farmland. However, as the water has not been released so far, she did not try to irrigate her farmland. Thus, in terms of irrigation, she said she was not successful as she has not till now irrigated her land waiting for the project to become functional.

Respondents from the community said private investors buy land from local farmers, dig wells and grow vegetables through irrigation. The community members are in turn buying vegetables from these investors for good prices. Furrows or ditches are currently used by these and some local farmers to channel well water into their gardens and compounds for irrigation purposes. Pumps are used to pull up the water from the wells. Ponds are not used for irrigation in the area. Some households are irrigating vegetables such as onions, cabbages, cauliflower, and tomatoes drawing

underground water from hand dug wells. Due to this, people have started selling more of these vegetables than was the case five years ago.

New crops and technologies

There have been changes and improvements to grain and vegetable crops even though there has been no new crop (or variety?) introduced over the last five years. The teff variety known as *boset* and other types of gains, introduced five years ago, are still in use as improved seed supplies fulfilling the need of farmers for high yield and quality. Most of the time, advanced cereals and vegetables seeds are introduced by the government and also the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute, private companies, Farmers' Service Co-operative and farmers' seeds associations multiplying and distributing seeds. Sometimes, there are NGOs which primarily introduce new vegetables and fruits. Model farmers are the first ones to adopt new and improved varieties and respondents from the community stated this is because they have money to put into trials. This, however, does not mean that model farmers are the only beneficiaries. As before, over the last five years, the community at large has been following the early adopters in using the new supplies and sharing the benefits of new technologies and inputs made available.

Community members also benefit from vegetable crops production (done through irrigation) even though not all of them are engaged in this activity. Frost and pests may highly damage vegetable production, both in terms of quantity and quality and fall in market price sometimes is another down side. Rural households, including those who do not grow vegetables, are using the produce in their diets which they may buy from their villages at cheap or discounted prices. In fact, in a more impacting manner, non- model farmers are also adopting the production of vegetables through irrigation. Community members who do not adopt new crops and technologies are mainly poor people who lack land, money and other necessary inputs to adopt new technologies, including improved seeds. Landless people, who also lack the resources to rent-in or secure land in other ways, are the ones who may be harmed in general in the sense that they are not able to get their share of these improvements.

Respondents assessed as good the contribution of government in the introduction of new seeds but also raised concern about the capacity of the people to procure these inputs and that landless people could not make use of the opportunity. In addition to selling at village level, those who are producing vegetables are supplying their produce to big traders in the nearby town of Bishoftu while sometimes the traders themselves come to Sirba and get into an advance arrangement to procure them before harvest is collected. The market demand for new crops and vegetables has been increasing from time to time.

Over time, different types of improved seeds have been introduced including those called *qunc'o*, *kora*, *dagim*, *boset*, and *Tesfaye* for teff. The community of Sirba has a comparative advantage because of the availability of the agricultural research centre in Bishoftu as well as different private companies. Consequently, they have improved varieties for most of the crops they grow and supply is always reliable while high prices might serve as deterrents to poor farming households.

The provision of improved seeds has also been supported by new technologies to boost production and productivity. Community respondents stated the Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency introduced row-planting in 2008/9. Following this, some people started planting in rows but as it was found to be labour-intensive, the majority of the farmers did not apply it. Some respondents added while it is inconvenient for teff, it might be good for maize, wheat and sorghum. All the same, the experience of a woman proves that row-planting is also effective for teff. She recalled trying it for teff back in 2014 and the harvest, in her assessment, was better than if the seeds were broadcast. However, like others, she found it "too labour-intensive and tiresome" and did not try it again after that.

Much more than this, the production of crops has been supported by sustained supply of fertilisers, including new ones suitable for each soil type and the introduction of weed killers, including a holistic weed killer called Round-up. Tractors, threshers and combine harvesters have nearly zero uptakes and neither has government intervened or pushed to introduce these technologies. Use of compost has been also negligible and the past five years have not seen progress in this regard. Irrigation still has some contribution for vegetables production even though the initiative that was picking up before five years does not seem to have maintained itself to the present. In the case of cereals, irrigation is applied only to some extent for maize. Non-adopters are mainly poor people who lack land, money and other inputs to adopt new seeds. Landless people are harmed in general because of not being able to share the benefit.

New livestock and technologies

Livestock production, supported by hybrids has been increasing over the last five years, mainly through dairy production, fattening and fowl keeping for chicken and eggs. Farmers have been buying cross-breed dairy cows from the Bishoftu Agricultural Institute, Passion Agro-furniture PLC, and from other private farms in Bishoftu such as Alema and Genesis farms. The use of Borana breed and sires of other improved breeds is increasing as well as artificial insemination supplied by the wereda agricultural office for nominal fees.

The agricultural centre has been providing training to the farmers in livestock production as in crop production. Poultry farming forms part of this and the farmers have been producing cross-bred chickens, and, some years ago, the NGO Passion Connect provided some chickens for women. Through time, the number of people involved in poultry farming has been increasing and this activity has become a major means for many households who have improved their livelihoods. Similarly, respondents from the community noted that the area is experiencing poultry farming as a newly emerging business or investment as a result of some individuals coming from other areas, buying lands from the local farmers and building big tin-sheds to house the birds and also a few locals joining in.

Modernisation changes taken together

Over the decades, government institutions have been in the lead with regard to modernising agriculture, even though the role of private companies and investors has been on the increase, especially during the last five years. Improved and new seeds, improved livestock breeds, chemical fertilisers, pesticides, row-planting, and irrigation have been important modernising aspects with differential uptake and effects at community and household levels. However, some of these features have been well accepted and are put into widespread application whereas others are rejected and not put into use. Seen from this view point, improved seeds, improved livestock, and chemical fertilisers have done very well whereas row-planting, tractors and threshing machines were found to be less useful and in fact, as some community respondents said, waste of resources for reasons mentioned in the sections above.

The adoption of new technologies has been also dependent on issues that have to do with household resources and level of education. Those who have the cash purchase modern inputs while the poor have difficulty accessing these resources. People who are landless or have a small amount of land are similarly unable to use modern inputs, and when using, may be forced to apply less amount of a resource, say, fertiliser than officially recommended for a given unit of land. Conversely, the rich rent-in more land, mostly from the poor, and apply more of these modern inputs to get additional benefits. The same is true with improved dairy cows the cost of which, including feed, is very expensive and unaffordable for many poor households.

Owing to government and also the private sector, modern inputs and technologies are in good or relatively better supply in Sirba. Over the years, farmers stated they have been using more and more amounts of fertilisers and the introduction of soil-specific fertilisers has advanced the practice of soil

conditioning, including the new practice of applying fertilisers for chickpeas. Dairy production is highly increasing and similarly chicken production, mainly due to small-scale investors coming from other places. Production of vegetables through irrigation (drip, canal, rope and bucket) existed before five years and is still continues even though it is wanting in government assistance and not doing well as it used to before five years. Timely provision of improved seeds and fertilisers is less of an issue now as the Farmers' Union and Farmers' Service Co-operatives - themselves results of the modernising effects of the government- have been and still are in operation and a new seed company has started operation organising farmers as well, who are producing improved seeds in a cluster-based system. This need has become more prominent as farmers have to apply more and more amount of fertilisers on the same amount of land to get the same amount of harvest as before. The use of a holistic weed killer called Roundup may be questionable though it is not yet an issue. Some modernising attempts like row-planting have been a failure and need to be re-scrutinized based on available and new research findings. Market linkage remains an issue today as it was five years ago.

Modernisation changes with regard to both crop and livestock production, which started a number of decades ago, are still ongoing with more success stories than failure. It also appears that the private sector and NGOs, though to a limited degree, have been involving along with the government. More needs to be done to drive the successes further as in the case of soil type-specific fertilisers, the new practice of applying more amounts of fertilisers but also new interventions to ensure that the benefits of agricultural modernisation are equitably distributed among the different economic classes of the community.

Crop-livestock and products mixes

Crops

Crop mix in the community

The Ude Dhenkaka community grows different types of crops from the cereals, pulses, root crops, vegetables, fruits and coffee in different magnitudes whereas oilseeds, spices, and *chat*¹³ are not grown. Cereals include teff, wheat and barley with teff taking the most significant amount of land. There are different varieties for teff which is one of the three major crops grown followed by chickpeas and lentils. These are namely *kora*, *qunc'o*, *magna*, *dukem* and *boset*, the last being the most in demand and fetching the best market price. Owing to this, *boset* is grown by all farming households and intensive training has been given on its production, including fertiliser application, to farmers by the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute. Wheat, barley and maize are grown in small amounts. Among pulses, chickpea is the most widely grown crop and in fact some respondents mentioned it as the most important cash crop, currently and in recent years, overtaking teff which still other respondents said is a dominant cash crop. For chickpeas, three varieties are in use namely *harbu*, *ararti* and *ejere* and most of the people prefer planting the *ararti* variety which is not as palatable as the others to be eaten green. Hence, *ararti* has the better chance of reaching the threshing ground and the market for sale.

During the last five years, the production of chickpeas has been highly increasing in response to the market demand and has in fact replaced teff as a major cash crop in Ude Dhenkaka, according to some respondents. At the time of this research, a quintal of chickpeas was sold for 3,000 birr at the local markets. Also, its husk has value as animal fodder, especially for horses and mules. Lentils also have emerged as an important cash crop in these five years since its market value as well has very significantly increased. *Boloqe* (most likely haricot beans) is also grown and its cultivation is said to be easier as this crop does not need fertilisers and weed killers. The down side of it is that like teff, it

¹³ A mild stimulant tree crop, believed to be indigenous to Ethiopia, and whose tender leaves and twigs are chewed for their intoxicating effects in Ethiopia and some other countries like Kenya and Yemen. In the international literature it is known by the Arabic term *khat*.

does not have fodder, a crop bi-product which is in high demand and expensive on the market, especially with the growing scarcity of grasses for livestock. Horse beans are still produced but they no longer enjoy the status they had some years ago as an important cash crop because of the prominence of chickpeas and lentils.

Only some and slight amounts of root crops are grown. A few households grow carrots in their gardens. Beetroot is also grown but does not have market demand; people rather cultivate some cabbage and green peppers. Potato has become a highly produced root crop and enjoys the promotion of agricultural development agents were it not for its vulnerability to the disease known as blight (*wagi*) which has highly decreased its production. The pesticide used against this disease is very expensive; a cup is sold for 400 birr. For these reasons, people are not cultivating much of potato. Among vegetables, carrots, green peppers and lettuce are grown. These vegetables are in high demand and very expensive. Respondents stated that DAs are working hard on their expansion, sharing to the community other people's experience of cultivating vegetables.

Fruit production is rare with just a tree or two of lemon or orange standing in a few gardens or homesteads. No improved seeds or seedlings are available. Oilseeds and spices are not grown; farmers get their supplies from the market. Some respondents mentioned of a few households who plant a few oilseeds such as *nug* (Niger seed) to get flowers for their honey bees.

Eucalyptus is the most commonly grown tree for cash as well as for household use, specifically house construction. The tree is planted inside people's gardens and the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Centre is supplying farmers with improved varieties, a seed at a rate of 0.10 birr. The production of this tree crop has been increasing in recent years owing to its diversified advantages, including high market value and use in house construction. People coming from Bishoftu town buy these woods in Ude Dhenkaka.

Only a few people may have one or two trees of coffee in their gardens such that coffee is not an important element of the crop-mix. A respondent has six trees of coffee in his garden that bears very good fruits enough for the consumption of the household without the need to buy from the market. *Chat*, a crop that has significantly expanded in different parts of the country, is not produced at all in the study kebele. *Enset* is not planted in the area and there is no experience of consuming its products such as *qocho*. However, people know of it and its leaves are used as a wrap for baking traditional bread.

Currently, farmers are selling more lentils and chickpeas than was the case five years ago. There is no change in other grains though some farmers produce and sell horse beans and haricot beans as in the past. *Teff*, lentils and chickpeas are the three major crops grown and sold. As such, people have been improving their wealth status by shifting to additional commodity crops such as lentils and chickpeas rather than producing teff only. This is because sometimes lentils and chickpeas have high demand and fetch more income than teff. A quintal of teff is sold for 2,000 birr but a quintal of chickpeas and lentils sometimes sell for 2,500 or 3,000 birr, respectively. Furthermore, the production time of lentils and chickpeas is shorter. The farmers now are aware of these conditions. As a result, producing these crops has improved the life of many farmers.¹⁴

Rainfed crops

Teff, chickpeas and lentils are the main crops harvested in the kebele. These are also cash crops the demand of which is very high in the market. From the agro-ecological perspective, these are the crops harvested in Ude Dhenkaka kebele and other types of crops are better harvested in other kebeles. For instance, in Dhenkaka kebele, wheat and chickpea are widely harvested while teff

¹⁴ The shift to more legumes is also likely to be a reflection of farmers need to recondition the soil after a plot is covered with non-legumes. Teff, believed by farmers as a soil depleting rather than soil enriching crop, is always rotated with legumes.

comes second because it is a little bit of a high land area. In Ude Dhenkaka kebele, some respondents claim that the main crop produced and harvested is teff while others say chickpeas. Both are rainfed crops. Vegetables, mainly onion, tomato and cabbage have been produced through irrigation. In normal times people grow what they are used to. For instance, a woman stated that last year she produced teff, wheat, barley, and lentil but did not produce vegetables, trees and shrubs, and other cash crops. She grows crops partly for consumption and partly for sale.

Inputs: Chemical fertilisers, improved seeds, pesticides and extension advices as per the crop types are provided as inputs for farmers. The uptake depends on the interest and the resources that each farmer could muster, including formal and informal credit options.

Most important crop: Chickpea: Currently, most respondents said the most common cash crop grown in the area is chickpea while almost all land in the locality was used to produce teff before some 10 years. Farmers said the high market value caused by the recently started exportation of this crop is inducing them to grow more of this crop for sale. The source of labour used to produce this crop is dominantly family labour and the use of hired labour is rare. Local farmers groups also called local farmers associations and the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute supply farmers with advanced varieties of chickpeas seeds as they do for most of the other crops as well. Hence, farming households have enough supply of seeds for chickpeas and almost all households are using improved seeds. The farming techniques used to grow chickpeas are largely traditional with the use of oxen-drawn plow at the centre of cultivation.

Previously, farmers applied no fertilisers to grow chickpeas but since recently small amounts of fertilisers are applied. Using organic fertilisers is increasing but only those who have farmlands nearby their homesteads are doing this because of difficulty transporting the input far afield. Apart from modern seeds, farmers also apply weed killers in the production of chickpeas. The major problem of producing chickpeas, however, is pests that cause significant damage to the crop. There are different types of pesticides which farmers buy from the institute and the market.

Government contributions for the production of this crop are significant, especially in terms of education provision, and supply of weed killer. As a cash crop, the majority of chickpea produced is sold on the market and very small amounts might be consumed in the household. Its price is highly increasing and this attracts farmers to sell more of the produce of this crop. The local markets offer good prices so that farmers normally use these outlets without having to go far. This was the case last year as well. As just mentioned, growing more of chickpeas has little effect on household consumption of this crop. From the outset, chickpea is grown for sale and since the market value has increased, households are not willing to consume large amounts at home. Currently, a quintal of chickpeas is sold for 3,000 birr at the local markets which is high and the price rise, as already stated, accounts for the recent exportation of this crop.

There is weed killer for chickpea called 2-4D which farmers buy from Maibasy Farmers' Service Co-operative and also private shops even though this is a little bit expensive. Manual removal of weed is very important for the quality of the crop because while manually removing weeds farmers also do a type of minor hoeing called *kutkuato* which is very important for the growth and productivity of the crops.

Second most important crop: teff: *Teff*, the smallest grain crop in the world, and indigenous to Ethiopia, used to take the majority of the farmland in the area, as already stated. However, within the last 10 years, the amount of land allotted for teff production has been decreasing because of increasing chickpea cultivation. The agronomic practices of *teff* production is difficult compared to other crops as it needs more fertilisers and more labour for seed preparation that needs fine soils and meticulous weeding.

As with chickpeas, farmers purchase improved *teff* seeds from the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute and farmers' associations that duplicate seeds on their farms. Thus, the local markets

supply farmers with different types of improved *teff* seeds- *boset* being the most commonly used variety. Since five years ago, there has been significant change towards using improved *teff* seeds. Row-planting is not convenient for *teff* and not many farmers employ this technique despite its introduction by government before some years. The application of fertilisers for *teff* is crucial and farmers say it is unthinkable to produce *teff* without some. As for every crop, there are pests that attack *teff* but there are no pesticides for *teff* pests like for those of other crops. Respondents from the community mentioned that there has been significant education and training by the government, especially by DAs, on how to plant *teff* in rows, on how to use fertilisers for *teff* production and on early harvesting of the crop. Both types of fertilisers are highly used for *teff* production. The role of government is also important in the provision of fertilisers and improved seeds.

There might be some households renting the service of a tractor for seedbed preparation. Otherwise, the great majority of the farming households depend on traditional farming techniques using oxen-driven plough. While no pesticides are used for *teff*, farmers apply the weed killer known as 2-4D. In addition to being a commercial crop, *teff* is the staple food for the farming communities that produce it. The proportion of *teff* sold and consumed is contingent on the nature and circumstances of households. As for chickpeas, people need not necessarily go far to sell their *teff* produce as crop traders in Ude and Sirba are there to buy from them. The effect of *teff* production on household consumption depends on the initial amount harvested and stored. Farmers having adequate amounts may not feel scarcity whereas those with smaller production may experience shortage during the rainy season for household consumption. It was said the value of every crop, including *teff*, has been increasing at different rates.

Farmers are using improved seeds of *teff* supplied before five years while some respondents said the *boset* variety which is mostly preferred and is in high use was introduced two years ago. Despite the competition from chickpea, *teff* seems not to be succumbing. It is still quite important as can be easily deciphered from the experience of the following woman who is 55, has basic literacy, is married and has 10 children. She owns eight *qert'* of land which is two hectares.

Box 11. A woman growing *teff*

She mentioned that one *qert'* of land, if cultivated properly, can produce 7.5 quintals of *teff*. A quintal of *teff* can be sold for 2,000 Birr. The by-product of *teff* can be sold and can cover the cost of the fertilisers since she does not have any cattle to feed. Hence, a total of 30 quintals of *teff* can be harvested from the four *qert'* of land and this can be sold for 60,000 birr. The product from this farm land can be sold to rent-in land as well for the coming year. She said she has no other means of income and wholly depends on the income from this farmland. She talked of a plan to rent in farmland to produce more.

Third most important crop: The report says there is no third most important crop but from the data it appears that lentils, the importance of which has been increasing as a cash crop (increasing market price) may be considered as the third most important crop and it seems it will only be a matter of sometime before its rank is well recognised.

Irrigated crops

Even though government and NGO assistance have been very minimal or non-existent, irrigation awareness among the community has been highly increasing in recent years. The most common crops grown through irrigation are onions, tomatoes and cabbage. Previously, only a few people were practicing small-scale irrigation in their gardens; however, since the last five or six years many people have been trying irrigation in their gardens because of seeing its advantages. Some farmers use irrigation to grow maize as well. This information contradicts with other residents who suggest that irrigated farming, which has been always focusing on vegetables and to some extent fruits, has

not been as intense as it was before five years. However, this needs to be seen in light of the fact that many people have been growing these crops through rain as against well water, which is the primary, if not the only, source of irrigation water in the kebele.

In another nearby kebele, people who came from the Southern Region started irrigating some land which they rented-in from the locals. Later, the locals adopted the practice from the in-comers and a respondent from the community said they did not have knowledge about irrigation before the in-comers started in the nearby kebeles. However, the data show that model farmers, said not to be having contribution in the expansion of irrigation practices, are still the early adopters based on the support of the DAs and the wereda agricultural experts to grow irrigated vegetables. There were also rewards from the wereda for those farmers who had best practices of irrigation motivating the others to adopt the practice. In this regard, a woman reported that her household gets technical and advisory support from the DAs and improved seeds, fertilisers and pesticides from the service co-operative.

As the DAs were advising farmers to start irrigating their farmlands last year, her household dug a water well and started irrigating their farmland, though the proportion covered by irrigation was small. For the near future, she and her husband have a plan to cover the larger part of their land through irrigation. A man called Asfaw, who, dug a well two years ago has been cultivating many vegetables/fruits individually at a household level. Another man, a middle-wealth farmer, 55 and not formally educated, had been cultivating vegetables except this year. This man, who has six children and three *qert'* of land, was cultivating vegetables like cabbage, carrots and potatoes in his garden fetching water from a river by donkey. He mentioned inability to rent-in land because of shortage of money, also a probable reason for the interruption of his irrigation practice when he said *"this year I felt tired"*. Otherwise, he had also planted eucalyptus seedlings using irrigation. He said, *"This year I couldn't because I felt tired. I tried coffee but it was not productive because of shortage of water. I plant oil crops like Nug only for my bees because they feed on its flower."*

Image 4. Irrigated crops production and harvesting



Despite these improvements, respondents from the community said the majority of the farmers have not yet started practicing irrigation for such reasons as lack of water exacerbated by rocky

formation in some places that render digging well difficult by local labour and technology. While this problem is affecting those who have enough land, part of which could be allocated for irrigation, there are some people who lack land for irrigation and other inputs like a generator. Even though they could dig underground water, it is impossible to use the water without a generator.

Irrigation infrastructure

The majority of the irrigation infrastructures in the kebele are hand-dug wells and almost all functional wells used for irrigation are owned by private investors coming from Bishoftu, Addis Ababa and some local residents. Constructing wells started many years ago and still some people are digging wells inside their homesteads (gardens) and in their farmlands. There are public wells fitted with hand pumps which were broken and were not functional. For example, such public wells constructed by a Chinese Road Construction Company were rendered dysfunctional (and destroyed) after the company left the area to another project site. There are also other wells fitted with hand pumps which have stopped providing services in recent years, most likely because of mechanical problems. Of course, these wells themselves were primarily built for homestead and livestock consumption and not for farm irrigation. The kebele does not have perennial rivers to use for crop irrigation. People who do have wells are using generators to irrigate their farms and others fetch the water manually for the same purpose. Irrigation infrastructures in Ude Dhenkaka kebele are traditional and small-scale and the government financed modern irrigation project is still not complete and functional.

Irrigation management

At wereda level, irrigation management is led by an agency and there are committees at the community level to deal with irrigation and its management. The experts of the agency train farmers in the wereda. At the kebele level in Ude Dhenkaka small-scale irrigation is dominated by newcomers who buy some land from the locals, dig wells and then grow vegetables. Some respondents from the community, who regarded the newcomers as competitors to the local farmers, also buying the plots for lesser prices, said they collect much more production compared to the locals. They also have better access to improved seeds and market compared to the ordinary local farmers who are irrigating at a lower scale. However, these respondents expressed their main problem is lack of market linkages. They complained that brokers involved in this process are extracting undue profit from the farmers. In this regard too, the wereda respondents complained that the newcomers are marginalising the local farmers from the market. They are sharing much water and also had their own private wells for irrigation.

Farming households manage their own irrigated gardens or fields. In the case of the private irrigators, management of their farming is also in their own remit. Both individual households and those investing in irrigation, on a relatively larger scale sell their produces within and out of Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

Government crop-related interventions

Government interventions in this regard are the provision of education, training and modern agricultural inputs and technologies. As a result, fertilisers and improved seeds are made available despite their expensive prices that prevent poor households from securing these inputs. Apart from this, respondents from all categories of social class rated government services in this regard as adequate even though as it has been mentioned elsewhere in this report such technologies as row-planting are not accepted. A female household head of medium wealth said “farming inputs of fertilisers and improved seeds are available in the area adequately despite the expensive price. The government provides the service adequately.” However, as already said this adequacy may be questioned as the poor and the less-resourced have financial difficulty accessing these inputs.

Wereda officials said the main focus of the agricultural crop programme last year (2017/18 production year) was the production of *teff*, chickpeas, lentils, wheat, barley, and beans. This

programme was successful since many farmers have used modern agricultural inputs such as fertilisers, pesticides and recently introduced improved seeds supplied by government and other actors. Through irrigation some farmers are producing vegetables. The performance of this in Ude was exemplary for others so that most field visits were organised in this small town for farmers from other kebeles to learn from their experience. According to Wereda respondents there are no major farming activities that were not covered by the wereda agricultural and livestock programmes. However, they stated that planting trees such as Elephant grasses for livestock are not given attention and farmers rather grow *sinnar* and vetch for their livestock. In this regard, they added, farmers are developing the habit of planting trees as livestock forage which will also contribute to soil conservation.

All sources of information acknowledge that for the last five years, there has been significant change towards using improved seeds and more fertilisers, especially for teff. The application of soil-specific fertilisers and weed killers has been a remarkable change in the course of these years. The provision of these inputs, made by the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute which is a government entity, private companies and farmers' co-operatives, is supported by the advice and follow up of agricultural extension agents, who also organise education and training/demonstration sessions for the farmers on their sites, in FTCs and other occasions.

Female respondents from different social classes, speaking about DAs' role of information dissemination, stated that the agents organise public meetings and disseminate information and share knowledge on how farmers can improve their production. Nonetheless, mostly, males attend these meetings and obtain the awareness on how farming activities can be improved: for instance, on growing crops in row. The respondents said women access the information in two ways: either from their husbands or informal social interactions in their villages, including their neighbours.

Model farmers are at the hub of government crop-related interventions since they are used as channels for the transfer of modern technologies, inputs and ways of doing things differently. Two rich male farmers remarked that the criteria for evaluation and selection of model farmers are: use of appropriate agricultural technologies including improved seeds, fertilisers and acceptance of advice from DAs. Regarding possible improvements in this area, they mentioned creating links between model farmers and non-model farmers so that the latter may take lessons from model farmers. Re-evaluation of previously selected model farmers was also mentioned as a useful measure.

There is public awareness that the main objective of the agricultural development agents is to increase farm productivity and production by enabling farmers to use different agricultural technologies, inputs and advices. This knowledge is shared by farmers living both in rural villages and towns. At the time of data collection, there were three DAs working in Ude Dhenkaka kebele: a crop expert, an animal expert and a natural resource expert. There is also a veterinary service provider, or vet technician, stationed in a neighbouring kebele where people from Ude Dhenkaka and other kebeles could access service in addition to the rounds he makes to neighbouring kebeles. As to major improvements needed from the agricultural extension service respondents underlined that services have to also reach those living in remote areas of the kebele who do not get the chance of having advice from the development agents. That DAs do not have living houses in the communities they are assigned to sometimes make them prefer living in Bishoftu, affecting the level of their performance, was also mentioned as a concern. The FTC is located in Ude town where many farmers are not living, and the respondents mentioned it has to relocate to where most of the farming communities live-that is in Sirba or Qumbursa village.

Kebele officials said in Ude Dhenkaka there are youths who were organised on farming intervention by taking land from the kebele. Currently, they said, the young people are producing chickens, and other cash crops in addition to those fattening animals. They added, "We can say that the most effective activities we did this year is job creation for young people".

Crop sale strategies

Respondents from the community stated that there are major problems regarding agricultural marketing and networks, totally preventing farmers from duly benefiting from their products. According to these respondents, because of the lack of access to markets and other alternatives, merchants are treating farmers totally unethically: tampering with weighing scales and unreasonably decreasing crop prices are part of the misconducts. Wereda officials as well acknowledged that farmers do not have the option other than selling their produce at the prices the merchants will have to offer them. There is also complaint from farmers that they are asked by the government to pay land taxes and a host of other contributions or fees right after harvest- the time prices of crops are lower on the market. As a result, they said, they are unable to store their produce till the time prices go up significantly later in the year.¹⁵

In the face of this unfavourable environment, farmers still sell some produce at different times based on their individual circumstances. Poor households may not sell at all and, when they do, they sell their produce mostly during the harvest time when prices are lower and in quite smaller quantities. In the case of one poor farmer who does not have crops to sell at all; his household purchases these supplies from the market with money he earns from daily work. He has two *qert'* of land which he rented out. Another poor farmer said he sells crops when he needs cash, suggesting that he may not always sell his produce when the prices are lower. A middle-wealth woman, heading a household and living with four children, stated most poor households sell their crops at cheap prices during harvest time. Worst, there are poor people, who, after thus selling their crops to fulfil immediate cash requirements, will have to buy crops later on from the market at high prices. According to this respondent, this strategy, which she referred to as mismanagement, is one of the reasons forcing poor people to remain poor.

On the contrary, most rich farmers wait until the time crop prices go up, in fact, become expensive later in the year. In this regard, a rich farmer said he sells his crops when the prices become expensive and never sold in January, which is harvest month, when everybody is selling to pay government taxes and other credits. Rather, he buys crops at this time, stores and re-sells them when the prices become high or very high later in the year. Another rich farmer, who said he also sells crops when prices become expensive, stated that he may sometimes buy from others to sell them later. Grain prices increase in rainy season since supplies decline during this time.

Following the market trend is the primary marketing strategy of farmers unless they are forced to sell against this, even in the decision what crop to grow. For the last two or three years, for instance, there has been a shift towards white chickpeas and lentils which started fetching better prices even than that of teff. A non-farming female respondent remarked that the farmers could not have withstood rising living expenses if it were not for the prices of these crops that have gone up. She said some people mostly sell their harvests to the service cooperative which is more beneficial for the residents as it provides better prices than individual purchasers. However, it takes being a member of the association to sell farm produce to it.

There are many reasons for farmers to sell their produce. These reasons range from the need to purchase consumables such as food, clothing and shoes to household goods and to agricultural inputs such as fertilisers. When a family faces an immediate problem and needs cash, if available, crops are sold in households who do not have other properties to dispose. Taxes and rental expenses are also among the major reasons for most people to sell their produce, in fact during time the prices are lower, that is during or right after harvest. With regard to selling own produce; a female respondent sells part of her crops to buy agricultural inputs such as improved seeds,

¹⁵Nonetheless, it might be difficult to take this at its face value as it is very likely that there might be other reasons that may be equally, if not more, important enticing farmers to sell their produce in January and February.

fertilizers and pesticides. She also uses the money generated from selling own produce to pay the rentals of farmlands. She uses the profit from trading in crops and spices to cover other household expenses.

Some people have improved their wealth by shifting to producing additional commodity crops such as chickpeas and lentils rather than producing only *teff*. This is because, sometimes, legumes have high demand and fetch more income compared to the income from sale of *teff*. At the time of this fieldwork, a quintal of *teff* was sold for 2,000 birr but a quintal of chickpeas and lentils sometimes were sold for 2,500 or 3,000 birr, respectively. Furthermore, the production time of lentils and chickpeas is lesser. Farmers, who are now aware of these conditions, are growing and selling more of these crops, also improving their living standard. As female respondents said, some households are irrigating vegetables such as onions, cabbages, cauliflower, and tomatoes drawing underground water from hand dug wells. Due to this, people have started selling more of these vegetables than was the case five years ago. In relation to agricultural marketing: wereda respondents said some farmers from Ude Dhenkaka kebele sometimes sell their crops in Bishoftu town markets while some others go to Mojo town. There is no market networking/linkage with other places or kebeles. Farmers sell their crops to local traders and some traders coming from other towns. There are also some traders who go home to home in order to buy crops from the farmers. The most common crops sold and traded are *teff*, chickpeas, beans, lentil, maize and wheat. Largely, conspicuous sale and purchase of crops is seasonal.

Livestock

Livestock in the community

Livestock production has been an important aspect of farming and the economy of Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Over the last five years, their importance has significantly increased mainly owing to more use of dairy cows, fattening and small-scale chicken production. Even though it might be difficult to confidently say that the integration of livestock and crops production exists as this used to be the case in the past, farmers have continued to increase the benefits derived from livestock rearing or keeping as part of the ongoing modernisation of agriculture as they do from crops. Hence, livestock continue to be important aspects of the farming system and the rurbanising rural economy.

Cattle, sheep, goats, chickens and honey bees are types of livestock reared with a decreasing order of importance. There are less heads of cattle in the area compared to 10 years back because of many reasons. The first reason is lack of grazing land and the other urbanisation which is serving as a cause for the shrinking of agricultural lands. It seems that farmers have also started valuing economic numbers of animals rather than large numbers of stock as status markers. Traditional cattle breeds are said to be of poor quality so that some people have been rearing hybrid cattle and cross-bred chickens which provide more amount of produce. The challenge with rearing the cross-bred cattle is that their feed consumption is very high and the purchasing cost of cross-bred and exotic dairy cows is very expensive compared to the local breeds.

Cattle

Native, hybrid and exotic types of cattle are reared or kept in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Livestock fattening used to exist as a traditional practice but the number of people engaged was said to be comparably fewer. Currently, most farming households are engaged in bull or oxen fattening using modern inputs such as fodder and veterinary services. Those not having cattle may fatten sheep and government has been providing training on livestock fattening. Farmers approached for this study said, when sold, a fattened ox could finance the purchase of two or three smaller bulls or oxen which in turn are fattened and sold. Income from the sale of fattened oxen may also be used to run some business during off-farm seasons, the profit of which could still be channelled to buy an ox or two when the farming season arrives. However, there are poor households who cannot afford buying an ox and fodder to feed it and those who fatten might face problem of market. They may drive their

fattened oxen to Bishoftu to sell and sometimes the traders themselves come to Ude Dhenkaka. According to experts in the field, an animal can be fattened within three or four months and this knowledge is already well grasped by farmers. Community respondents reported no contribution from government and NGOs except providing training on fattening. In this regard, there was a training by a bilateral programme called Feed the Future Ethiopia about animal fattening and fodder management, organized in Ude FTC. There was a demonstration made for the farmers on how to prepare animal fodder locally with the use of a few preservatives. The price for fattened animals is still radically increasing as there is good demand but lack of market linkage remains an issue.

For poor households fattening does not seem to be an easy opportunity, limiting equitable distribution of income among members of these communities. A woman who had one *qert'* of land given to her as a bride wealth and has it taken away by her in-laws after her husband's death around 2009/10 may be illustrative. This left her with only one *qert'* of land inherited from her parents when her father passed. She has been renting it out for 2,500 birr per year as she has no one to work for her, a challenge made worse by the location of the farmland which is in a neighbouring kebele.

Box 12. The challenge of fattening for poor households

Currently, she is supporting herself and her children by selling the traditional beer, *tella* serving her weekly clients on Saturdays and Sundays, the time most people take a break from farm work for leisure. Over time, she managed to somehow improve her life: she built a living house which she moved into, converting her former smaller living house into a kitchen. In the course of this improvement from a living that was just hand-to-mouth before some 10 years, she also managed to buy sheep with the object of rearing them but after some time she sold them due to space problem. She also bought about 40 chickens and formed a poultry farm but later on she stopped this activity since it was not profitable due to different reasons, mainly space shortage but also attack by beasts that had eaten some of her birds. Also, she was buying crops from farmers on a small basis on market days as she travelled to get her supplies and resold this to local traders. However, as this activity is seasonal, she did not find it viable and decided to rather concentrate on the sale of *tella*. Even though she is unable to farm her land due to labour shortage, over time, preparing and selling *tella* has been improving her life. Despite this, her experience exemplifies the challenge of poor people who may engage in fattening and related activities.

Many respondents agree that livestock fattening is not a new practice in Ude Dhenkaka. Nonetheless, the use of modern inputs and the number of households engaged in livestock fattening has increased over the years. Previously, only a few people were engaged in fattening oxen using traditional inputs, mainly grasses. Currently, many people are engaged in ox fattening as an off-farm activity¹⁶ using modern livestock inputs such as fodder and vet services. Training and knowledge transfer made by government agricultural extension services has, over the years, improved livestock fattening in the area. Today, except for a few individuals, the great majority of the people are fattening animals for the market using the resources they could muster for this profitable investment. Households, who do not have or cannot fatten oxen, are engaged in sheep fattening, which is also quite profitable. Fattening has become quite an advantageous engagement for these farmers.

According to community respondents, one strategy applied in this regard is fattening an ox, selling it at a good price and purchasing two or three smaller bulls or oxen to be fattened and resold for profit. Profit or proceeds from the sale of fattened oxen could also be used to run other businesses during off-farm seasons and to buy an ox or two when the farming season comes. Even though most of the people in the community are benefiting from livestock fattening, the poor cannot afford buying an ox or two, and in case they have these animals, procuring their provisions is very difficult,

¹⁶ The local people perceive fattening as a non-farming activity and this may serve as evidence to the fact that fattening was not practiced as a major farming activity in the past, if it were not actually a rare activity.

prohibiting them from the benefits in this regard. In the case of those who fatten livestock, there might be times they face lack of demand or easy market to supply their produce. However, the data do not mention livestock fattening as a risky or less profitable activity. Fattened animals, which are always sold on the hoof, may be driven to Bishoftu market for sale and sometimes the traders themselves may come to Ude Dhenkaka to do the purchasing. In the modern livestock fattening method taught to farmers by government agricultural extension agents, only three to four months are adequate to fatten one animal.¹⁷ As in the case of other modern agricultural practices, well-to-do families followed by model farmers are the first to accept and practice new initiatives in livestock fattening and government has been the introducer. Community respondents acknowledged that the media, government and others have played a significant role in creating public awareness about the advantages of cross-bred cows. Benefits from dairy production and fattening are limited to those who are engaged in these activities; otherwise, respondents reported no direct benefit for the entire community.

The introduction of cross-bred and exotic Holstein Friesian breeds several years ago has brought important changes in traditional dairy production in Ude Dhenkaka. The magnitude of production and the market chain in this regard has been somehow improving over time. Many households have bought and keep cross-bred cows, some of them getting the service of sires from Passion Agro-Furniture PLC and also buying Borana breeds. The local people have had a change of mind that keeping one cross-bred dairy cow is better than keeping many local cows which is a significant attitudinal change away from the traditional sentiment. That cross-bred and Holstein cows need much more feed compared to the local ones is a concern but not an issue in the face of their production and productivity which is much higher and more rewarding. Big traders and hoteliers in Bishoftu town are the major buyers of milk produced in Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

In terms of technology uptake and partaking in the benefits, the poor are largely non-adopters and non-involved because of inability to buy hybrid and exotic cows. Otherwise, villagers said, every individual in the community wants to have these animals. Economy serves as a constraint not only to procure the animals but also to fend for their feeds. According to these respondents, dairy production and fattening have harmed no one in the community. A respondent mentioned he does not know of any contribution from government and non-governmental organizations except mere awareness creation about the advantages. However, he also added government provides loans for those established as dairy cooperatives even though this service is not available for individuals. Education by DAs has been extensive.

The demand and market has been increasing for dairy products. Respondents in the community recalled that many years ago, it was not a norm to sell milk or milk products, a proscription that also existed in many other traditional communities in Ethiopia, in some observed as a taboo and in others as a safety measure for the animals' health. Nonetheless, through time, the sale of these products was started, widely accepted and practiced to the extent that it is now a well-known business in in the kebele with ever-growing demand and increasing market prices. Even though there is no market linkage established for the actors in the chain there is no evidence that this has been discouraging dairy production. In fact, some chains seem to be naturally operating as already suggested without government or external intervention. Farmers are personally searching for and contacting hotels and companies to sell their dairy products, including those coming to the villages.

The wife of a rich farmer owning five dairy cows said the household has planned to keep only one cow for household milk consumption and to sell the others since managing them has affected her business activities. The time she milked many cows, companies used to come to her home to collect the milk. To support their livelihood growing numbers of people have been rearing cows for their milk and milk products.

¹⁷Experts advise that the time taken to fatten an animal has to be limited to this; otherwise the practice is considered unprofitable, rendering it non-feasible as an investment.

There are a number of cases demonstrating the economic importance of dairy cows for successful farming households. A woman named Arfasa Bali, whose husband died about five years ago, keeps three cross-bred cows and is selling 20 litres of milk per day to her clients in Bishoftu. She has been cultivating her own land as well as some rented-in plots from others. She is a leader of one of the traditional self-help associations, iddir, and 1-to-5 network of a local development team as well.

Still another woman from the same area, who has four milking cows, sells 31 litres of milk a day, 17 in the morning and 14 in the afternoon, at a rate of a litre for 12.50 birr. On a daily basis there is a trader who buys and takes the milk from her and other community members to be processed in Bishoftu, Adama and Sebbeta milk processing factories which in turn re-sale packaged milk in the capital Addis Ababa and other surrounding towns. She is among those who mostly supply milk to the market rather than consume at home except on holidays. Contrary to this, there are many households who just keep a cow and consume all the milk, and perhaps the milk products as well at home, without supplying the market at all. This may serve as a reflection that milk and milk products are becoming part of the regular diets of rural households, with a major nutritional service, especially for children.¹⁸ Of course, many households selling milk also use some portion for household consumption.

Women having local cows may process milk to make butter. They may use the cheese for household consumption and sell the butter on market. The market value of butter or milk is very expensive during non-fasting and dry seasons and serves as a good source of income for these people. During the rainy and fasting season the price decreases while generally speaking prices have significantly increased over the last five years.

A 19-year old married young woman who has become a member of a livestock fodder development youth group after completing grade-10 mentioned another youth economic group that has taken a loan of about 400,000 birr from government. According to her, the group has bought 29 dairy cows and was running its operation at the time of data collection of this study. Nevertheless, dairy production is not yet a business that has attracted many youth or adults to work in groups but it seems there is fertile ground for this in the future. These benefits are limited to those who were engaged in the dairy business, otherwise no direct benefits for the entire community.

Both the milking of dairy cows and milk processing are traditional. The container used for milking is called *okole* which is a sort of calabash. Bigger containers are used for storage and transportation. Bigger dairy companies in the area have recently introduced milking machines so that they have stopped milking manually. Yogurt is kept in the traditional container known as *wesso* for storing and processing butter. Factory-made pails are used to store and transport butter.

¹⁸ In Aze Debo, another research site of this WIDE bridge phase, the data indicate that there are households who keep a dairy cow with the mere purpose of getting milk for small children in the household.

Image 5. Cross-bred dairy cows and oxen



Sheep

Sheep production has been affected by a number of problems and has been on the decrease compared to the past. Lack of grazing land and severe diseases which completely block their noses, ultimately killing them are bottlenecks to sheep production in addition to another disease that swells their necks. The farmer providing this information had lost 12 sheep in one year to these diseases. As children go to school, getting someone to serve as a shepherd is also difficult. The major fodder used for sheep is grass while those who can afford may also buy the factory by-product called *furuska*. In addition, the residue of the traditional drink called *tella*, locally known as *atela*, is served as a supplementary feed to the sheep which is very nutritious and has a better fattening effect. As for other animals, the shrinking or lack of grazing lands stands as a major change with respect to sheep production. Respondents were not sure whether hybrid sheep were kept in their community which means native breeds are fully or predominantly kept. They said the sheep kept are very thin and of low quality. Access to WALQO credit provides one of the means to own sheep. Increasing costs of fodder and other inputs to keep the sheep healthy are additional problems whereas respondents said they get useful advice from the agricultural development agents.

Non- fattened sheep are available for sale in Ude Dhenkaka kebele along the main asphalt road on certain occasions while one can regularly find them in Mojo and Bishoftu town markets. Fattened sheep are also supplied to Adama town markets. Respondents were not certain if sheep from Ude Dhenkaka kebele were exported while they knew the furthestmost market local traders reached was Addis Ababa. Undoubtedly, the price of sheep has been increasing, specifically for fattened sheep that may cost up to more than 5,000 birr. Prices vary between fasting and non-fasting times as for other livestock products and, of course, crops.

Goats

What is said for sheep also applies for goat production and fattening except that the numbers of goats reared are fewer. In Ude Dhenkaka area there is no experience of rearing goats as a community and just very few households do this. Rather, like in other parts of the country, goat production is common in the lowland areas. In Ude Dhenkaka, goats are mainly fed leaves, especially

leaves of eucalyptus and acacia trees. Compared to 10 years ago, goats' production in the kebele has significantly decreased because of the expansion of cultivated land and associated deforestation.¹⁹

Donkeys

There are also donkeys that are used for many purposes in this area among which are fetching water and transporting crops.

Chickens

Both hybrid and local chickens are raised in the kebele and recently the number of people investing in hybrid chicken production has been on the rise. There are good quality (hybrid) chickens and also traditional chickens. One can buy hybrid chickens or eggs from the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute or from the market to get quality chickens. Before five years, there was a company providing hybrid chickens but it left the area because of unknown reasons. Community respondents said now no one is providing hybrid chickens for free. The common assistance from government is just provision of education through agricultural development agents. Farmers produce chickens mainly for sale, including their eggs. There are some people who raise chickens for household consumption. Chickens are sold in the village along the asphalted road or can be transported to the nearby markets of Bishoftu.

The Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute has been providing training for the community members on poultry farming and the NGO Passion Connect provided some chickens for women to try poultry farming. Through time, the number of people involved in poultry farming has been increasing and this activity has become a major means whereby the livelihoods of many households have improved. Similarly, according to community respondents, the area is experiencing poultry development as a newly emerging business or investment as a result of some individuals coming from other areas, buying land from the local farmers and building big tin-sheds to house the birds. Establishing poultry farms and selling eggs is also being tried by some local people as an emerging business. Due to this, people have started selling more chickens and eggs compared to the past five years. The same respondents said people who are involved in these activities get modern chickens for eggs from Alema and Genesis Farms, located in Bishoftu that is in addition to the sources already mentioned.

In the face of this, some respondents stated that the number of chickens owned by individual households in the community is fewer compared to the past largely because of a disease attacking them. There is a highly prevalent, easily communicable chicken disease with a potential of wiping out many birds at a time. Hybrid chickens were introduced by investors who came to Ude Dhenkaka kebele and presently most investment activity in the area is chicken production. Farmers buy very young chickens from the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute to feed and raise them for sale at a later day. Currently, there are many households raising hybrid chickens in the kebele. Government has provided training about chicken production and many people are used to listening to the mass media as a source of information and knowledge. According to some community members, chicken production has fetched no benefits for the community; rather it has many disadvantages. There have been complaints from the side of the non-chicken producing community members that this production gives off a very bad odour, contaminating the environment and affecting their health. A respondent from the community expressed his fear that this may in the future cause active opposition from the community at large against chicken production that involves big sheds, many heads of chickens and hence significant waste unless there is going to be a measure to address the negative sanitary impact on local environment. On the contrary, some respondents from the community consider the expansion of poultry production as contributory to the development of the

¹⁹ Traditionally, it is believed that goats are picky, best for free roaming and not appropriate for zero grazing. They prefer bushy areas to browse which has been shrinking with the expansion of farmland. Zero grazing introduced as an obligation in some parts of the country has seen rural households dispose of their goats stock because of these factors. However, goats are the best stock that can survive droughts.

area and tend to be neutral in this regard. In fact, there were also respondents who said the chickens' excrement is used as livestock feed. The excrement is mixed with salt so that it becomes tasty for livestock. What is more, the leftover of chickens grown up for meat is said to be nutritious for livestock as the fowls are given different types of feed along their developmental stages.

Generally, investment in chicken production is dominated by individuals coming from the capital Addis Ababa and from the town of Bishoftu. A local resident has recently started this investment among others who tried it. Despite who the investors are, the perception of the community is that the benefits are accruing to no one but the investors themselves. Rather, in addition to the health issue already mentioned, some respondents said the community is being very much harmed as land is lost for this investment. This respondent does not know of government support for investment in dairy production and said they even did not know the authority licensing them to do the business.

Image 6. Modern poultry farms in Ude



Community respondents said previously milk ranked first as an important livestock product; however, since recently because of increased poultry investment in the locality, eggs have become the first livestock products playing essential role in the local economy. The consumption of eggs in the household has also increased. A rich male farmer said he has three local chickens and uses their egg for household consumption.

However, amidst some success stories, there are also discouraging challenges of poultry farming for community members.

Box 13. Success and challenges of poultry - the case of a young woman

A young woman aged 24, and who had completed 10+2, in 2005 EC, was working as a cook in a hotel in a nearby town. After working for some time, she quit the job because her salary was very little. Then, she tried getting a job in a flower farm but following her father's advice she bought some chickens and started a poultry farm. Unlike their plan, her father, who died from a chronic disease last year, was unable to assist her as his illness was getting serious. As she is the first child for the family, she was the one taking care of him with her mother. Due to this, she was unable to manage the poultry farm well which before that was profitable. She lost some chickens due to disease and she was not in a position to have a space to segregate sick chickens from the others to stem the disease transmitting to the others. Thus, as she lacked money and time to handle this, she was obliged to sell the remaining chickens. In the future, she has a plan to start her poultry farm again.

That the job needs close and exclusive follow up is a reason for some people to not want to keep or to stop keeping chickens. Otherwise, people need to have someone else to manage the farm for them. It is said it interferes with other activities and it is not difficult to expect what a challenge this could be among a community where diversifying sources of one's income is a means of survival for many. A middle-wealth woman heading a household was raising chickens for home consumption but stopped after she lost eight hens and smaller chickens. That there is no government support for such households on poultry farming is mentioned by respondents as an issue, which, if available, would have helped them out, including the case presented in the box above.

A most successful case of a young man from the community is useful to demonstrate how poultry farming could be of tremendous importance to the people if well-managed and what opportunity this could offer, particularly in the future for jobless young people.

Box 14. A young man's success in poultry farming

This young man is currently working on his poultry farm. He said he had given up employment in government and private companies to start his poultry farm. Now, he regrets that it was a waste of time for him working for government and private companies. He spends almost all of his time caring for the chickens: preparing their feed early in the morning, midday and evening around 5:00 and in-between doing other domestic activities and working on the small plot of land given him by his parents. More income, self-managed time and freedom, he mentioned, are among the benefits of working privately.

Working in government and private institutions he had taken different training courses but not since he started the farm. His plan is to remain here and expand his poultry farm which he said was an untouched sub-sector, even at the national level, as it is very profitable. All the same, he shared his concern that he needs more capital for that. He went on to say that the main problem is lack of capital and sometimes poultry feeds becoming very expensive, also mentioning lack of chickens itself as a problem. He said he prefers doing this sub-sector because it is his own profession and also does not need very much capital. He has a BSc in animal science from Haramaya University.

Community respondents stated emerging epidemic disease of chickens in recent years has been reducing the number of chickens reared by farming households. This, coupled with shortage of feed, has been affecting egg production as egg layers need much of this. Local eggs are preferred by the community for consumption because they are tasty. The egg layers also need better water, shelter and care. Exotic and cross-bred chickens need more food than the local ones. Special food from factory is needed for them; water, shelter and medicines for cure and prevention are very essential for poultry farming in general. Because of good quality, local eggs are a bit more expensive than the others. Farmers have a homemade method of inspecting the quality of eggs: if one floats when

dropped into water, then it is of inferior quality. Also, shaking the egg closer to one's ear tells the same if it produces some sound.

Honey bees

All respondents agree that honey production is not an important contributor to the economy of Ude Dhenkaka kebele as just a few households keep honey bees. What is more, it has been all traditional with no transition or modern bee hives in use although farmers know these hives exist, also from the teachings of the agricultural development agents. Those engaged keep just one or two traditional bee hives per household. People are scared of honey bees as they could bite people, cattle and dogs. One respondent recalled that three years ago, many cattle died after sustaining bee bites, following which the owner immediately destroyed all the hives he had. After this tragic and scary precedence, many farming households are afraid of trying bee-keeping. As such, bee keeping in this kebele has radically decreased compared to five years ago with only four to six households keeping a few hives now. From the side of the government, there has been intensive education and awareness creation to adopt modern bee-keeping but the kebele community has not yet started using the new technology. In fact, as already stated, traditional bee-keeping itself has significantly decreased.

Deforestation and urban expansion have their own roles on top of people's fear of their stings. Hives, water and large gardens for flowering plants are very important to keep honey bees. Farmers put hives on trees to attract bees and honey extraction is traditional using knife, fire and water during the night. Respondents said there has been no effort from the government to introduce modern bee-keeping in the area except mere education by development agents.

There is also another aspect in which honey production is not consonant with livestock. A middle-wealth female heading a household said before six or seven years her son used to have three hives in the compound of the family. However, one day, an event happened that ended the practice of her son. A bull went to the area where the hives were placed and brought them down to earth. Consequently, the bees stung the persons and livestock that were in the area. She was most struck by the bees and was healed with the help of physicians. The bees killed a number of dogs. After that unfortunate incident, her son got angry and burned the hives and stopped producing honey. The respondent agrees with the other respondents that honey bees need an isolated area from where humans and livestock are living. Otherwise, the bees affect the wellbeing of the human beings and livestock that live in the area.

Wereda officials said some youths have started working on bee keeping on which they have received training. According to respondents from the community, the expansion of flower industries has affected the production of honey by poisoning the bees when they feed on the flowers. These respondents and those from the community as well suspect the chemicals applied on the flowers might have affected the bees. All respondents think that agricultural inputs used for increasing productivity such as pesticides might have additional negative impact on the bees.

Most of honey produced is sold. Respondents roughly estimated less than 100 kg of Sirba honey produced in the kebele is annually sold in Bishoftu and other markets. The quality of honey is tested by the colour and contents.

Livestock and products sale strategies

This is described in the sections above.

Diversification

Generally

Even though farming- crops and livestock- production still serves as the main wherewithal for many rural households, diversification within the farming and non-farming sectors, is becoming a necessity for many rural households over the years. It appears that the need for this has been intensified over

the last five years for such reasons as shortage of land and increasing opportunities for non-farming activities. A rich 30-year old male farmer said he does not think that farming can be a viable option to establish independent livelihood because of absence of adequate land for the young people. Furthermore, the profitability of farmers is decreasing through time because of decreased soil fertility and increased price of agricultural inputs.

Rich households' non-farm activities

The rich and the middle income farmers have been diversifying to become richer and, in general terms, they have been doing this in the farming sector, especially buying dairy cows for milk and milk products. Fattening, not a common practice in the past, if not rare, has been adopted by many. Many are also adopting chickpea and lentil as cash crops in response to the market opportunities - which is also an important aspect of economic diversification. Poultry farming, even though not without challenges, has become an important source of income for many farming households. In the understanding of farmers, these are important diversifications within the farming sector which are also related to diversification into the nonfarming sector.

A farmer residing in Sirba, talking of the different factors that create economic inequality among households in the community since 2010, said that some people are becoming richer because of starting different livelihood strategies such as involving in different types of businesses, buying cross-bred dairy cows and ploughing more land by renting in farmlands, even by hiring a farmer or seasonal labourers. As such, by increasing their source of income over time they are getting richer and richer. He also stated about his own experience that shows how his life has been improving: besides his agricultural activities recently, he started trading in livestock as well as rearing dairy cows to sell milk and milk products. In addition, he is also thinking of involving in other income generating activities so that he would further improve his life. Trading in livestock and grains, that is buying these items during the time prices are lower, keeping them and selling them the time prices go up, is practiced by many rich households. People of medium households and even some poor households may try these additional income generating activities.

Smallholder farming is no longer like it used to be in the past, as an occupation sufficient to take care of the needs of rural households. A rich farmer living with his wife and six children said he is now leading a better life and has become wealthier than his parents only because of his hard work. He said he is trying everything as options of life to make life better. In regard to farming, he is producing improved seeds with other colleagues. He also keeps six cross-bred dairy cows and has been earning income from the sale of their milk. He has a house in Bishoftu as well, and in the future he has the plan to expand his business activities to non-farming activities.

Middle households' non-farm activities

The non-farming activities of middle-income households are not that different from those done by the rich households. Maybe just the intensity is different.

Poor households' non-farm activities

The poor have difficulty diversifying their income but press hard and try their best to survive and of course improve, as some have done. On top of small holdings and even in a few cases holding no land at all, sale of labour for individuals and companies has been adopted by many poor and very poor households. Women try petty trade, including the making and sale of the traditional alcoholic drinks *areqe* and *tella*. Modernisation taking place in the area and such internal factors as land shortage have given a different picture to smallholder agriculture in Ude Dhenkaka kebele and its status as an economic activity. Life, however, seems to be becoming tougher for the poor with time.

Credit and other sources of resources

Financing inputs is a very important issue in smallholder agriculture. In Ude Dhenkaka kebele, as in other places, different households use different financial institutions or means to procure such

inputs as fertilisers, improved seeds, and pesticides. The majority of the farming households are taking credit from WALQO, which is, among others, preferred for its very low interest rate. A few households may also borrow some money from iddir and while others may use their own money to purchase these inputs. There are also people having savings at Maibasy who may get access to credit there. Taking credit from WALQO is different from other financial institutions. Like many other institutions, WALQO does not release credit for individuals; rather interested beneficiaries need to come in groups to take credit. In this scheme, each of the group members shall serve as collateral for the other so that ultimately it is the group and not individuals that are responsible for repaying the credit. It means if an individual fails to pay back a specified amount within the specified time, the group as a whole will be responsible for the repayment.

Community respondents mentioned there is no problem of accessing credit services from financial institutions. BUSA GONOFa micro-finance institution is begging people to take credit from them. However, its interest rate is very high and once a credit is taken, repayment is to be made every month unlike WALQO, which is annually. In addition to these institutions, the community has been experiencing significant change in terms of access to credit services. Currently, farmers are getting money from their own saving associations and the self-help institution, Iddir. Crop traders, whose deals are otherwise regarded as very exploitative, still serve as an additional source of credit for farmers who may badly need the money to purchase farm inputs. These traders, described as very shrewd, provide a discounted rate to the future harvest of farmers who take credit from them, say, to purchase fertilisers or pay taxes, to be repaid in grains later when harvesting time arrives. Farmers have currently well understood this trick and go to WALQO instead to get credit, an arrangement that may enable them not only to procure fertilisers and pay taxes but also to keep and sell their harvest at a later time when the market prices go up.

A middle-wealth female heading a household stated there is no women's association that aims at economic activities. Adult women have the fear to create cooperatives and engage in different economic activities; they do not think about it at all. Sometimes some women take loans from Busa Gonofa micro finance institution individually. A non-farming middle wealth man added accesses to credit services are still improving and it is possible to get with very low interest rate. The problem is you should go in a group. No possibilities to access credit services individually and a poor non-farmer woman said there is no problem with the accessibility of micro finance institutions providing credit services in groups. A male rich farmer added, accesses to credit services are still improving and people are having many options. He mentioned they also do have access to bank services as well. Another man, rich and non-farmer, thinks there is no problem with the accessibility of micro finance institutions providing credit services. The problem is its process in general to get credit services. According to wereda officials, those who run farming in co-operatives may access credit from WALQO, Mahibasi and other government institutions after establishing cooperatives. WALQO provides credit for legally established groups while Mahibasi provides credit only for its own members. Farmers are using Mahibasi for saving purposes. Again they are using WALQO for saving and credit purposes. There is also Busa Gonofa, a private micro finance institution, based in Bishoftu town.

Previously, fertilisers were given as a loan and everybody had a quota depending on the size of land held. Since some years ago, however, the government has revoked the loan scheme and farmers have to purchase the inputs they need on cash. While this has served as a constraint for those who lack the finance or have difficulty borrowing from others, some community respondents said, it can be regarded as a plus for those well to do farmers to purchase much fertilisers as needed, also to apply on rented-in farmlands -which actually is the case for many rich farmers.

Co-operative farming

Crops- rainfed and irrigated

There is no intervention that is currently being implemented in the kebele regarding producers' co-operatives. However, there are farmers' groups producing and selling different improved seeds in collaboration with a private seeds company. They take the basic seeds from the company, multiply them and sell back different improved seeds to the company and the local farmers. An irrigation co-operative that was established through the support of an NGO some years ago has been non-functional and the members are operating individually. There are youth cooperatives in irrigation but they did not start working. There is a big government-financed irrigation project, which, despite prolonged delay, is still expected to be completed. That might change the course of events in this regard. The Mahibasi Farmers' Service Co-operative provides inputs such as fertilisers instead of cash for farmers to support their agricultural activities. As this cooperative distributes selected seeds, fertilisers and pesticides from one centre, as well as buying crops when it is cheap and reselling it when it becomes expensive, wereda officials said it can be considered as a multipurpose cooperative. Otherwise, there is no multi-purpose co-operative in the kebele. Nonetheless, farmers can access the Multi-purpose Co-operative in another kebele.

An agricultural co-operative established by young people four years ago, mainly on irrigation activities, was unable to survive and changed itself into a new co-operative in woodwork and fattening one year ago. The leader of the co-operative complained that no one helped them at the time they were struggling with irrigation. They did approach WALQO several times for credit but were not successful. Currently, the four-member co-operative produces household furniture and the like but it still operates with the old license it started with in 2007 EC and has difficulty having the kebele change the license for it. The leader shared his concern that they are still indebted from the irrigation work which failed them and incurred them a net loss.

The leader of an improved seeds producing and selling co-operative recalled their association was established in 2005 EC. Since its establishment, the co-operative which is named Abdi Boru Seeds Producers, has been mainly producing and selling improved seeds to the national markets for a reasonable profit. The co-operative has 48 members, six of whom are females. The co-operative has freely secured 2,500 m² of land to construct an office and a store the financing of which was covered by government spending 700,000birr for both structures. Among the responsibilities of the management team are assessing market for their produces and selling their outputs to large seed companies like Assella Seed Company and individuals. All members will get shares as per their contribution; those who sold more quintals of seeds for the co-operative will get more share of the total profit. From each quintal of improved seeds sold 10 birr will be earmarked and deposited in a bank account as a common pool resource. There are very productive farmers and a farmer who sold 40 quintals of improved seeds this year to the co-operative is quite exemplary. The co-operative is not indebted to government, companies or individuals.

The co-operative has been producing improved seeds of chickpeas, teff (*qunc'o* type), lentil and some other crops whose seeds it secures from different companies or agricultural research institutes. For example, it had procured lentil seeds from an agricultural research institute of Haramaya University. The co-operative started with the production and distribution of chickpea seeds and was able to include other crops seeds recently. The supports the co-operative has enjoyed from government thus far are the free-land space given to them by the kebele and the budget that was given to them by the wereda and was used to construct their office and store.

The association has an annual membership fee of 600 birr, has no loan to pay and maintains a saving of 30,000 birr with Oromia Co-operative Bank. Nonetheless, the leader said they give more value to the culture of saving they are creating among their members and the services they have been providing to their community by availing them with varieties of improved seeds, a reason which

makes him love the job. He also considers as an achievement their survival competing with national seed producers and suppliers in the country. While he likes the job, he also mentioned there are members not abiding by the rules of the co-operative. The job of the leader is organising the co-operative and its committee members, including market assessment and sale of produce. It is a volunteer position he is serving freely. The chair is a two-term, maximum six-year position. According to their rules, members of the co-operative who are individually distributing seeds without the knowledge of the co-operative are subject to fines and appearance before the court of law. He believes the expansion beyond teff and chickpea needs to be strengthened. He has the plan to lift the association to the next step and towards this intends to procure the necessary machineries such as a tractor and threshing equipment, to also improve the quality of their products and achieve cutting edge in the competitive national markets. There are farmers' unions and cooperative agencies they may go to for help. They may also discuss their problems with the kebele chair. He is 52 and grade-6 complete, also equipped with short-term training programmes on seedling and seeds production, organised by Ada'a wereda agriculture office, AGP and Yerar union. He is the only family member with community leadership role but in addition to his position at the co-operative, he is serving as board chair of Abdi Gudina Elementary School.

The private company that is operating with the seed producing associations has been thriving. It has already shown its contribution to the community not only by producing seeds on its own but also by introducing these to interested farmers who are organised in groups and are producing improved seeds for different crops. This company seems to be thriving even better.

Box 15. A private seed company working with groups of farmers producing improved seeds

This company competed and won a project of 239,825 USD (equivalent to 5,500,000 birr) for 3 years (2015 to 2017) from AGRA (African Green Revolution), under the Gates and Melinda Foundation. AGRA deposited this fund to the company's bank account. Then, the company bought needed equipment. Accordingly, the company used this money to buy start up improved seeds, three manual weighing machines, one digital weighing machine, packaging materials (that weigh from 5 to 100 kg), 3 desktop computers, 1 laptop, 1 printer and 1 safe box used to keep money and other items.

This company is also in the process to win an award. For instance, there is an organization called ENGENTA, an NGO from Switzerland that wants to work with the Ada'a farmers on teff production and the company has prepared and submitted their proposal and now they are waiting for feedback from this organization. Similarly the company is said to be preparing to submit a proposal to the US government initiative called Feed the Future.

Livestock

There are women co-operatives organised for the sale of livestock products, especially milk. There are also some young people organised in bees breeding. The four-member co-operative working on woodwork has also a plan to engage in fattening, and if supported, may also involve in this sector. According to community respondents, unemployed youth have been organising in groups and have received loans from youth revolving fund with less interest (8%) as compared to loan from other MFI or formal loan (which is more than 10 or 12%). These groups have started to involve in some income generating activities such as trading in livestock fodder, in heads of livestock and fattening.

A middle-wealth female heading a household said she has one cow, a local breed. She uses the milk and milk products for her own home consumption and has not ever tried to raise more cows aiming at selling milk and milk products. Once, ten women including the respondent were selected and trained on local breed dairy production (sale of milk and milk products). However, she regretted the scheme failed because of corrupt behaviour of the office that initiated the scheme.

Other group farming

There is no other group farming reported in the kebele be it for crops or livestock. Nonetheless, sharecropping which is dying out but which is still practiced by a few households who may let their holdings to be farmed by others for lack of oxen, labour, cash or other reasons, might be regarded as informal group farming. Renting-in or renting-out land, which is rather increasing over the last five years, also has an element of group farming. Share-rearing, which respondents described as an old system, is practiced by no one currently. One of the reasons for this, they said, is that people prefer taking credit from WALQO and buying sheep to rear rather than herd someone else's sheep and sharing the benefit that could be fully retained for self. Rarely there might be ox-sharing among farmers, a practice that has also been decreasing over the last 10 years. For this, people mentioned no other reason than weakening social relationship and deteriorating culture of working together.

Investor farming

Crops-rainfed and irrigated

No investor farming is reported in this respect in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Most of the investment is on poultry production as already described.

Livestock

Kebele and community respondents state that Ude Dhenkaka is now full of chicken investors largely coming from other areas, a significant change to what the situation was before five years. It seems these newcomers are less welcome as these respondents used to refer to them using a terminology that shows they are unnecessarily depending on the community exploiting their resources. To state how widespread they are, these respondents said only one zone in Qumbursa, named Citu Bakanisa, left under rural Ude administration according to a recent plan from Oromia, is not hosting many of these investors. Local investors are a few, and a young graduate in animal science from Haramaya University, who left employed work with government and the private sector, is successfully doing in poultry farm. There are also instances of young women trying poultry farming, as also stated, but success seems to need a lot to come by for those who lack the resources to manage their poultry farms well.

Notwithstanding the negative perception implied above, there are also community members who value investors for the overall development of their areas. A respondent from the management of the Passion Agro-furniture company, one of the private companies running in the kebele, said the local community has the opportunity to access not only high quality furniture products but also vegetables and dairy products at the close distance, sometimes with big discounts. He went on to say that they also provide training courses for the local farmers on different business activities, adding that they have a bull service which interested farmers can access for cross-bred calves. In the face of this, in general, investors in the wereda are not living up to their promises in terms of providing infrastructures such as roads and water points for the communities they are working in.

Government farming interventions-agents and beneficiaries

Wereda interventions and beneficiaries

The Rural Land Development Administration Head, who is an agriculturalist by profession (she worked as a development agent in a rural kebele, in this wereda) said there is a tangible change in the agricultural sector in the wereda. She stated that there are some farmers who were destitute before but who were able to own even cars within some period of time, becoming model farmers who have changed their life and livelihood. There are farmers who have transformed into investors. She explained that as far as she knows, agriculture is one of the sectors (the other is health) in the wereda that has brought tangible change in the lives of the people. The challenge, she mentioned, is

that development benefits in agriculture (as in health) are not all-inclusive. Some farmers are left behind in the benefits from these developments.

According to wereda officials, the Agricultural Growth Programme has now been working for more than five years; and there also is what they call ACTS intervention under this programme in agricultural technologies to enable farmers to access new technologies in AGP areas. . The technology is used to make the farmers more familiar with the new developments in production. This is an NGO working closely with government sectors. There are also many other NGOs working for the increase in the productivity of different forms of activities in the wereda. The agriculture sector is also effective in improving agricultural practice though there are some challenges to implement newly introduced farming technologies due to budget and resource shortage. However, wereda officials added, due to the presence of agricultural research institute that is found in Bishoftu, where the wereda sector offices are also located, the interventions of these NGOs, including Passion Connect (five years ago) and ATA have contributed for the success or effectiveness of the agricultural sector in general.

According to wereda officials, new technologies including using soil specific fertilisers, use of holistic weed killers and other inputs form part of the farming interventions inside the kebele. What is still unimproved is ploughing with oxen as well as lack of use of machines for threshing and harvesting.

Rich farmers are the ones who mostly benefit from most developmental and agricultural interventions. According to community respondents (two middle income farmers), this is so because they have better access to information and the financial capacity to implement what the government is saying about agricultural technologies and inputs including fertilisers. They do have also trust from the government side. Poor and young people are benefitting less. The respondents were more critical stating the poor do not have even their rights fulfilled, for example, nobody is willing to group with them for credit services from WALQO for fear that they would default and become a liability for them.

Crops

Two rich farmers said the support from the government is good, especially with regard to provision of fertilisers, improved seeds and regular advices from development agents. Irrigation remains small scale and the large and long-awaited government-financed project is still not complete-suggesting that government support in this regard is weak or inadequate. There is uninterrupted provision of advice from government to implement new agricultural technologies but not all farmers are potentially fit to do so. What is more, these respondents said, the advices are mainly given for the male household heads and wives do not get them even though they may benefit when male farmers discuss as to how to implement new knowledge and information with their household members. These respondents had taken orientation in livestock hybridization given by the development agents. Participants were only hybrid cow owners.

One of the respondents stated he does not think they have problems with the agricultural extension advices given by government but their main problem is one of commitment and accepting what they have been told. He added, they have to listen to many advices on an everyday basis but only a few people make that practical.

Two mid-wealth farmers who said they are not practicing irrigation neither in gardens nor in the fields, also stated, like other two poor male farmers, they do not have the capacity to own water wells. They added, community awareness about irrigation is very high compared to five years ago and there are people who have practically started irrigating their crop fields at private level. At one point in the past, they recalled, the NGO Passion Connect started organising farmers for irrigation for which they paid 500 birr as a registration fee. They suggested that inability to use irrigation is a wasted chance for the community and is more so for some households who need it more.

Livestock

There is no change reported in regard to government intervention in livestock production. Medicines and artificial insemination are provided by the veterinary technician based in Ude and extension advice by the livestock development agent but also by others as services are provided on the basis of a cluster whereby each development agent does all aspects of agricultural extension (livestock, crops and NRM), unless for issues that need specialty knowledge.

A rich farmer was very appreciative of the advice as he recently attended training at Ude FTC on fattening, including fodder preparation from locally available materials. Two years ago, another rich farmer took training on bee-keeping by wereda bee-keeping experts at Ude FTC. However, he lamented that there is no honey as there has been no practical or resource-based support from the government, over and above mere awareness creation. Two male farmers of middle wealth diverged on fattening. One of them said education and different training activities were provided for model farmers about fattening but no resources were given to the less-resourced who might want to emulate the model farmers. The other mentioned he did not hear any advice about fattening from the government. Like others, they did mention about government advices to start modern honey production using modern bee-hives and techniques, but like many others, they have not yet practiced this. They made reference to bee-hives kept at Ude FTC for demonstration and motivational purposes but no one has yet procured and started using modern or transitional bee-hives to transform traditional bee-keeping which itself is carried out at a minimal and diminishing level compared to the time before five years.

Two other respondents (one poor and another landless farmer) have the same reflections about government support to improve agricultural production. They agree with the others that government support is good, especially with regard to fertilisers' provision and regular advice from development agents. The landless farmer added he is receiving advice from development agents who are encouraging him to start livestock fattening, also mentioning that he has been planting the *boaset* variety teff which he said was introduced to the community by agricultural development agents. DAs, they said, are not the only sources of advice and information but also other experts from the wereda agriculture office.

The case of a rich farming household as narrated by the wife may illustrate the role of the wereda in smallholder agriculture development.

Box 16. A case of a household illustrating government intervention

The household has five dairy cows and company clients come to their house to collect the milk. Besides, there are government institutions working on supporting the milk production such as the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute and the wereda agriculture office. These institutions support the family in the areas of training on the productivity of milk and milk products, keeping the health of the livestock, preparation of balanced cattle feed and the like. There was a support in terms of providing farmers with selected chicken and calves with fair prices. As model farmers, she used these few selected animals to teach and assist other farmers. She mentioned at that time each model farmer had about fifty chickens for business purposes. Other farmers also had some ten or fifteen chickens kept for consumption purposes (the eggs). She also had 50 chickens but to focus on other business, she sold them and now has only five chickens to use for consumption purpose. Before some three years, she was fattening cattle and the household was selling each for 18,000 - 22,000 birr. The household has never been engaged in honey production. She further stated that some years ago her husband was awarded a residential land of 140 meters square in Dukem area as an encouragement for being a model farmer. They have started the basement work and the superstructure has to be yet constructed.

In the face of this encouraging result, one may also encounter the disheartening case of poor farming households unable to get their due share of the developmental interventions of government. The poor female heading household and the wife of a poor farmer mentioned they do not have or do not keep any livestock which means a lot for a rural household in a country, as an Ethiopia geographer remarked, livestock are for the poor rural households what a bank account is for the urban middle class. The downside of their case is not only economical but also informational. As they were not raising any kind of livestock, they knew nothing about the services and support provided by government to improve livestock production in the area. They did not try to keep even chicken.

Natural resource management

As wereda officials said tree planting done each year can be regarded as part of wereda intervention to improve the agricultural resource based as a soil and water conservation intervention.²⁰ Accordingly many trees are planted each year, in Ude Dhenkaka kebele as well. However, they said it is very deplorable that planted trees are not found on the ground after a while. Speaking of the reasons they cited lack of protection for the planted seedlings that deprive them of the chance to survive and grow. These respondents from the wereda said most farmers give attention to eucalyptus trees due to their market value and service in the construction of houses.

Agricultural Research Institute

Crops

The Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute can be seen as the hub of agricultural technology, innovation and knowledge for the surrounding communities including Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Along with agricultural development agents and other actors, it has been providing new inputs and training farmers on the use of these inputs. Over the years, it has been developing and providing farmers with different varieties of teff, chickpea and other crops. Even though most community respondents mentioned that there have been no new seeds or new seed varieties made available by the institute over the last five years, no inadequacy is mentioned in this regard as there are also other seed suppliers in the area. No observable change in the community outreach of this institute has been seen over the last five years. It could be said it has been maintaining the pace over the last five year.

Livestock

The institute has also been supplying farmers with hybrid dairy cows and chickens, a practice which has continued over the last five years. In this respect as well, the role of the institute is appreciated by the community and there is no report of change over the last five years.

Natural resource management

The role of the institute in this respect is not reported.

Extension services and beneficiaries

A female development agent said the main activities of agricultural development agents are mobilising the community for environmental conservation activities, including erosion prevention and forestation; introducing new agricultural technologies for farmers; educating the farmers about fertilisers, weed killers, row- planting, improved seeds and use of hybrids. In addition, encouraging them to use these technologies, including practical demonstration on improved seeds and fertilisers

²⁰ Conserving soil, retaining water, and boosting productivity and production are the three benefits of planting trees from an agricultural point of view. Nonetheless, very insignificant percentage of planted trees in Ethiopia have celebrated their first birthday leave alone thrive and grow to form bigger vegetations and forests. Lack of care or negligence is the culprit that takes the lion's share of the problem. Otherwise, there are evidences of nearly 100 percent survival and turning into young trees of planted seedlings in Ethiopia even on relatively poor soils.

application, fall at the centre of their duties and responsibilities. Selecting model farmers is also another key aspect of their job but also a key thrust to get their job done through the model farmers.

Community respondents stated that education, training and provision of fertilisers, improved seeds and other inputs are core aspects of the services of the agricultural development agents. Rich farmers mentioned that development agents are mainly providing advice on fattening and milk production rather than on chicken and egg production, probably serving as an additional factor for some people to have a negative opinion of poultry farming or investment. In addition, there has been significant education and training on the use of fertilisers for teff production, row-planting and early harvesting. The respondents do not know the current number of model farmers in the community but they stated that they were selected because of their experience of getting good yield. The model farmers are good sources of information and other farmers are following their footsteps so as to improve their agricultural performance.

In the face of these duties and responsibilities of agricultural development agents, wereda officials stated that the main focus of the agricultural crop programme last year was the production of teff, chickpeas, lentils, wheat, barley, and beans. According to them, this programme was successful since almost all farmers have used modern agricultural inputs such as fertilisers, pesticides and recently introduced improved seeds. Even through irrigation some farmers were, as they do now, producing vegetables. Regarding livestock, the wereda officials said, the main focus of the programme last year was rearing dairy cows, poultry farms, fattening and trading in cattle. This programme was successful too as farmers with financial capacity were well engaged in these activities. However, , they acknowledged the program was not without problems, as those who lacked capital were not involved in these activities. An NGO known as OSRA (Oromo Self-Reliance Association?) was engaged in the advancement of milk and milk products by providing special kinds of hybrid animals but the provision did not last long.

A male, middle-wealth farmer said sometimes there are training events on different new agricultural technologies for model farmers who later transfer the messages to the entire community. Another male, middle-wealth farmer added, training about new agricultural inputs are not limited to model farmers; rather everybody engaged in farming is invited to attend. He mentioned himself as example, who, despite being a non-model farmer, took one-day training/orientation about agricultural technologies delivered by a development agent in Ude. Both of these middle-wealth farmers mentioned that agricultural extension workers are always in the community and are helping them, showing them new technologies. However, they added that the services were not adequate and should be extended to the peripheral parts of the kebele. One of them added that while it is good having them in the community, there is a need for improvement in terms of consistency and providing regular support.

Another farmer stated new technologies introduced recently in the kebele include using soil specific fertilisers and use of holistic weed killers. What is still unimproved is tilling of the land with oxen drawn ploughs and there is no machine for threshing and harvesting. Introduction of new seeds including that called *kora* by Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute is also part of new farming technologies introduced in the kebele.

Even though there is no discrimination in the provision of agricultural extension services, the poor are disadvantaged because of inability to procure farm inputs, lack of land and related reasons. There was no mention of specific support for them even though, some young people have been allocated land for different income generating activities like livestock fattening.

The following cases of two poor young men with wives who have migrated may reveal the issues facing non-beneficiaries of agricultural extension services and what might be done to improve their lot.

Box 17. Young people unable to benefit from agricultural extension services

Case one: This young man is poor, 26, and married but his wife who he married six years ago is not living with him. She went to Beirut for work. They have two kids who are living with her parents. Currently, he is living on what he earns from the horse cart service he is driving and some remittances from his wife. He does not have sufficient land to cultivate and to raise their children and this was the reason he sent his wife abroad. It also used to worry him that when the kids reach five they need to go to school and need better clothes and textbooks. He said, *"I can say that I am among the poor households who cannot afford my children those basic needs."*

Case two: The second young man is also poor, married in 2015/16 and has one child. Like the first young man, he is not living with his wife; rather he is living with his sister as his wife has also gone to Beirut for work. He is living on farming and income from flower farms where he works sometimes. He has completed grade 10 but did not have good enough result to enter college and does not have the financial capacity to go to private colleges. He said he does not have the interest to further his education because of memory lapse. He stated, *"I can confidently say that I am poor. If I were rich why should I send my wife abroad? It is only because of my poverty that I sent my wife abroad, separating her from myself and her kid."*

Regarding further support needed male respondents have mentioned: timely provision of advanced seed and fertilisers for the community; intensive mobilisation; and establishment of cooperatives on modern bee keeping and creating market links for those who are working in different sectors. Men from different social classes added there might be changes to cattle and other livestock production but what does it mean for the people if the individual cannot purchase a single chicken for household consumption because high prices.

The wereda official for land administration said she thinks agriculture is the programme with many problems related with lack of inputs like fertilisers and new agricultural technologies. Not only its presence but also the quality of fertilisers itself is a longstanding problem of the community. Fertilisers that had been in use so far were not matching the types of soil in the wereda and it has been only a few years since such fertilisers have been in use by farmers in the wereda. Still there are several gaps with respect to agricultural technologies such as introduction of threshing machines, tractors and others. She said, *"They are educating the farmers about the implementation of new technologies but they cannot practically supply these inputs for the farmers"*, adding that *"failing to supply what is theoretically told them to implement would make them never listen to us after that"*. She described the farmers as highly civilized.

The female development agent in Ude Dhenkaka reflected that everything is challenging for development agents, especially for females like her. There is no transport in the rural area and they have to walk to reach every farmer. On top of this, most of the time, they simply educate farmers in theory because of lack of supply /inputs to show them practically. For example, when they educate farmers to use threshing machines, they do not have the machine to show them how it works. While the people are largely receptive, sometimes community resistance to new technologies is additional challenge for the development agents. A rich male farmer said, *"We are taking advice and seeing practical demonstrations of different agricultural technologies from them. They provide very good services."* Community respondents (rich, medium and poor farmers) added that it is good having the agricultural development agents in their communities.

Farmers' Training Centre and Beneficiaries

The Sirba kebele has a Farmers' Training Centre in Ude. The purpose of this centre is to serve as a learning and demonstration centre for the farmers not only through the development agents based in the community but also wereda experts and others. The centre, as the kebele agricultural

extension office, operates through the following staff in collaboration with the kebele administration office.

Crops

YS, 28, is a female development agent for crops development working in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Originally from Jimma, she has been working here for the last two years. Describing the best performance achieved, she said, *“When I came to Ude kebele, Ude FTC was a non-model FTC and currently it is a model FTC in our wereda. We did a lot to achieve this. I am working hard on introducing farmers to new agricultural technologies, including improved seeds production and distribution. Working for the community and making a difference is what I like about my job. We are closely working with zone/got leaders.”*

Livestock

TL, 29, and originally from West Shewa, is a male development agent for livestock development in Ude Dhenkaka and has been working in this kebele for the last three years. He said that despite their field of specialisation, they work in clusters in which a development agent is assigned to a zone in the kebele working on all aspects of agricultural extension, including livestock development and natural resource management. He has been mainly working on familiarising the community with modern livestock breeding like hybridisation and use of tractors for farming.

In addition, LB, 30, is a veterinary or vet technician working in this kebele. He presented himself as a very hard working expert whose service has been highly appreciated by the community. In addition to his role as a government staff, he mentioned he is vending his own drugs to the rural communities, also personally providing (selling) vaccines for animals in the rural areas on a regular basis. He added he is selling animal drugs for the communities which are not available in the government stock. He has been serving this community for the last five years.

Natural resource management

Ude Dhenkaka did not have development agent for natural resource management the time data was collected for this study. It was reported that the agent (a woman) left a few months ago but with no information on why or where.

Non-farming

This chapter covers the entire range of non-farming activities, attempts and efforts of the community including non-farm inward investment and addresses all sorts of non-farm production activities, services, trade, non-farm employments, migration for non-farm work (both local and international), entrepreneurs' activities as well as other negative livelihood activities like theft and burglary. The chapter also covers innovation in the sector and diversification of non-farming businesses in addition to the dominant farming activities, as well as trends of shifting from farming to non-farming economic activities. Shops, crop trading and hospitality services are the three booming non-farm economic activities.

Non-farm activities are undertaken both individually and in groups/cooperatives. Cooperative non-farming activities (NFA) are mostly related to government programs either through youth policies and programs, or poverty reduction and job creation interventions. Individual entrepreneurs are engaging in the NFA with their own funds and different sources of capital, including micro-finance and social capital such as family/kin support.

All Productive Businesses

Productive businesses in Ude Dhenkaka kebele are done by three actors: investors, individual community members, and groups/cooperatives. There are factories in the kebele producing furniture, textile, packaging and plastic materials in addition to a large flower farming company. Despite some complaints about health impacts and low wages, people mentioned that these

companies have created job opportunities for youth and the community in general. The flower farming in particular is condemned for lowering crop yields in the adjacent fields of smallholder farmers which they suspect may be due to chemical discharge into their farm/soil. The furniture company which is also engaged in dairy farming is owned by Dutch investors and the manager interviewed believes that they have created jobs for youth in the kebele and they also made quality furniture available in their show-room for interested community members.

There are individual and group efforts in engaging in non-farm production activities by the community members and these activities include: food processing like grinding mills and bakeries, local drinks production, mainly *tella*, *tej*, *areqe*, construction like woodwork and metal work, a bricks factory which is not functional at the moment, and mining (quarrying) done by cooperatives/groups that are legally registered and licensed by the municipality.

There are at least 3 mills in Sirba village and 4 in Ude town. The grain mills are owned by both locals and immigrants. Ude Mahibasi is another large productive business having multiple services and business activities in Ude, including one grain mill.

Food Processing

The activities are very limited to only three ways of food processing in the community. Grain mills, bakery and processing of food and drinks locally in small and relatively bigger hotels. There are about 7 mills in the community, 4 of them being in Ude, and 3 in Sirba village. Processing of local drinks like *tejj*, *tella*, and *areqe* are the major local forms of production of liquor with different mixtures and levels of alcohol contents. Both hotel services and alcoholic drinks are described in detail below in the hospitality sub-section.

Hospitality

Hospitality is one of the major non-farming sectors growing faster than other sectors. It includes hotels (which in local practice do not provide lodging services, only food and drinks)²¹, groceries, small meal houses, and local liquor houses (*tella*, *tej* and *areqe* houses). Together these businesses are the dominant service sector which engages many entrepreneurs. It is also the service sector creating comparatively more jobs for the people. There were many changes to the number of hotels and the level of services offered in the past five years. Previously there were only a few hotels in Ude and nothing in Sirba. Currently, there are significant changes not only in Ude but also in Sirba. There are groceries and small shops in Sirba village too. The flourishing of hospitality services is part of a broader trend in expansion of non-farm businesses brought about by urban expansion. A woman hotel owner is presented as a case below.

Box 18. The case of a successful woman running a hotel in Ude

The hotel owner is a woman who is married and has three children. Her business started 10 years ago by preparing and selling tea and bread in front of the school; currently she provides drinks like beer, bottled alcoholic drinks, local drinks like areqe and tej. The hotel also provides fasting and non-fasting foods as well as coffee. The hotel has butchery with it and she serves fish during the big fasting seasons. The business is growing faster these days and now even she has become a distributor of alcoholic and soft drinks to the neighbouring kebeles. She owns a truck which brings the drinks for distribution. She inherited the land where she built the hotel.

She hired 16 female and 8 male workers and built a house inside her hotel compound for these employees. However, most of these workers are not from the community, because people in the area do not appreciate such jobs in hotel and domestic works. She pays 700 birr minimum for each on top of food and accommodation. To strengthen her business, the owner took a loan from the MFI called WALQO, and even recently borrowed 80,000 birr. She got the license from the Ada'a Wereda and pays taxes to same

²¹One of the authors of the CR, living in Sirba, notes that the decision not to provide lodging services is a sensible one as most travellers would rather stay in neighbouring Mojo or Bishoftu.

revenue authority. Government employees, farmers, people from neighbouring kebeles crossing Ude to go to Bishoftu stop by and use her hotel services.

Image 7. The successful woman running her business



Image 8. Young people in hospitality business



However, still the changes are believed to be inadequate compared to the needs of the community and the potential in the area. For example, there are at least 5 butchers and the quality of services is improving but the people interviewed by research officers, still do not believe that it is enough compared to the demand and customers are looking for much better quality butcher services like in Mojo and Bishoftu towns. Farmers coming from other deep rural surrounding villages appreciate the hotels in Ude, but people in Ude still demand more quality service like in the big towns mentioned above. Despite the expansion of hotels, there is no single hotel to provide adequate lodging service in the kebele so that guests have to travel either to Mojo or Bishoftu town to find such service. Regarding ownership, only a few local people owned hotels in Ude, as people from Addis Ababa and Bishoftu are coming to start hospitality services.

It is believed that there are many changes to the quality of services, number of hotels and construction of new hotels, and those recently established hotels are somewhat modernised and well-designed compared to the older ones. There is a sense of competition between hotels specially, between pre-existing hotels and newly established ones. For example; *Nutis kane* hotel and *Fikire* hotels are new ones which are highly competing with *Roza* hotel which is the pioneer and best known hotel and *Tej* house in Ude town.

There are also medium-sized hotels mainly providing meals, butcher and drinking services, notably beer and *areqe* but these are not comparable to the services provided by the big hotels mentioned above.

Regarding licensing, one hotel owner who owns a butchery was told to get a TIN (tax Identifier number) from Adama town, where the process was not easy to complete rapidly, and the kebele officials sealed the hotel for two weeks until the owner could get the TIN and licenses. She also mentioned that her profit is very low as she couldn't compete with Roza (the big hotel owner), but she has been asked to pay 40,000 birr annual tax, which was later reduced to half when she complained. She also added that Kebele officials have preferences and never visit her hotel going instead to Roza's hotel regularly which she calls a 'bias'.

Apart from serving regular customers, the big hotels also have a chance to bid for government auctions for the provision of services during frequent government meetings and training events in the kebele as well as in Bishoftu town. They consider this as government support to encourage and motivate the hospitality business in the area. For instance, last year, one hotel owner won the bid for the provision of breakfast, lunch and dinner for trainees in Ude town. The trainees were militias from all 27 kebeles (from Ada'a wereda) and 20 participants have been involved from each kebele. The training lasted for 20 days and was a good opportunity for the hotel owner to make a significant profit. At other times also hotel owners were given a chance of producing refreshments for training. One hotel owner even won the bid for the supply of refreshment services in different programs in Bishoftu town. One female hotel owner is a model in provision of service for the government and others are trying to follow her.

Spatial patterns of hospitality businesses

In general, businesses of all sorts are concentrated in Ude (the small town centre), mainly on both sides of the asphalt road and on the way to Gafat Armament Industry. There are many productive businesses: like hotels, cafes, woodworks, metal works, bakeries and grain mills in this location. However, in Sirba there are only small groceries where local *areqe*, beer and *shiro* houses are found in addition to a barber, and metal workshop. These small traders are mainly females who are selling *Tella*, *Areqe*, and *shiro*. These traders are mainly using cups as a measurement scale with prices set per cup. Poultry is one of the big expanding businesses in Sirba village.

Non-farm employment in the hospitality sector

Opportunities have been created mainly for women in the area. However, the chance is grabbed by girls coming from elsewhere including from Bishoftu town. No local people are working in hotels and restaurants as waiters due to taboo/lack of appreciation by the community. There are a few local employees in these hotels as guards and daily workers. There is no data on the total number of employees in hotels located in Ude town; in just one of these there are 24 employees.

Construction

House construction, woodwork, metalwork and bricks factories are the only construction non-farm activities mentioned and even the latter is not functional at the moment. More houses are being built by some community members, due to the increased urbanisation process, which created jobs for skilled workers like carpenters, and for daily workers. It also created better markets for farmers growing eucalyptus trees as it is the major construction material in the area.

Compared with 5 years ago, the number of people working in the construction sector has been increasing as more houses (both residential as well as commercial) are under construction and maintenance. Metalwork and woodwork are there as new emerging businesses in relation to the expansion of housing construction driven by urbanisation. There are a few metalwork and woodwork businesses owned individually and in groups or cooperatives, and two cases are presented below:

Box 19. Two cases of workshops manufacturing goods for sale

Case of Metal Workshop in Sirba village:

The young man in Sirba migrated to Mojo town 10 km to the east, in search of work and he got a chance to be employed as an assistant in a metal workshop. After a few years, he returned back with a skill through learning by doing, and with some savings to start his own metal workshop in Sirba village. His parents offered him working space/land, he bought some small machines like a grinder, drill and hand tools to start. He tried to get assistance from people he knows but no one was helpful in the beginning. He still has a need for bigger machines; sometimes when the work demands, at times he has to go back to his former employer in Mojo to lend him those machines (notably a big grinder and drill) temporarily. Due to lack of well performing big machines, he says, he cannot finish all orders as fast as he could.

From the experience so far, he says the business is promising and profitable though high cost of paints, stucco and different metals became a challenge recently. Since it is the only such workshop in the village, there is high demand. He started the business six months ago, and he already has a licence, though he has not yet started paying income tax. He didn't hire an assistant yet, but with the current increasing demand, he is planning to invite his friend to work with him as daily paid assistant.

Groups/Cooperatives based Wood Workshops:

Two cooperatives were established in 2018 with the same objective of producing furniture like couches, beds and, shelves based on customers' orders. These workshops are currently active and performing well. All the 10 members in these coops are male, who are actively working in the business. They have got a start-up fund from the government and purchased all the necessary equipment and materials. The town administration also provided them with a shed for their workshop and a showroom to sell their products on the main asphalt road. They produce in response to orders placed for them as well as furniture that is ready for market. The municipality official believes that these cooperatives are very successful because of members' commitment and demand for their products by the community. The officials are trying to solve their market linkages problems specially by linking them with governmental offices and organisations in Ude and Bishoftu.

Non-farm producer co-operatives

The interview with the wereda representative revealed that they have different programs in creating jobs and opportunities for people both in Ude Dhenkaka community and elsewhere. As an example of huge funding and intervention, the respondent mentioned Dire kebele where they have identified 3,000 jobless youth who are organised in producer cooperatives in mining materials for cement and block works. An excavator was also purchased for 5 million birr for the associations working with mining. The money for the excavator was provided by Oromia Saving and Credit Association/WALQO and METEC (Metals and Engineering Corporation) in the form of a loan. In this big cooperative, there are a few women included while the majority of the members are male.

Starting from 2009 about 16 productive cooperatives were established in Ude Dhenkaka both in farming and non-farming activities especially in irrigation, fattening, quarrying, sand, manufacturing and dairy activities. Out of these, 11 were able to secure funds and start functioning, while the remaining five are still unable to get assistance on time from the municipality. Some of the non-farming cooperatives are not successful, mainly that of sand mining compared to the group for manufacturing/furniture.

In general, the non-farm producer cooperatives in the community are engaged in mining of sand and stone/quarry, manufacturing of furniture, and there is one farming producer coop which is planning to expand to a non-farming producer sector mainly establishing a flour factory.

Box 20. Performance of quarry and sand cooperatives

Quarry coops: There are at least four quarry coops in Sirba Village, and a member in one of these was interviewed for this study. He mentioned that their group was established 8 years ago by 20 landless and

jobless young men that are beneficiaries in his group. In general, the wereda and kebele provided assistance to the quarry group by giving 3,200 square meters of land in the group's name with a title deeds map that has to be renewed every year. The wereda also provided them training on savings and transforming their lives. The respondent also said, their plan is to save money and once they are able to accumulate capital, they hope to engage in the manufacturing sector/small industries. However, the groups are using hand tools which they bought themselves, and the government didn't provide any tool or machine to assist in the mining process. The main problem of the coops is market linkages. They sell their products to individual customers through brokers that are benefiting from their sweat as he put it. The respondent has ¼ of a hectare farmland inherited from his parents, and he is planning to marry next year, though he doesn't have his own house. In his opinion, the benefit is more or less good, though the job is difficult. He mentioned that they are able to make a living out of it and support themselves and their families.

Coop for Sand Mining:

In 2017, Ude town administration organised a cooperative by recruiting jobless young men to engage in sand and concrete materials mining. The wereda provided them a site where these materials are found in the Kebele. Machines including a crushing machine and an excavator and other equipment have been provided to this coop by the government to enable them to produce with full capacity. However, the machine bought was unable to crush the hard black stone in the site, frustrating the cooperative members and the wereda official interviewed said that this coop was not successful due to the issue with the machine, coupled with poor market linkages. With regards to market linkages for cooperatives in the wereda, he added that the office is trying to create linkages for all producer coops. Regarding bringing more efficient machines, the wereda did not say anything, but the coop members believe that it is essential that they get a stronger machine that can deal with the types of materials to be extracted.

Non-Farm Work Opportunities

Unemployment, landlessness and lack of access to water are described as the three major problems of the community in Ude Dhenkaka. The non-farm work opportunities generally fall into three categories; employment, business opportunities, and non-farm cooperatives. People, mainly youth, have a chance to get employment in factories, flower farms, poultry farms, hotels, groceries, bakeries and others. Besides, some skilled workers like carpenters and daily workers have the chance to work on construction sites that are increasingly expanding in the area. On the other hand, there are businesses creating non-farm opportunities for some community members which are hotels of different sizes, beauty salons, bakeries, metal and wood work activities, mobile maintenance (only one case), transport sector activities like bajaj, horse carts, shops (opened also by returnee women from Arab countries), and petty trade like preparing *tella* and other local drinks. It is mentioned that some of the businesses, however, are started by urban creep from Bishoftu and Addis Ababa. On the other hand in-migrants are becoming competitors by taking jobs for lesser salaries, and one of the local young men engaged in daily labour said that, in-migrants are taking jobs for 200 birr only while they (locals) could have charged 500 birr.

Due to the establishment of the municipality, the number of civil servants has increased in the past five years which previously included only the kebele manager, development workers and HEWs. The Kebele administration hired guards for the school and Health Post (HP); the latter has no salary but the privilege of living in a room within the compound of the HP.

A young man interviewed for this study said that the majority of the youth want to work in offices and the government youth interventions seem less satisfactory to them so far. Another young man also mentioned that unemployment is high, partly because many youth are unqualified/less skilled, and also since there are no job opportunities in the area. However, unlike many who are looking for office jobs, one of the plant science graduates, who has been working in an office at the wereda recently decided to quit and engage in poultry farming which he found more useful.

RATSON an NGO hired five kindergarten teachers and some of them are from the community. However, it is said that mostly people in the area didn't go on to further levels of education and engaged in different income earning activities rather than in formal employment. Recently only about 5 youth were able to complete university degrees and got formal jobs.

Some well to do families, mainly those who are engaged in non-farm activities, are also using their family labour which means they created jobs for their children with future prospects of business ownership and skills. For example, the owner of a grain mill, crop trading, minibus, shop and grocery said his family takes the lead in managing the business when he is not around, and they assist him in each step. Likewise, one of the crop traders mentioned that his children are helping him in the business. (For more on this see the Chapter on Youth Economic and other Experiences).

Box 21. Employment in private businesses

A woman who owns a hotel in Ude for instance, hired 16 women and 8 men in her hotel; a grocery and bakery together hired 7 people, another hotel in Ude also hired 20 waitresses and a guard apart from temporary daily labour works available for local people at this hotel.

Through government programs/intervention, about 11 coops were made functional to engage in both farming and non-farming activities. These coops have been given funds and space though 5 other coops remained behind due to lack of adequate funding from the municipality to lend them seed money. There are also about 4 coops organised for mining of stones, and in one of the coops there are 20 landless and jobless young men who are beneficiaries. These groups have been given training on saving and 3,200 square meters land on the site. However, there is no financial assistance or machine supply to any of these coops. The sand mining coop which has been supported by heavy-duty mining machine and equipment failed to function due to the poor quality of the machine bought, as clearly elaborated in the non-farm cooperatives section.

The wereda official said that there are four SME (Small & Medium Enterprises) centres in four kebeles in the wereda. Jobless people report to them, and they facilitate loans for them, assist them with business plan preparation, training and if the project needs a loan, it is transferred to the wereda through the SMEs. One of these four centres is found in Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

Factors facilitating non-farm work opportunities

Four major factors have been mentioned in fostering the non-farm sector and opportunities related to it. These are urbanisation and ongoing construction, electric power, inward investment and government intervention mainly through small and medium enterprises/SME to assist in the formation and functioning of cooperatives.

For instance, electricity, apart from home use, is believed to have encouraged businesses like beauty salons, bakeries, mobile maintenance shops, wood work and metal works and others, though the latter two are also facilitated by the expansion of construction. Hotels also use the power for freezing drinks, for cooking and to entertain their customers with music and TV. Some poor farmers borrow the line from their neighbours since they cannot afford paying for the control box, and the grid connection in the community created a new rich-poor life style differentiation; one of the mid-wealth farmers interviewed said 'you can see refrigerators in the rich farmers' houses, but the poor farmers do not even know what it means'. He added that the gap between the rich and poor increased in the last 10 years. There are also cooking facilities and multiple electronic gadgets in the rich households as stated by different respondents. Despite the contributions of electric power, access and its contribution, frequent power cuts are disrupting these new small-scale productive businesses and hotels' activities. Some farmers even complained about losing power at home which affects their recreation like access to TV (news, movies etc).

A poor woman receiving assistance from a neighbour and the landless farmer who is renting in land, hope that expansion of urbanisation would create more non-farm job opportunities for people like them and said even today it is bringing businesses, meal houses, butchers, shops, and youth groups also having more access to loans and began fattening, selling oxen/trading livestock and doing other activities.

Creation of non-farm opportunities

The wereda administration says there are no new non-farm job opportunities being created in recent years and even the existing ones are less satisfactory due to low wages. However, the Kebele manager believes that, there are new jobs of course but the payment rate is low and people are complaining about investors/employers. Community members do not believe in the emergence of new opportunities these days and they are not even satisfied by existing ones; however, they said that the Oromia regional government promised a lot in this regard, and they are hoping that the promises will be fulfilled soon.

With regards to domestic workers, it is mentioned that people are not interested to work as domestic workers within the community, therefore in-migrants are taking the opportunity, though again these in-migrants prefer to work in factories and other investments in the area rather than remaining a domestic servant for longer, which is making the sector vacant these days. The taboo and pride do not end by refusing domestic work but also opportunities availed by entrepreneurs in those emerging hotels. Almost all the waitresses in the hotels in Ude are from Bishoftu, and elsewhere. The very poor woman who is collecting dung and selling it at Bishoftu even prefers to stick to this minor income and selling of *Tella* (local drink) casually, rather than taking these low status jobs. The hotel owner who employed 24 people said none of her workers earn less than 700 birr a month on top of food and accommodation.

Youth in the community are giving poor attention to education and drop out from 8th grade to get non-farm employment in factories, get drivers' licenses, or girls to migrate to Arab states, and the later are even encouraged by parents in order to get remittances. Today, only small plots of land can be inherited by youth, if even that is possible, and it is not helping them to establish a family and support themselves. On the other hand, non-farm work opportunities are not dependable due to very low wages.

Families help their children to engage in non-farm activities whenever they are capable of supporting them. The rich farmer interviewed said he has 8 children, two of whom are farmers having their own family and house; he bought a bajaj (three-wheel taxi) for his other two sons working in the transport sector and another is studying medicine at Haramaya University. He emphasised that parents' role in shaping their children's future is huge, but there is a gap in this regard.

There are very few educated people from the kebele employed further away since the extent of joining higher education is limited so the majority of people remain within the kebele, apart from the international migration of girls to Arab nations.

Start up and current capital

For all non-farm activities done by community members, people are able to use different sources like own savings, family/kin support or matching fund, *iqqub* pay outs, remittance/money brought from saving from international migration, and youth revolving funds/government funding in general.

Women, mostly those involved in trading activities, have been saving money in *iqqub*. Recently due to the urbanisation of the locality and re-establishment of open markets the number of women involved in business activities has been increasing and new *iqqub* have also been established on a neighbourhood basis. Some *iqqub* give the turn payment sooner for those who need cash for urgent things including starting of business. There is also a trend of getting money in the form of loans from

those who get money from the *iqqub* by paying additional money until their turn for the pay-out. There is an *iqqub* started by traders living close to one-another six years ago and the roll out is weekly which is still continued. As mentioned above the diaspora from Arab countries also used their saving/remittance to open shops and groceries.

Government funds are given mostly for youth groups who are about to engage either in farming or non-farming activities, including trade, fattening of animals, opening shops and the like activities. The support includes working space like shops.

In this fiscal year, at least 15 groups/associations have been organised in Ude, with a total of 92 members (61 male and 31 female). From these 15 groups 11 of them have obtained loans from youth revolving fund.

Only this year more than three million birr was given to these groups organised in Ude. Though there are some groups who failed to perform well, most groups/associations in Ude are working well and started returning the money they have borrowed; according to their agreement, some pay on monthly basis and others on quarterly basis. This is considered to be a significant success. Due to this, *Oromia* Saving and Credit Association prefers lending money to associations in Ude.

On the other hand, some shops are still closed because after trying for some time they thought the location is not good as they did not get enough customers. It is obvious that they will be in debt and would not be able to pay back the loan they received. This is considered to be a major weakness or challenge for the program.

The youth revolving fund is creating a chance for economic opportunities for men as well as women by engaging them in coops; the fund has been given to 11 coops that are engaged in various businesses. A coop member respondent heard that the highest loan one group received was 300,000 birr, but the dairy farming coop received 400,000 birr.

As mentioned above, individual businesses have faced challenges to access government support and loans. The woman entrepreneur interviewed in Ude, has a beauty salon and she had to convince her sister to allow her space in her home, and contribute money to buy equipment for hair dressing including a dryer which finally enabled her to start the business by involving her sister who got a matching fund and space.

This year, a group of 3 female and 2 male youth started to form a legal group as advised by the municipality; however, they had to wait 6 months to access a loan and start business. In fact, another youth group, which has been given space/a container shop, has been waiting for a long period to access a loan from the youth revolving fund, but finally the officials at the municipality informed them that the fund has been fully distributed, and there is no further funds coming from the government. At this time they have lost hope and started the shop business with their own contributed money.

A young man, who has migrated away to Mojo town in search of a job, worked there and saved money to return back and start his own metal workshop business in Sirba. He felt that the business is promising but still faces a shortage of equipment which he could not fulfil due to lack of budget. Therefore, for the time being, he is borrowing some items like a big cutter and grinder from his friend living in Mojo town.

Crop and livestock trading

The data show that crop trade is more significant than livestock trading in Ude Dhenkaka. There are a few big traders and also small traders of two types. Some try to trade in crops using small start-up capital obtained from alternative sources, and also there are farmers who collect small amounts of crops by moving door to door supplying to big traders for a small profit. Youth are not involved in crop trading in the community.

The most common crop for trade however are *teff*, chickpeas, beans, lentils, maize and wheat, though the first two are considered to be the most profitable. One of the rich crop traders in the kebele started buying potatoes but did not find it that much encouraging continuing with it. At Ude open market on Sundays there are women selling vegetables bought from producers on a nearby investor's farm.²² Coffee does not grow in the area and the crop traders are not engaged in trading it. For almost all crops, January to February is the season for crop trading/purchase, March being the peak month. This is because it is a period for harvesting, and time to pay land tax and other government contributions. (See for detail the Farming Chapter).

The biggest crop trader in Ude Dhenkaka said that, on average, he might buy 15-20 quintals of *teff* and up to 8 quintals of chickpeas in a given market day weekly. He believes that there are no big traders at his level though there are other traders with slightly lower capacity with whom he cooperates by lending crops when buyers come to transport crops.

According to the big crop trader, engaging in trading of agricultural products is good but livestock trading is said to be more profitable mainly by buying from the community and selling elsewhere like in Adama and Mojo town. However, people would rather focus on crop trading. There are youth organised in coops and given seed money from the youth revolving fund from the municipality and some of these coops are engaged in fattening of bulls. They sometimes even bring these bulls from Adama town and fatten them for up to 3 months to sell to buyers coming from Bishoftu and Addis Ababa. With the inflation in the past six months, the price increased even from the source (Adama), but before that a bull bought for 10,000 birr used to be sold for 20,000-25000 birr depending on the weight they are able to gain through the fattening process (Additional data by Shiferaw).

The crop traders at various levels interviewed and the source of fund for their business initials were; *iqqub*, own savings from farming activities, kin/family support, and Oromia Credit and Saving Association. However, the major challenge repeatedly mentioned by crop traders in the area was shortage of capital and storage, and some of the small traders are discouraged to stay in the business since they are not able to buy large amounts to compete with the big traders. Two of these traders were frustrated and they were considering quitting as a last option, one of them saying that government should intervene to address the issue of capital constraint.

Mostly crop traders buy crops from farmers but the big traders also buy from petty traders who collect grain from farmers by moving door-to-door. Crops are sold by measuring the weight.

Price fixing and competition

The price of crops differs depending on the type and quality. For example, white *teff* is more expensive than red *teff*. However, lentils and white coloured chickpeas have a better market/demand and price than other crops even *teff*, especially in the last two years. The price is agreed by negotiation with farmers and they are well aware about updated prices, and they also crosscheck market value by asking different traders before they make a decision to sell. Even though the price of crops is increasing considerably, both buying and selling prices are very seasonal and there is no fixed price system. Price increases in the rainy season since grain supply declines during this time. During harvesting, however, prices are low, and farmers could get better price if they sell to cooperative/associations organised by the government to purchase crops, though one has to be a member to this association, in order to get better price. The association also provides improved seeds to member farmers and make sure that they produce better quality crop and eventually sells the grains collected/purchased to big seed companies like the one found in Assella town in Arsi zone.

²² This is additional data from Shiferaw Fuji, a co-author of this Community Report, and also one of the two research officers who conducted the fieldwork in Aze Debo. As Shiferaw is living in Ude Dhenkaka he provided some additional information from his very close knowledge of the area.

Cooperation and Competition

Both competition and cooperation is present among crop traders. The big traders cooperate among themselves in lending crops when buyers come to transport them elsewhere including Addis Ababa. The small traders however found it highly competitive to continue in the business. They say that the big traders have adequate capital and storage space which helps them to give a slightly higher price and store it to sell when price improves. On the other hand they buy all grains farmers can bring to them, but the small traders can buy only teff and chickpea. Due to being able to pay slightly better prices and the capacity to buy all crops with whatever amount made big traders preferred by farmers. One of the small traders interviewed said that his business couldn't show any progress for the last one year and the other one is even thinking to close his business, unless he gets some capital from government or other sources.

Licensing is required to engage in crop trading and most of these big and even small traders have licenses, though the petty traders are not registered or licensed. Regarding profit, teff, lentils and white coloured chickpeas are said to be highly profitable, though one of the big traders does not agree about lentils. Profits also depend on the season and fluctuating market value, and even sometimes loss is encountered. With regards to profit tax, it is paid annually by licensed crop traders. The competition between the Seed Company and private crop traders is another issue, but only improved seeds are bought by this company from its members only. Being a member of this association/company helps farmers to be productive as well as get a better price (15% higher than market value). This seed company is a recognised cooperative supported by the Agricultural Research Institute (ARI), and able to win a three years project fund worth 239,825 dollars (equivalent to 5,500,000 birr at that time) from African Green Revolution (AGRA), under Bill & Melinda Gates foundation a project that will phase out this year (2018). This fund enabled the seed company to function in 5 weredas, which are Ada'a (the wereda of our study area/kebele), Bora, Gimbichu, Lume and Akaki. In each of these weredas, a Private Seed Company was established. The respondent in one of the Ada'a wereda seed company mentioned that they are highly successful at the moment even competing with national level seed companies.

Trading Generally

Community residents in general are becoming conscious of the importance of trading and many households are trying to diversify their livelihood into business in addition to farming. Landless youth, who also have limited non-farm employment opportunities, are also taking trading as major way out to improve their situation, despite the fact that start-up capital and working space is a challenge for them. A government intervention through the youth revolving fund is trying to assist some of these young people in the community. Ranges of business of different levels are there in the community, starting from big business people to petty traders that are trying to ensure the survival of their families. Big crop traders and owners of trucks, big hotel grocery and other multiple businesses are there mainly in Ude/municipality centre; on the other hand, women making and selling *tella*, crops, vegetables and the like at home and in the open market are struggling to make ends meet. For example, the wife of the poor household in Sirba village is making *tella* which is helping the family mainly to provide for the children and cover their needs.

To list out traded items in the area: crops, fattened livestock, shop items, spices, animal feeds and milk products (in group/coop), *tejj* (honey mead), *tella* (local beer), and other alcoholic drinks, cooked food both in hotels and small village meal houses, woods/eucalyptus trees, cement, paint and other construction materials, beef at butcher houses are the major ones.

Trade links also exist between traders in the community and those in other towns like Addis Ababa, Bishoftu, and Meki town. Traders from Bishoftu, Addis Ababa and Meki come and collect crops from other traders locally; there are some irrigation farms owned by small investors coming from Bishoftu and elsewhere, traders from the above three towns come and collect produce from farm sites. Some

traders from Zeway town bring fish to one of the hotels in Ude and also to other hotels in Bishoftu town. Beer distributing agents bring beer and other alcohols for the hotels in Ude; rich traders in the community having trucks bring some shop items, alcohol and the like to sell to small traders.

There are two other kinds of trade links between relatives. Those having relatives living in peripheral kebeles make them buy and send them crops and livestock, and traders whose relatives live in other towns send crops for sale, in turn receiving other goods marketable in the community. These trade links are said to be dependable since relatives trust each other in the transaction/exchange of items and money more than forming trading links with others.

Big, Middle and Small Traders

The only big businesses owners in the area are crop traders, hotel owners, and a shop also owned by a hotel owner and others who engaged in multiple businesses. Since the hotels are addressed in hospitality sector, the crop traders who also have other businesses and multiple business owners will be discussed under this sub-section. Big crop traders are well established adults who mostly reside in Ude having stores, trucks for transporting crops and other items. The middle crop traders are found both in Sirba and Ude, and they use their own homes for storage. These middle crop traders raised the issue of capital and storage as challenge and one of them complained about high tax from government being another discouragement for him. He has been asked 1,500 birr tax payment, which he said is totally unfair compared to the profit he could earn from the business.

There are a number of small traders engaged in various businesses/ traders like selling *tella*, shiro, running small shops, petty trading of crops and vegetables. These traders do not use weighing machines; rather traditionally they have cups or other measuring techniques. Most of them have very small capital, and their businesses are minor though they are struggling to support their families. The crop traders even sell to big traders with a very little profit margin.

Box 22. Cases of big and small traders

Big Traders:

Case 1: A 52 years old man in Sirba has 3 hectares of land in the nearby kebele called Gubasaye. But he has given this land for share cropping to focus on his crop trading business in Ude. He left his house in Gobesaye Kebele when he built a house in Ude. However, his children are living in Gubesaye. This trader has an Isuzu truck which is facilitating his crop trade as well. His 6 children are also engaged in various businesses there in Gobesaye. There was no support for him either from wereda or kebele administration.

Case 2: A 50 years old male who attended college education (12+2) is one of the big traders in the community. He has 3 hectares of land and another 4 hectares of rented in land. Of the three hectares he owns, a hectare is in the new irrigation site under construction. Last year his yield was reduced due to more attention to his businesses and giving his land for share cropping. He is a member of the seed producing cooperative earning profit from that; he also has a grain mill, minibuses, shops and a small grocery to sell beer. He said that the kebele and wereda officials are supportive to him, and even kebele cabinet members are close friends regularly visiting and encouraging him.

Small Traders:

Case 1:

There are three market days in Bishoftu people visit (Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday). A woman who is a small crop trader stands on the roadside in Ude and collects crops in small amounts and when she gets 50-100 kg, she takes it to one of the three big and middle crop traders to sell for a little profit. She works on the crop trade throughout the year even though the amount increases in the dry season and declines in the rainy season, which is the difficulty of this trade activity. Trading in crops is affordable across the year since farmers sell the crop throughout the year as they need money to purchase household essentials. Even though she used to trade in any type of grain, she usually used to trade teff as it is more profitable. During the interview she faced difficulty to tell the profit she made last year.

She does not pay tax for this trading and she did not get a license as it is a small trading activity alongside the road. The respondent also trades some spices such as tikur azmud (black cumin), nech azmud (white cumin), fenugreek, dimbilal (coriander seeds), tosegn (thyme), korerima (black cardamom), gommenzer (cabbage seeds), besobila (basil), and other types of spices. She has no support including credit from government or any other institution. She purchases the spices from Bishoftu town and sells to the residents in the area. Further, she wishes she were able to purchase it from Addis Ababa but her tiny capital does not allow her to do so. She sells the spices on Thursday market. Recently, she is thinking to begin to open a spice store/shop and trade the spices on a routine basis noticing that the demand for the items is increasing. She mentioned that as she does not have a person who can support her with home activities she did not think to engage in the trade activities by travelling to other towns. This is because she said it is also difficult to hire a house servant. Apart from trading, she assists her husband in farming activities in the fields.

Case 2:

A 36 years old man bought land to construct a house, and he began crop trading on a smaller scale in his living house; he has no land for cultivation and did not even rent in, which makes the household entirely depend on this irregular small-scale crop trade. He mentioned he faces a shortage of finance and storage space, which limits his capacity in the business; he only trades teff and chickpeas as a result and sells it faster before the value increases. He lives in Sirba village, where only small and middle crop traders are found, and he said that farmers sell him after updating themselves on prices in Ude town. The price is agreed by negotiation and he said farmers are well aware about current prices. He feels that he is not successful and now leaving it for his wife to do it. Last year crop production in general was low which made his business deteriorate. The government asked him to pay 1,500 birr tax which he felt is unfair and difficult to cover.

Producer Sellers

There is limited data about producer sellers; however, it is mentioned that farmers are producer sellers, supplying their outputs, mainly crops, to the market. There are some crop traders who also work on their farming, and they differentiate their crops selling activity as producer sellers as well as crop traders.

Producer sellers have a chance to earn better value for their outputs in two conditions; one is preserving it and selling when price is good mainly during the rainy season, and selling grains to the association which collects it. However, this requires being a member as well as producing improved seeds.

Some people improved their wealth status by shifting to produce crops such as lentils and chickpeas rather than producing Teff only. This is because sometimes lentils and chickpeas have high demand and enable obtaining greater income as compared with the income from the sale of teff. A quintal of teff is sold for 2000 birr but a quintal of chickpeas and lentils is sometimes sold for 2500 or 3000 birr, respectively. Moreover, the production time of lentils and chickpeas is lesser. The farmers are now aware of these facts and producing these crops has improved the life of many farmers recently. Apart from the association mentioned above, improved seeds/crops are also sold to bakeries in the community.

Non-productive businesses

All services

There are several types of services in the community including the dominant hotel service, barber and beauty salons, transport services, leisure services (lending films, music and others, mobile maintenance and phone charging services, family planning and other health services, brokerage and renting out houses which are mostly located in Ude. The last two services are given by a single provider. However, regarding land brokers, those people having connection with municipality and kebele officials with contacts related to urban expansion, try to obtain a service charge by engaging

in mediation between land owners and buyers, and also help for its legalisation by negotiating with officials (Additional information by Shiferaw).

Cases of these services are presented in separate sections below. Other services include a shop owner who constructed a house on the roadside on land purchased with 50 birr and spent 70,000 birr for the construction. She rents it out for a 250 birr monthly fee. This can be considered as an emerging new service and source of income in the community. A jobless young man is struggling to survive by engaging in casual opportunities of mobile maintenance, and also by providing broker services.

Personal Services

Personal services are limited to a few non-farm activities like hair dressing (women's beauty salons), barber service, ironing of clothes, mobile phones maintenance, shoe shining and repairing. There has been an expansion of beauty salons and barber services in the past few years; there are now about 8 beauty salons and 10 barbers in the community. They are operating either in a rented room or in their family houses and cases of these businesses are presented as follow:

- *One of the owners of a beauty salon in Ude took training as a hairdresser at Bishoftu town kebele 02, by working half day in a jeans factory in Delo area near Ude which also helped her to cover the cost of the training. Once she learned the skill, she opened the beauty salon in April 2017 and is currently active in the business.*
- *The owner of a barber in Sirba village is providing services for the community since last year/2017. He acquired the skill through formal training in Bishoftu for three months at a private company called Eyob training centre.*
- *The wife of the former barber and today's bajaj owner and driver provides mobile charging service in Ude.*
- *There is one mobile maintenance service provider in Ude, which we may consider as a personal service. He believes that the presence of cell phones made life easier and created a bridge between different communities who live here and there. It is a good means of communication since it is vital in peoples' life and daily activities. It also created job opportunities for a person like him who relies on mobile maintenance.*

Barber and hair dressing services

A young lady interviewed in Ude mentioned that her husband has been giving barber service, and was able to buy a bajaj from his saving, from which he earns 200 birr regular income daily. The wife also gives phone charging service helping the family to earn 100 birr only on Thursday which is the local market day. They started to save money in a bank and they are planning to expand their business. The wife also wants to move and live in Bishoftu Town where she hopes to find better business opportunities.

A young man with a disability is working as a barber in the community. He is the victim of a car accident as he was hit by Chinese camp driver in the area, and with the money he received as compensation, he bought some inputs like chairs, scissors, alcohol, cotton, matches, combs etc to start the barber business. He is handicapped due to the accident, but still can provide the service. He is trying to strengthen the business also from his income earned from farming. His clients are farmers in the community and sometimes also from Alge kebele.

The young woman who worked in a jeans factory and was able to fund her training as a hair dresser opened a beauty salon in Ude. She says her clients are mostly residents in the neighbourhood though women from adjacent kebeles sometimes come looking for her service. However, due to the rural life style, women do not usually go to beauty salons except at times of holidays. The people involved in this sector believes that the government should provide support through credit, training

and other supports to assist efforts of entrepreneurs involved in activities such as beauty salons, barbers and other activities.

Image 9. Young people in personal services



Transport services

As a means of diversifying their income, a number of people and households in the community are engaged in various kinds of transport services. Horse cart is a dominant form of daily transport. There is a big horse cart station at Ude, where a large number of youth are engaged in local transport service to link people between villages, and with kebeles like in Gobesaye, Kelala, Enselale and other places. A woman from a historically influential household used to provide transport service during burials transporting bodies, for only 250 birr charge, but once she sold the car, others are now charging people up to 450 birr.

In addition, recently there are also a few people providing transport by bajajs. Some families are buying bajaj for their unemployed children, and some young people are saving themselves and trying to buy a bajaj, but still horse carts are dominant in the kebele. Many of the bajajs bought by community members give service in Mojo and Bishoftu town so as to get a good income, because in the kebele the usual means of transportation is still horse carts partly due to poor internal and main roads. However, mainly on Sunday bajajs give service to people by transporting them from the main road to the internal roads of Ude, when they come out to get minibuses to reach to Bishoftu market.

Other families are engaging in the transport sector and bought a car/minibus, Isuzu and big trucks, apart from other businesses like dairy production, hotels and bars. Four peoples in the kebele have big lorries, seven peoples bought minibuses and one person owns a Sino-truck. There is one pick-up truck service for funerals.

The big traders use trucks to transport their goods, the middle traders mostly use minibuses, and small traders unusually use horse-drawn carts. Though it is not common as a means of transportation, a few people also use bicycles and motorbikes to travel from place to place. Minibuses charge 7-10 birr from Sirba to Bishoftu which was 3 birr only a few years ago. For the internal roads, horse carts are the main means charging fees depending on distance and goods transported.

Donkeys are also used to fetch water, to transport grain to market places, to mills, and to transport other goods back home. During harvesting donkeys are major transporters of harvest where heaps are erected, mostly near residences.

The development of the transport sector is considered to be relevant in creating means of livelihood and also by facilitating the urbanization process. There are two garages maintaining different types of vehicles.

There was a woman in the community, who owned a pick-up truck which provides transport service by carrying the dead body of people to churches and burial places for a fair price (250 birr), but she sold it and now others charge people almost double for the same service today. A horse cart owner also wanted to transform his driving from using animals to motorized

vehicles and he sold his horse cart in order to cover the cost of training to get a driver's license.

A husband of a woman interviewed mentioned that her husband works as driver moving around Bishoftu, Dukem and Mojo town, and rarely comes home when he gets time. They are planning to move into one of these towns at least to get better time together, and she is also planning to engage in some petty trade if she moves to town.

Recreational/leisure services

One of the poorest public services in the area is leisure service. The government has not intervened to provide youth recreational infrastructure neither in schools nor outside of schools. The only existing recreational options for youths and adults in general are the consumption of alcoholic drinks at bars, hotels, and local drink houses; and entertainment through films, music and TV broadcasts. Both options are economic class-based and only the better off people and youth can have access to electronic gadgets like TVs, DVDs, Satellite dishes, mobile phones, memory card/flash disc player speakers and the like, and go to better bars and hotels to enjoy beer and other bottled drinks of their choice. However, the poor have limitations and are left with narrow option of drinking strong local alcohol known as '*areqe*' or *tella* which is less alcoholic. There is also a big difference between young men and young women, who tend to have less access to e.g. smartphones or even phones, and to go to bars and hotels. The youth reflected their dissatisfaction about the absence of sports and recreational infrastructures in the entire kebele.

Those youth who have access to digital players including phones have now easy access to new Afan Oromo music which is flourishing. Some of these new singers popular with the youth in the area are: Gelana Teferi, Chala Bultume and Hachalu Hundesa. The youth are even following Hachalu's hair cut style which is known as '*Hachalu Style*'.

Due to the digital era, selling/renting movies and music has also become a business for two young men in the community. One of them said he started the business using remittances from his wife from an Arab country, to buy a computer, CDs and flash discs as inputs. In addition to renting out films, he copies music on memory cards and flash disks. The film renting cost is 2-3 birr based on the nature of the films, but copying music allows him to earn 20-30 birr. He found it difficult to tell his monthly income, but he said he can earn about 10,000 birr annually. There is one other such service in the community competing with him.

Health services

Dhenkaka HC which is supposed to serve six kebeles including Ude and the HP in Ude are the government health services available in the kebele. There are three private clinics only in Ude, and none in Sirba. However, community members feel that they do not have quality health services and they need to have options for that. On the other hand, others argue that there is a significant change to the number of private health facilities and health service coverage improved especially with the introduction of community-based health insurance. Regarding veterinary services people can access this through the vet technician in Ude and going to Bishoftu town.

Young women have access to information about family planning and know alternative forms of contraceptives. The research officers who made the interviews found out that there was a woman who did not visit health facilities until her 8th month of pregnancy. Recently due to her friend's advice her family and her grandmother were convinced to let her start at least the very late ANC service and she delivered at Bishoftu health centre. PLWHAs are taking ART from distant health facilities like in Bishoftu and Mojo to avoid risk of breaches of confidentiality.

Hotel services

See above in productive businesses.

Shops

Crop trading and expansion of shops are two major booming businesses apart from hospitality service. There are about 58 shops in the community; most of them located in Ude and the rest in Sirba. The major items one can find in these shops are food ingredients like spaghetti, macaroni, salt, split beans (*kik*) as ingredient for sauce, and other packed foods like biscuits and also chewing gums etc. Both men and women own shops but the data do not show numbers of women shop owners. Mostly daily consumption items are in demand and purchased by residents, for other items like clothes, shoes and other bigger commodities and household goods, they go to Bishoftu town mainly on market days, hence none of the shops in the community have clothes, shoes etc. Women who migrated to Arab countries were able to send remittances and some of the returnees opened shops. One of them returned after 3 years and started building a house but she returned back to bring more money to finish the house she started, but it is mentioned that since they don't bring adequate money that enables them start good business, some of them are still struggling.

On the other hand, a few people are engaged in petty trade, like selling second-hand clothes, and used shoes, mobile chargers, mobile batteries, torches, small utensils and some other items by moving around Ude town.

There are a number of cases of shops in the community and here are some cases.

- *The rich shop owner man interviewed also owns a minibus, grocery and mill.*
- *A female returnee from an Arab country built two small rooms in Sirba on her parent's farm land. In one of these newly built rooms, she opened a shop with savings from her remittances. She is planning to open a beauty salon in the second new room; she bought some equipment hoping to manage both businesses side by side. However, she has a concern about very low demand for the beauty salon, because people in the community still are leading a rural way of life which limits their interest to utilize the service, so that her income will also be affected to create a sustained income. However, another young woman engaged in the business said that there are about 3 female hair dressing shops opened recently and some young women are using their service and to some extent there is shift from the traditional hair style (*shuruba*) to the modern ones.*
- *A woman interviewed owns two shops, and one of it sells construction materials including metal products*
- *A few farmers opened shops using the money obtained from land compensation given by the Chinese who took their land to establish a camp.*
- *There is a woman interviewed who has a shop privately and also is a partner in another group owned shop.*
- *A shop owner said his shop is preferred by many community members because of the fairer price he offers.*
- *A woman who trades in spices on the open market is planning to open a shop since the demand is going high*
- *A group of 5 youth opened a shop by getting fund from the municipality, and they are engaged in shop business as well as food and soft drinks service provision. But another group has been given a shop but no start-up capital yet.*
- *There is another group established to open a shop mainly to sell soft drinks and packed water;*
- *Women members of the coop also prepare and sell food. This group has been set up with good will of members in the neighbourhood which helped for better commitment and success.*

Image 10. Shop-keeping



Petty Services and Trade

There are petty traders and petty service providers in the community. The bigger trades are located in Ude, but those small traders prepare *tella* and *shiro*/food, and tiny shops are found in Sirba village. Even though it overlaps with personal services, phone repairing, ironing, shoe-shining and repairing, are some of the petty services in Ude. In addition to this, other petty trading like selling second hand clothes and shoes, mobile chargers, torches, phone batteries, and small utensils are part of the petty trade at the kebele centre/Ude.

There are about 10 women trading in vegetables near the main road/junction to Gafat Armaments industry. They sell potatoes, cabbages, tomatoes, onions and other vegetables. They sit by the roadside with these vegetables where many people pass and take horse carts. People from neighbouring kebeles like Gobesaye, Kelala, Enselale and other places take horse carts at this point, so they buy vegetables. Both in Ude and Sirba, mostly the petty traders are said to be women and most of these petty services and trades have expanded in the past five years due to some changes of urbanisation.

Image 11. Petty trading along roads and at home



According to some community members some farmers who sold their land found their livelihood highly affected and tried to engage themselves in flower farm employment, petty trade and other means of survival. Land given to youth is very small to support their life, hence men usually go for labour works, and women engage in petty trade as well as preparing and selling *tella* and *areqe*. The wife of the poor farmer mentioned that her boys are daily labourers and her daughters are petty traders.

Box 23. Cases of petty trading

Case of Petty Trade: A young man who is known as a 'suk bederete' (meaning moving street vendor) buys gums, mobile cards and other small items from big shops and moves to sell it where people gather, like in hotels, roadsides etc. He funded his small business by working as a daily labourer. Except during the rainy season which makes the movement inconvenient, he works every day. He earns 20-30 birr a day, which means up to 4,000 birr annually. He also works as a daily labourer during the rainy season if available. He said that his petty trade requires him to move all over the town, and sometimes he feels exhausted.

Case of Tella Production and sale:

A female headed interviewee mentioned that her main income is from preparing and selling tella which helped her to raise her children. Her land is not ploughed due to lack of labour, and her relatives are not lending hands for that. She tried to raise sheep and bought 20 chickens but due to space and when her chickens were hunted by predators, she gave up on that and began to focus on her tella business only. Recently she began crop trading on a very small scale, but she found that since it is very seasonal it is not helping her to earn income regularly. Therefore, she is entirely focused on tella preparation in week days

and peak sale during weekends when farmers are free to relax. She says her life is improving compared to a point she was at 10 years ago; she built a good house and her former house became her kitchen which she counts as a main success, apart from regular provision to her children.

Young people in businesses

Young people are engaged in different trading activities/businesses; this is partly due to lack of farm land and other employment opportunities; on the other hand better consciousness of the community in general regarding non-farming alternative livelihoods like trade also has a contribution. In addition, the change is supported by government youth interventions through the youth revolving fund which has enabled at least 11 cooperatives and their members to get the chance to engage in farming (mainly fattening) and businesses/trading. A group/coop involved in trading of livestock feed, for milking cows, horses and others are getting a better market and they are hoping for good revenue, and these coops have been supported by the youth revolving fund. The fund provided this year helped youth to involve in different businesses like opening a restaurant, fattening oxen and buying and selling livestock. One respondent mentioned that the highest loan one group received was 300,000 birr.

Some girls migrate to Arab states after 10th grade or dropping out of school, but others try to engage in opening shops, making *tella* and selling it at the kebele centre/Ude town. Some of the returnees also opened shops and groceries in the community, and the poor young woman who couldn't afford international migration said, 'the returnees do not face the distress of searching jobs like other poor girls like me'. (For more see the Chapter on Youth Economic Activities and Experiences).

Non-farm co-operatives

The then farmers' cooperative, today's multipurpose cooperative was established in 1969 EC. Despite its prolonged age, the coop's progress was sluggish though there is an encouraging revival in its current activities. There are 653 male and 88 female members. Today, it is selling commodities, grains and providing other basic services for the community. It provides fertilizer in cash and many other goods like construction materials, oil, weed-killer, iron sheets and other items. It used to rent tractors but due to technical problems, currently this is not functional.

It is open to new members including youth by paying its initial membership fee. Regarding its management, it has a manager, vice manager, auditor, reporter and a committee in each sub-unit. 30% of the profit of this coop is allocated for administration purposes and the rest is distributed to members.

This coop is a member of *Yerer Farmers' Union* to which 90 cooperatives are members. It is also one of the founding members of the Oromia cooperative bank and it has shares. Farmers can use different clusters of the coop, like the grain cluster, mills cluster and others and selling more grain or using the mill frequently will allow farmers to earn more dividend funds.

The major achievements are community services. The main objective of the cooperative is not to make a profit rather it is to provide community services and stabilize the market. Of course it is making a justifiable profit while serving the community. Last year it had 300,000 birr net profit. Availing genuine services/goods at a close distance and a fair price is part of the community service; it has reduced the cost and time of traveling to town and avoided brokers contributing to high costs. The dividend fund is a benefit to members as well.

Licensing and Taxation

Business licenses are obtained either in Ada'a wereda or from Adama town in East Shewa; accordingly, traders have to pay business tax there. However, recently Ude town administration office is deducting some small amount of service charge. Established businesses like shops, beauty salons, hotels etc. with specific addresses are forced to get business licenses, but petty traders either

trading in the open market, on the roadside and by moving in the town are not asked to be licensed. *Tella* and *areqe* houses are also not required to be licensed.

Except for petty traders, all crop traders are also licensed and pay profit tax. There is a complaint on the amount of tax by a few including a small crop trader who has been asked to pay 1500 birr last year which he found very high compared to his tiny annual profit from the business. A hotel owner in Ude also complained about a 40,000 birr tax imposition on his struggling business which lately was reduced to 20,000 birr. The complaint also claims unfair treatment in annual tax estimation on hotels in the kebele. Some are asked to pay beyond their profit; others are given privileges of low tax rates.

Youth entrepreneurs that are not included in government programs in coops are not encouraged or supported by the administration; besides they don't give them an adequate grace period until their businesses start taking off. For example a young woman who opened a salon in Ude was forced to have a license right away and the administration sealed the shop immediately. She says the government is making the management so strict on youth who attempt to create some sort of income earning activities. A woman hotel owner also said she faced long travel to Adama town and bureaucracy to get a tax identifier number TIN, from Adama town after the municipality in Ude sealed her newly opened hotel.

On the other hand, the former coop members for irrigation activities decided to change their business to woodwork and bull fattening, but the municipality wouldn't facilitate the conditions for a change of license despite the fact that they tried hard for the past one year. The administration asked them for clearance for the previous license, but no one knows from where it can be obtained.

Theft and Burglary

Sometimes there is theft of harvest crops from the field which is about to be transported to residence areas for threshing, and rarely burglary. Stealing cattle was the major problem, but, over time, especially in the last two years, due to the action to prevent the national political unrest by assigning security forces in every kebele through the command post, mainly in Oromia and Amhara region, the problem has been minimised.

It is estimated that, there are about 300 in-migrants residing in the kebele who came as employees of flower farms, factories, and hotels and also to work for individuals. Some of these newcomers are allegedly engaged in theft, which forced everyone to ask for an ID to let them in and rent a house for them.

According to the kebele chairman, the leader of the big *iqqub* has been working in different capacities in the kebele, including as head of the security wing of the kebele. Now he is among those who are responsible to ensure the security of the vicinity so that no burning of crops and by-products of crops, no stealing of livestock and commission of any criminal act takes place in the area. Under the head of security, there are about 80 militias in the kebele and 35-40 of them are armed. In addition, there is a police service in the area. In case if there is any conflict between individuals, the local security officers/militiamen mediate in the conflict and they force the offender to pay the *mediation expenses* as well as compensation for the victim/survivor.

Government interventions in Non-Farming

In general, government intervention in the non-farm economic sector seems limited except for the effort to address the overwhelming youth unemployment through youth packages supported by the youth revolving fund. In addition there are different credit service options for the community. The Youth Revolving fund and Oromia Micro-Finance Institute, GONOFA and WALQO (Walda Liqifi Qusena Oromia) are the major financial sources for non-farm business activities as well as for the farming sector including fattening, dairy, producing animal feed etc. Mahibasi Multi service cooperative also provides loans but only to its members. The highest fund ever given to youth

groups involved in trading of animal feed was 300,000 birr. The youth revolving fund charges 8% interest and the rest of the sources have a rule to charge 10-13% interest.

As part of job creation for youth the government worked through the youth package and revolving fund in order to help them engage in different income earning economic activities including farming and non-farming sectors. Interventions are mostly based on cooperatives, and individuals struggling to succeed in different non-farm activities are not supported with clear policy and programs, apart from casual visits and encouragement for a few.

The wereda official said that any group which is established legally can have a stamp and become a legal entity to have access for credit by explaining their business proposal clearly. The wereda also made training available for such groups even outside of their kebele. The administration also said that they have given more than 60 hectares of land for cooperatives including those engaged in farming, livestock fattening and mining.

Entrepreneurs in the non-farming sector expected the government at least to provide various trainings as well as credit and market linkages, which is said to be huge gap from the administration at various levels.

Start-up capital has been mentioned as a big obstacle for people who want to start businesses and also for those small traders already struggling in the non-farming sector. The poor young man from poor farming family wishes to engage in non-farming activities; he said his family does not have money/capital. This is also the issue of many young men and women in the area that are not addressed through youth packages yet.

The wereda official stated that, the wereda Small and Micro enterprises work in collaboration with kebele offices, labour and social affair offices, Oromia Saving and Credit Association/WALQO, TVET Colleges and Youth and Sport offices. Oromia Saving and Credit Association do not accept any request for credit unless the person brings a certificate of skill gap filling training from TVET College that can be obtained after a half day training. The Youth and Sport Office involves in identifying new graduates of both universities and TVETs. Students are advised to give free services during their rainy season break. Among the graduates, the loan from the youth fund is given only to those who are the fresh graduates of the year.

In Dire area, another kebele in Ada'a wereda, 3000 jobless youth were organised in groups to work on mining cement and blocks in the area. This project involves predominantly males although some females are also involved. One excavator was also purchased for 5 million birr for the associations working with mining. The money for the excavator was availed by Oromia Saving and Credit Association/WALQO and METEC (Metals and Engineering Corporation) in the form of a loan.

In Sirba, out of 16 youth coops, 11 of them were able to secure funds from the youth revolving fund and some of them engaged in shop businesses for which the municipality provided container shops on the main road side. For example, a group of 5, two males and three females were able to get one of these shops and start-up capital in 2017. Their shop also provides foods in the shade inside and in front of the shop which they say made them successful. They finished their grace period and started to repay their debts by instalment monthly.

Initially the municipality began to be a guarantee for youth groups taking loans from Oromia Credit and Saving Association, but most of them failed to repay loans properly which made the administration decide to withdraw from such responsibility. Parents who are members of this saving association began to be guarantors for their children using their land certificate, what they call the 'green book'. Once they obtained loans, they are expected to save 10% of it, which was 20% in the past. (For more see the youth policies and programme section in the Youth Economic Opportunities and Experiences Chapter).

The government funded different groups engaged in various activities in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. A summary of those sectors and funds availed to each sector is presented in the following table.

Table 1: Youth revolving fund disbursed for cooperatives

Sectors	No. of coops	Members	Credit Provided (Youth Revolving fund in birr)
Manufacturing (metal work)	1	5	200,000
Fattening	4	20	1,000,000
Irrigation	1	10	633,000
Dairy Farming	1	5	400,000
Livestock Trading	1	5	245,000
Animal Feeds trading	1	6	300,000
Hospitality (Grocery)	1	5	250,000
Poultry	1	5	150,000
TOTAL			3,178,000

The Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute provided training for the community about farming and poultry; besides an NGO named *Passion Connect* provided chickens for women which contributed to their household economy. Community members also considered this as a government intervention but in the farming sector.

There are coops assisted by government intervention and there are other entrepreneurs unhappy about the reluctance of government to help their efforts. For example the municipality provided furniture for a producers' coop, with sheds and start-up capital to buy machines and inputs. This coop is considered to be one of the successful ones which are appreciated by the coop members. On the other hand a woman trading crops and the owner of bakery at Ude said the government couldn't assist them in any way to help their effort. The young woman, who saved money by working in a jeans factory to train herself in beauty salon, opened her salon last year but government didn't assist her effort.

To add more cases, a woman owning a big hotel in Ude regularly borrows from MFI/WALQO, and recently she took 80,000 birr loan to strengthen her business. But there is no other support from the government yet. Another hotel owner woman was awarded as an entrepreneur in Ude four years ago, but the officials in the area rather encourage others than her, and there is no support to assist her effort, which made her doubt about their fairness and feel bad.

Nepotism and bureaucracy is one major issue raised by community members mainly in managing government programs and funds for intervention (See the Chapter on Local Government for more information).

- *The rich farmer interviewed in this study believes that unemployment is a national concern; however it is handled differently depending on wereda and kebele officials' commitment and good governance in these areas. Government assigned a budget to assist unemployed youth to create jobs in groups and pay back their loans; however the implementation is against the government initial plan in all regards. A few people get special benefits at the expense of the wider jobless youth through nepotism.*
- *The poor young man who is taking care of his sick and lonely mother says officials are funding the rich people's projects rather than assisting poor in engaging in some economic activities that may help them improve their condition.*
- *The poor young man interviewed in Sirba believes that the government bureaucracy and unfair treatment is said to be cause for cooperatives to be less functional, demanding patience and long waiting.*

- *The crop trader and multiple business owner in Ude said that the officials at Kebele and Wereda are his friends and they help him and regularly visit and encourage him, but hotel owners said that the officials are biased and visit or use services of one or two business and never visit others.*
- *A group organised for sand mining feels that there is lack of government involvement and assistance to enable them to be more productive. They expect the government to provide them a machine.*
- *The 32 years old former government employee (trained in animal science) is now engaged in poultry and he said he found it profitable; however, apart from trainings he took while being civil servant, no other support or training is provided to him from the government. Recently he applied to get loan but only half of it was availed by the government which he declined it since he found it inadequate to expand the business to the level he planned. He still found capital shortage obstacle for his business.*

Adoption of new technology

The non-farming sector with the help of grid connection enabled businesses to adopt new technology in the area. For instance, woodwork and metalwork are some of the construction sectors which are able to use modern electronic machineries and tools. The hospitality sector itself is assisted by the power option which allowed people to cook with electric stoves, freeze food and drink using huge modern freezers/also deep freezers; the electric light, the music, TV and DVD players etc are some of the recreation availed in the hotels and groceries in the community which made the entertainment in these hotels more relaxing with cold beer and fresh foods.

Hair dressing, tyre repair, mills and a few other businesses also rely on electric power since they are using modern equipment and machines, though using scissors and combs for hair cut is still common in some of the small barber houses in the villages.

There is also digital entertainment business with two competing young entrepreneurs who use laptop/computers, compact disc, flash discs to rent movies and upload music on phones or other storages, which is creating easy access for digital entertainment for youth and other community members.

Mobile phones are also a rapidly expanding new technology with high coverage of android phones on which youth can browse and regularly follow social media like Facebook.

Image 12. Mobile phones power charging services (business of rich young female)



If we see the changes in life style of households, cooking energy is gradually shifting from animal dung and firewood to electric stoves. Satellite TV, movies also by using DVDs/flash disks inserted on modern flat screen TVs, refrigerators etc is a privilege for the better off families. However, there are still part of the community in Qumbursa that are off grid depending on traditional power option and solar lights for few starting from 2011.

Bajaj is a new motorised means of transport currently emerging, though rough roads are discouraging those who bought it who prefer to base their work station in big towns like Bishoftu and Mojo. A few bajajs are serving passengers from villages to the roadside during market days; however still horse drawn carts are more common in the area.

Migration

Out-Migration

Young men's migration is less common in Ude Dhenkaka kebele compared to girls' migration mainly to Arab countries including Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Beirut and Dubai. Unemployed girls have this alternative for international migration; however some young men migrate to local destinations like Hawassa, Addis Ababa, Dukem, Bishoftu, and Mojo towns in search of job opportunities and compared to the young women this is a recent phenomenon. Rather than migration, commuting has increased recently since at least 100 youth (men), have a chance offered by former Chinese company in the community by arranging transport service and hiring them to work in Addis Ababa (Kaliti area) and Mojo town to commute daily. These are daily labourers, guards (working in shift) and some skilled workers. But there is no industrial out migration except a few who moved to Dukem town to work in the East Industrial Zone. There are very few educated people from the kebele employed further away since the extent of joining higher education is limited, and even getting lesser these days. Even though there are a few drivers from the community, one of them is away from his wife most of the time staying in Dukem and Mojo towns with irregular visit to his wife. The 23 years old married woman said that migration, employment and creating business help girls to be self-reliant.

Young men in the community are still in a dilemma regarding migrating away; they mentioned that they are pressed by landlessness and unemployment which is a very strong push factor. Some of them said they do not know where to go, some are worried about leaving families (some are sick, lonely and old), but a few others said they will be ready to migrate anywhere if job opportunities and better life is possible. Bishoftu, Dukem, Addis Ababa and Hawassa are some of the places where they tried so far and also the rest showed interest in these Ethiopian destinations. An exceptional case of migration for farming to a unique destination is found and this returnee mentioned that his relative in Zeway area convinced him as life is better there. However, upon his arrival, he had to work as a daily labourer in town though his interest was to engage in farming initially. Lately his relative arranged a sharecropping farming option for him which he felt was very good to lead a better life; he is also able to have some properties there after he is able to work in his interest area. Landlessness is said to be big issue for youth in the area even in the rural part, but others who have the money can buy land in the urban area (Ude and part of Sirba).

Girls in the area either work in factories and flower farms with low and unsatisfactory wages and those who can afford and get the link are able migrate to Arab countries as mentioned above. Some drop out of school for migration but mostly those who migrate to Arab nations are 10th grade complete that are between the age of 25-40 and mainly from poor and mid-level economic status families; so far it is estimated that about 150 women have migrated to different Arab nations. Last year only 15 women returned and some of them created businesses here contributing for the local economy. Some send remittance to families for their urgent needs and also to renovate houses or build new ones. It is mentioned that the trend of migrating to Arab countries has been increasing in the past five years.

However, community members expressed their views that there are no new openings of migration routes and destinations except men's attempt to migrate to Dubai. The girls and their families take successful international migrants as exemplary mainly those who are able to assist their families by building better houses, furnishing them with sofa sets, TV, other modern items and opening business like shops and groceries which is a stimulant for others to follow in their footsteps by finding some

sort of link. Parents and even husbands fund migration of girls/women in the area. A hotel owner in Ude funded her employees' migration to Arab states and they repaid their debts without interest when they earn salaries there. This hotel owner said the girls do not believe that they can work and improve their lives in their country. They flock to the Arab states but only few are able to improve their lives. She mentioned that six girls who used to work in her business have gone to Arab states so far and some are still unable to progress. She believes that if a girl can manage to save a small capital like 1000 birr that can better help to improve her life through small businesses rather than migrating to Arab countries.

Migration usually happens after the harvest since funding then is easier than other seasons. Some, however, migrate in the rainy season to avoid the risk of high temperature while walking in the deserts. One of the respondents stresses that legal migration is always safe to reach the destination. However one of the community member interviewed doesn't believe that there are youth who attempted to migrate illegally from Sirba. Contrary to this, one of the young men interviewed said that there are some youth who suffered and faced serious problems while they were trying to migrate through illegal routes. A young woman interviewed argued that these days, girls give better attention for their education and never drop out either to look for a job or for migration. However, this is challenged by opposing views and some even said there are dropouts from grade 8 to migrate to Arab states or to get jobs in factories or flower farms.

One of the community members expressed his concern about a gap of prior language skill-training and lack of agency/councillor in case of abuse and difficult challenges the migrants might face in the journey and in their stay out in those Arab nations.

Box 24. A case of migration to Arab states

The middle wealth income girl returned from Beirut after two years, but she found it difficult to find a job and the life was difficult to adapt to once again, so she tried to migrate back through Sudan illegally. She even said it is hard to survive here once you get used to live in those Arab nations. Her attempt to migrate to the Gulf through Sudan was full of challenges in the desert and finally she remained in Sudan for four years working as a domestic servant and by selling tea for the last two years of her stay. Her Arabic from Beirut helped her to work in Sudan. But since she does not have a license, the Sudanese officials prevented her from selling tea, confiscating her materials. She heard that the government has a new intervention for youth to create jobs and decided to sell her small properties to her friend there and returned back hoping to benefit in the new opportunity. Upon her return, she joined 4 other youth to create a coop and be able to get a shop from the municipality but was unable to get credit after waiting for 6 months. Finally they raised little money and began trading in this shop (Spices preparation and sale)

Multiple short stories:

- *The aunt of a poor girl interviewed went to an Arab country and was able to send money for the family to build a new house and buy a hybrid cow.*
- *Another returnee built a house on her parents' land and opened a grocery.*
- *A mid wealth woman mentioned that her returnee daughter was able to build a big house on the land given to her; she saved the remaining money in a bank and is thinking of starting some business though she has not yet decided what exactly it should be. The returnee daughter is born from a husband who is from the Gurage ethnic group, so that she learned the ethics of saving from him. Her mother is happy because she is going to marry in the coming Easter holiday.*
- *A 26 years old girl migrated to one of the Arab nations after she completed grade 10 by spending 5000 birr for travel and related expenses. She worked there for 3 years to save money which helped her to open a shop in the community.*
- *A 26 years old man sent his wife to Beirut after they got two kids who are now growing up with her parents. He said that his wife is sending money to him, his parents and also for her parents who are in charge of raising the kids. If she stops sending money to her parents, the kids will not get the treatment she wishes; on the other hand her husband's parents have expectation as well.*

He is currently earning income from the horse cart transportation service he offers, though he says it is insufficient without the remittance he regularly receives. The pressure on his wife didn't allow her to save more.

- *Another man who married in 2016 also sent his wife to Beirut after having one child. He is living with his sister together with his baby working on his small farm and as an employee of a flower farm.*
- *A mid wealth 17 years old girl said that her mother is still working in an Arab country*
- *A mother interviewed said that one of her daughters is in Dubai since 2016. She has completed grade 12 and went to Dubai. She is helping her mother and brothers as well; however, the respondent also advised her to save money*
- *A woman who is working in an investor owned poultry farm living there 24 hours with a monthly salary of 1,500 birr is planning to migrate to UAE like many other girls in the community*

In-Migration

The first in-migrant settlers are the Wello Amhara community which started with one person who built a house and started to live in Sirba, later followed by other fellows. Currently there are many people coming from Wello and residing in one place referred to as 'Wello Sefer'. Most of the priests also came from Amhara region except a few who are from the local people. There are also three Tigray families residing in the community as well as in-migrants from SNNPR estimated to constitute 2 percent of the population of the community.

Another set of in-migrants flocked into the community recently due to changes in urbanisation and the emergence of some factories and expanded flower farms. These are people from Amhara and SNNPR who come for hotel, grocery and other business sector employments, young men from SNNPR mainly for labour work related to irrigation activities and employment in the industries. Young unemployed college and university graduates from surrounding rural kebeles also flock into Ude town in search of daily labour work since they are ashamed to take such opportunities in their own communities. People who came from different parts of the country as farm workers for households gradually tend to shift their career to factory and flower farm employment. Some immigrants are living in the kebele by renting cheap houses while working in flower farms and also as daily labourer. Another recent phenomenon is increasing numbers of in-migrant beggars around churches everywhere in the community.

The third group of in-migrants is coming due to the urban creep and investors coming from different towns including *Bishoftu, Addis Ababa, Mojo, Adama, Meki and Shashemenne* to buy land. They are targeting land on the main road side, though there are still new poultry investments on land bought from farmers in the inner villages.

Even though the displaced settlers from Oromo –Somali conflict are in Bishoftu town and other places in Ada'a wereda, the people in Sirba had contributed in cash and in kind for these vulnerable people.

Relation with host community

In general, the dynamism created different scenarios including depletion of farm workers and domestic workers. Due to the emergence of factories inside community and in the wereda, as well as the flower farms and different businesses like hotels, those who came as domestic workers and farm employees shift to permanent employment in these emerging sectors. On the other hand, the ongoing urbanisation and industrialisation in the area are taken as advantages by community members since these changes are creating jobs also for local youth which is apparently reducing outmigration.

The local youth engaged in daily labour complained that the in-migrants are taking their work opportunity by charging less than half of the money they would have earned from a specific work; for example, work that can cost 500 birr will be done for 200 birr only when labour work is given out on a contractual agreement. Even though there has not been any major conflict in this regard, there is dissatisfaction leading to tensions. A few community members complained about provision of ID cards for newcomers without assessing their background.

One of the in-migrants said that the community is peaceful and he feels safe while living there. With regard to child *in and out migration*, the data suggest that it is insignificant. One case was of a young girl who migrated from Gojam to Sirba by dropping out of her 5th grade class in search of job. There are also young girls brought by households to Sirba from relatives living elsewhere mainly rural kebeles to fill the gap of domestic servants. These girls have the privileges of going to school and get better treatment as full member of households, though they are not treated exactly as peoples' own offspring.

Economic and political inequality

Economic Inequality

Wealth statuses in the community

There are different categories of wealth in Ude Dhenkaka as in other communities. The divisions that are currently found according to people's perception are: very rich, rich, middle-wealth, poor, very poor and destitute. The lifestyles of the rich and the poor are different in that the rich has better opportunity not only to fulfil their basic needs but also lead a higher standard of life. The rich are also able to provide better educational opportunity for their children as they are able to send them to private schools in Bishoftu while the poor and the very poor might find difficulty financing the education of their children even in government schools. And this has been happening in the face of equal educational opportunity for all and a system of waiver for annual school contribution fees for poor households. However, according to community respondents, this does not mean that the children of the rich are educationally more successful than those of the poor as it depends on the personal quality and strength of the children. A very rich person said some of his children are not going to school because of lack of interest while one of his daughters has gone to Saudi Arabia and the other daughter is also trying to go. In fact, if not well-managed, there is high chance for the children of the rich to be excessively dependent on their parents.

The characteristics of the very rich are: relatively larger amount of farmland; more number of hybrid dairy cows up to six or even more; modern villa-type houses; modern furniture and equipment; additional house in Bishoftu (this may be additional house in Ude town for those living in rural Ude Dhenkaka); good access to modern agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and seeds; better access to agricultural extension training; having enough food for the household; ability to educate one's children even in private schools; ability to support others; and in fact ability to diversify one's source of income. All the reverse is said to be true for poor people: poorly constructed or poorly standing house; poorly furnished house and not enough food to eat. The destitute do not own assets and have to shelter in the compound of rich people who allow them for moral reasons. The destitute also beg to get food while some may also engage in day or any casual labour that could fetch some money. In fact, they have no wealth at all. Some community respondents said their number has been decreasing over the last five years.

A very rich male farmer remarked, "*Rich people live a different lifestyle than the other community members. For example, when you go to their house they do have refrigerator, TV set, sofas and modern shelves for household utensils all of which are unexpected in a poor persons' households.*" He went on saying, "*Coming to their feeding habit, they may consume meat every other day. They do have different kinds of stew eaten with different food items.*" This quote touches on the different dimensions of inequality that exist in the community between the rich and the poor in general terms

in addition to those already mentioned. Refrigerators and the other household equipment are practically beneficial and TV sets also affect the access of the household to education and information which could be used to improve one's living condition. Food and nutrition security, which are problems of national concern in communities vulnerable to disaster and long-standing production deficit, also surface in this community which is otherwise declared surplus producing and out of government social protection in this regard.

Similarly, a very poor man stated the main characteristics of rich people are their economy and their living style both inside and outside the home. What they wear, eat and drink is different from what poor people wear, eat and drink. Destitute are those who have nothing including a place to sleep. Community's descriptions of the middle-income are less apt but are closer to that of the rich. It is interesting looking at this explanation further: *"Some people are rich and others are poor because of their gift and will of God. There are also people who are rich because they do have large plot of land."* That small plot of land is a cause of poverty and wealth differentiation among community members is well suggested in this quotation. The poor, however, have their own land though small and may sell their labour to others in order to diversify their income but this seems to be good only to survive rather than to accumulate wealth and change their economic status. Nonetheless, distress diversification has helped a few poor households to improve their income quite significantly, including building new houses. As already stated, the destitute are very poor people who are in possession of nothing and have to depend on others for their basic necessities, including food and shelter.

People's perception of poverty and richness is both structural and non-structural. Older people who got land at the time of the last redistribution some 30 years ago are said to be still in possession of more land compared to those who have to get their share from their parents. Newcomers are also among those who possess small land or no land at all. These structural reasons are still perceived as causes of inequality among the current residents of the kebele and seem to be so as there seems very little prospect for new land redistribution in the area. Of course, it seems to be only a matter of time before the entire kebele is urbanised significantly or completely, changing the livelihood modalities of both the rich and poor or the community at large. And in the case of this future scenario as well the poor could still be the ones to be more at more disadvantages even though through time urbanisation might help in reducing inequalities.

Entrepreneurship is also perceived to be an important factor of wealth enabling people to become richer but also some poor people to become rich. The community has very interesting stories of poor individuals who have become model farmers because of hard work and have created different assets. And there are also a few others who have fallen into destitution because of personal problems. People could also be impoverished and even fall to destitution because of bad chance which is also considered as another factor for becoming rich. Talking of the rich and the poor, a very rich male farmer said, *"It depends. There are people who are poor because they are not healthy, are very old and have no land while there are people who are poor because they are not working hard, are drinking and abusing their own wealth."* Further speaking of the rich, he added, *"The same is true for rich people; there are people who became rich through their own effort that is through hard work and there are rich people who gained basic support from their own family like getting inheritance land."* This indicates that people have been shifting between the different wealth ranks over the years.

Individuals' ability to turn situations into opportunities is remarkable in people's perception of wealth and inequality. The same remark was made by the wereda Rural Land Development Administration Head who stated that there are some farmers who were poor before but who were able to own even cars within some period of time, becoming model farmers who have changed their life and livelihood. There are farmers who have transformed to investors. She explained that agriculture is one of the sectors (the other is health) in the wereda that has brought tangible change

in the lives of the people. The challenge, she mentioned, is that development benefits in agriculture (as in health) are not inclusive. Some farmers are left behind the benefits of these developments because of lack of capital to purchase modern inputs and apply on their farms and some other reasons. While community respondents also agree that the poor are left out because they are unable to buy expensive agricultural inputs and do not have resources to put on new technologies, this does not necessarily mean that the poor are always marginalized. As already stated, there are some poor people who because of personal qualities such as entrepreneurship made use of the situations to their benefit and have become successful. This however should not be interpreted to mean the situation is favourable for the poor; rather it is something that needs intervention to reduce the inequality gap. (For more on this see the Farming and the Nonfarming Chapters).

The life of the destitute may be partly exemplified by the following case:

Box 25. The life of a destitute man

This destitute man is sheltered with somebody else with whom he does not have blood relations. He does not have bed, mattress or blanket. He works as a daily labourer and does whatever job comes, including fetching water for money and cutting trees for others. Because of meagre income he does not have constant source of food. On unsuccessful days, while getting back home for sleep in the evening he might share dinner with the owners otherwise he goes to sleep without food. Sometimes he begs people for chickpeas which he could roast and eat. He gets drinking water from the host family or their neighbours but he has to go to the river to wash his clothes. He does not have belongings at all. He was having health problems; went to Bishoftu hospital for health care services and was told he has a health problem he does not want to disclose to others.

The man came from Salale in search of job opportunity where he was born and brought up. He was married and had left behind his wife and child when he came here. The household was very poor and he used to send his wife money until some years ago. Now he does not have information on the status of his wife and child but suspects she might have married another man.

When he came to Sirba job opportunity was good in the beginning and he started working as a domestic servant but through time he was weak to do this and then shifted to daily labour which later became tough and competitive for him. He does not have house and land and all this contributed to his destitution. He said he is also a member of iddir in Sirba and other people pay the monthly contribution for him.

Responding to a question about the difference between the rich and the poor, he inquired (of the research officer who was interviewing him), *“What questions are you asking me? The difference between the poor and the rich is the difference between me and you. Look at your clothes and mine, look your shoes and mine. These are the differences. There are many invisible differences at household level.”* The concept of ‘invisibility’ or ‘invisible inequalities’ expressed through this person is quite innovative and goes great length to supplement the experts’ definition of poverty and inequality which camouflages innumerable or potentially infinite expressions of poverty and inequality both at household and individual levels. Confirming what other respondents have said he added that the poor has at least something to eat as well as small land which the destitute do not have. According to him, lack of land is the main reason for being poor at the end of the day. This person, who said he does not receive assistance from government, recommended that the support for the destitute should be life changing; otherwise short-term support will not be meaningful for them than counting days to see their fate in life.

While this destitute person has been positively received by his host family which is an indication of assistance to destitute people in the community, he has to live under countless verbal violence from others to which he never reacted. The data from the field do not say anything more on this specific case of social marginalisation.

Very rich and rich

As already mentioned in the foregoing section, people's perception of the reasons that enable people to become rich and force them to fall into poverty are different. According to a female heading a poor household, the reason for people becoming richer is their hard work while others remain poor since they are lazy and are passive to try different possible alternative livelihood methods such as renting in land and involving in trading which is diversifying within and out of agriculture. This woman's remarks are reflected in the following case:

Box 26. Hand work as the path to economic success

The respondent stated that her household economy has highly improved over time due to her and her husband's hard work. She described how it improved in the following way: Before last year for so many years their agricultural productivity has dramatically increased. Her husband used to rent-in farmland in addition to 12 qert' farmland (3 ha.) in their holding. However, last year they rather sharecropped out their farmland to other farmers because the couple opted to have full time for shop-keeping which the woman does and a seed company, crop trade and transport services which the man managed. This was yet another wealth boosting strategy for them as doing the farming themselves did not allow them enough time for commercial work. They did not want to rely on hired labour either as she believes this requires many workers the salary of whom costs much, including food and shelter, and managing them which is difficult. The household has five dairy cows but they have planned to sell most of them and keep only one for household milk consumption since managing the cows has similarly affected her businesses.

Further evincing the importance of manual labour, the woman said she and her husband have received no support from their parents in terms of assets. Therefore, all the fortunes they have made over the years owes to their own efforts. The woman involves in different community organisations such as iddir. As she is busy with her business, she does not have relations with kebele officials and does not involve in other community networks but has good social relations with her neighbours and relatives.

The rich and the middle income have been diversifying to become richer and, in general terms, they have been doing this in the farming sector, especially buying dairy cows for milk and milk products. Fattening, not a common practice in the past, if not rare, has been adopted by many. Many are also adopting chickpeas and lentils production as cash crops in response to the market-which is also an important aspect of economic diversification within the farming sector. Poultry farming, even though not without challenges, has become an important source of income for many farming households whereas some were unsuccessful because of such problems as lack of space.

A farmer residing in Sirba, talking of the different factors that create economic inequality among households in the community since 2010, said that some people are becoming richer because of starting different livelihood strategies such as involving in different types of businesses, buying modern dairy cows and ploughing more land by renting in farmlands, even by hiring farmers or seasonal labourers. As such, by increasing their source of income overtime they are getting richer and richer. He also stated about his own experience that shows how his life has been improving: besides his agricultural activities recently, he also started trading in livestock as well as rearing dairy cows to sell milk and milk products. In addition, he is also thinking of involving in other income generating activities so that he would further improve his wealth. Trading in livestock and grains, that is buying these items during the time prices are lower, keeping the items and selling them the time prices go up is practiced by many rich households. People of medium wealth households and even some poor households may try these additional income generating activities.

Alternatives serve different people differently based on the occasion they are in. A successful woman running a hotel in Ude said while ownership of land and oxen or lack of the two could be a source of inequality, the outcome might be different when age is factored in. There are people who

rent or sharecrop out their farmlands because of old age, and who as a result, get their income reduced by half, be it crops or cash as they will have to share the harvest with the other person. She added those who do not have oxen rent out their land even up to three years. She was emphasizing that those who rent and sharecrop out will have their wealth status decrease as that of the other party increases further widening the inequality gap. Some households are unable to get out of this situation and keep renting or sharecropping out their farmlands for up to 10 or 15 years. Health problems and alcoholism are also sources of economic deterioration because of excessive expenditure and lack of discipline or determination for hard work. On the contrary, this respondent mentioned that those people, who were daily labourers some years ago, saved money and rented in land for farming, have gradually changed their lives positively. Thus, some people who were poor have improved their status. Generally, she believes becoming rich is the result of hard work, mentioning herself as an example. She was poor some years ago but now she is rich because of her effort and hard work.

Smallholder farming is no more like it used to be traditionally, as a trade enough to take care of the needs of the rural households. A rich farmer living with his wife and six children said he is now leading a better life and has become wealthier than his parents only because of his hard work. He added he is trying everything as options of life to make life better. In regard to farming, he is producing improved seeds with other colleagues in the community. He also keeps six modern dairy cows and has been earning income from the sale of their milk. He has a house in Bishoftu as well and in the future he has the plan to expand his business activities specially, to non-farming activities. For him and some other rich people having an additional house in town is a source of additional income and a cause for further inequality structurally as well following the known rural-urban dichotomy with differing economic opportunities.

Even though hard work is most believed to be the path for economic success, a host of rich and poor people commented effectiveness in farming depends on the use of modern agricultural inputs such as fertilisers which are too expensive for the poor. Most profitable non-farming activities also need much finance so that many poor people are involved in sale of local drinks and less profitable petty trading including day labour as distress diversification. A very rich man said that he is wealthier than before and is currently leading a better life compared to his parents only because of his hard work. He stated he tries everything in addition to farming crops, has six hybrid dairy cows and is a member of improved seeds producing association and sharecrops other people's farms. He has also a house in Bishoftu and in the future has the plan to work more in the non-farming sector. While agreeing to other people's perception that rich people deserve to be rich because they are hardworking; he made the remark that this may not be true for all rich people as there are exceptions everywhere.

Middle-wealth

Middle-wealth households have more of the characteristics of rich than poor households. They may concentrate on farming activities but still have the chance to diversify out of agriculture in a bid to become richer. Most of them still have the financial ability to use some modern agricultural inputs which will guarantee them better harvest compared to the poor who have lesser chance of doing this. They are more capable to buffer economic shocks compared to the poor but still may be affected as a middle-income male farmer who said he had experienced ups and downs in level of production over the last three years, partly because of drought and partly because of insignificant involvement in non-farming income generating activities. Another farmer of the same economic status has been doing better because of his ability to diversify out of agriculture as he has stated below:

My farming activities are becoming productive from time to time because I am earning extra money from Sora Agency where I am working as a guard for their company and I am using the money from that for purchasing necessary agricultural inputs like fertilisers and seeds. I am also renting in land with that money. Therefore, I can say that my farming activities are

becoming productive from time to time. Mainly I am farming during my off time from Sora agency duties. For farming activities and household problems I took credit from Busa Gonofa three years ago. I took 6,000 birr and paid back 7,100 birr with its interest. Now we do have our saving association called Gabriel and we are saving 50 birr to 100 per month.

Even though there is no administrative discrimination against the poor, two middle-wealth farmers, including the one quoted above, said that government support in agriculture is good, especially in regard to fertilisers' provision and regular advice from development agents. While both of them produce crops they do not have dairy cows and no benefit from the growing sale of milk in the community. These men said economic inequalities between the rich and the poor have been increasing over the last 10 years suggesting that rich people have also many alternatives compared to the middle-income ones. Data from other respondents in the community as well suggest that people of middle-income could improve their status in the wealth rank by diversifying within and out of agriculture, especially those who are hardworking and enterprising. A young woman of the same income status added there is economic change over time and the life of some people is changing positively while those of others have remained intact. Still the livelihood of some is deteriorating or improving based on the efforts of each of the individuals. Those who work hard are living good life and are becoming richer such as households involving in trading and producing more crops by renting in land besides their own farmland. She also mentioned that those who are not working hard and leading worse life are becoming poorer over time. People of middle-wealth have the chance to improve as far as they are hardworking and enterprising, an opportunity which is limited for the poor and the very poor.

Poor, very poor and destitute

As in other communities, there are many reasons for people to be poor, very poor or destitute. People's perception of the reasons that enable people to become rich and fall into poverty is different. According to a female heading a poor household the reason people become richer is because of their hard work while others remain poor since they are lazy and are passive to try different possible alternative livelihood methods such as renting in land and involving in trading. Hard work and diversification of income source as the paths to wealth and lack of these qualities as reasons for poverty and inequality among the community members are mentioned by a range of respondents.

Land holding, level of education, age and personal qualities are also invariably stated as factors of inequality. As already mentioned in this report, land still remains an essential asset for many rural households and lack of it has been the cause for the impoverishment of many people. Chance or fate also counts but data is not rich how this is perceived to affect wealth or poverty in this community. Apart from this, many complex factors come to play to sustain people's poverty or even to make them worse or destitute. If we take age, people will have to rent out their land for others when they are no more able to work the land and they do not have family labour to replace them. Many women are also forced to rent-out their land because of the same reason when their husbands die. As a female heading a middle-wealth household stated most poor households sell their crop at cheap prices on harvest time instead of keeping their produce till the rainy season when the supply diminishes and the prices go up. Worst, there are poor people who sell out their crop at harvest season at cheap prices to fulfil immediate needs and later on or after some months purchase crops for household consumption at high prices. According to the respondent, this practice, which she called 'mismanagement', is among the reasons that keep poor people remain poor.

This and many other respondents also said that some poor people (they are not the only ones) sell their land to investors or other individuals and later on when their living situation declines they regret their action. In light of this, this respondent mentioned about a poor household that sold its land and reclaimed more from the buyer who accidentally added some more money for the seller in the context of a land sale market where reversal of agreements is very rare among individual sellers

and buyers. However, the woman still believed that those who sold their land become poorer. Some respondents from the wereda have confirmed the same also in the case of land lost for compensation when the government need the space for investment. This situation must have widened the existing inequalities in this respect and the causes are complex as lack of government intervention to train and mentor the people in non-farm activities and related issues has never been the case. The causes of landlessness and the downhill to poverty are quite many and sometimes difficult to imagine. People who have come to and have settled after the last land re-distribution form additional aspect of landlessness in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. The case of the following woman, who is around 70, is illustrative.

Box 27. A re-settler landless woman

Aged 70, she does not have formal education. She was married and spent many years with her husband in Meki area and does not have children. When her husband died 20 years ago, she came back to resettle in Sirba, her birth place, thinking that living alone in Meki area without any relative and some land to live off was going to be difficult for her. However, she returned to Sirba after the last land re-allocation was complete, and was unable to have even a patch of land for her residence. Her relatives, who were living in Sirba, had already passed away before her arrival. Now, she is living alone, physically weak and also sick most of the time, with no social role and little participation in social activities. She is on government social protection intervention (PSNP).

This case shows landlessness and inequality can be convoluted problems with no foreseeable solution for people like this old woman. It is not clear as to how she did not have land in Meki but it might be the case that she did not receive land in Meki when land was redistributed because she was not originally from that area. And it is very likely that when land was registered and certified in Meki her husband did not include her as a co-owner and certified the land just in his name and when he died his close relatives claimed the land. Even though her relatives were dead the time she came back to Sirba, their holdings most likely have been put to the government pool in control of the kebele but the kebele did not give some land to her even for residence. Another woman, who is also on PSNP government social protection intervention, further reveals the extent of landlessness and hence inequality in Sirba.

Box 28. The case of a landless woman

Presently, this woman is leading a very poor life, she has nothing. Previously, she was living by collecting and selling firewood but at a point she became physically weak and was no more able to do this. As a result of this, she has been living on begging because she does not have some land, even residential and she has no support from relatives either but she is living with the help of the community members who give her food and the like. As she was doing this interview, she was supplied with roasted grains prepared for the monthly commemoration of Saint Gabriel which female members of a *mahaber* had organised. She said villagers would supply her with food and drink on different feasts such as wedding. Previously, she had her own home but somebody burnt it down. After that, she has been sheltering herself in a very small and old house of grass roofing in a family's compound who she was most grateful about.

The data from the field do not mention about whom or what started the fire that burnt down her house and rendered her homeless. Nonetheless, it is clear enough to suggest how complex even bad luck can play a part in rendering people poor and vulnerable. Becoming homeless suddenly and not being able to replace a structure to serve as a home by oneself is a clear sign of poverty and inequality but when there is no social insurance to reinstate poor people's status even as poor people, this must reflect the grim side of poverty and inequality.

The female heading a middle wealth household mentioned above added that there is no continuous support from the rich to the poor; rather the rich support the poor while they are preparing feast for some ceremonies. While this may be true there are also cases in which some rich households have

given permanent shelter for the destitute and the homeless. Informal social protection that could have lessened the impact of economic inequality on people's real life situation has been waning. It is difficult to presently find rich and very rich people sharing some grains to the poor, very poor and destitute at the threshing ground as it used to be in traditional Ethiopia. That many very poor and destitute people are on government social protection, which itself is not steady, has been very useful in fulfilling the basic needs of these people to some extent. Nonetheless, Ude Dhenkaka kebele has not been included in this scheme because the area had good land and ambient climate for agriculture. Even with the introduction of this support to Ude Dhenkaka, which would greatly help the poor and the vulnerable, much will remain to adequately address existing inequality gaps. The Ethiopian social protection scheme does not protect people from sliding to poverty but only tries to support them once they are below or far below the poverty line. As a result, government social protection has very little to do, if at all, in terms of reducing the gap between the rich and the poor. While this is possible, practically this has not been the case.

The poor have difficulty diversifying their income within and out of agriculture but still, as already stated in the different cases presented in this report, they press hard and try their best to survive and of course improve, as some have done. On top of small land they have and even in a few cases holding no land at all, sale of labour for individuals and companies has been adopted by many poor and very poor households. Women try petty trade, including the making and sale of the traditional alcoholic drinks *areqe* and *tella*. As stated in the introduction to this report, modernisation that has been taking place in the area and such internal factors as land shortage have given a different picture to smallholder agriculture in Ude Dhenkaka kebele and its status as an economic activity. Life, however, seems to be tougher for the poor with time as it has been improving for the rich and the very rich who have been benefiting more as smallholder agriculture has been modernising over the years.

Destitution seems to be not only a result of not being able to support oneself but also to not have support from others. Very old people who cannot support themselves are supported by their grown up children and relatives, who if it were not for them, would have lived in destitution. When families educate their children not only in Ude Dhenkaka kebele but also across the country, it is also with this intention of old age security. As a result, even poor and very poor households send their children to school cutting on their basic needs and facing the very bad sides of survival which contribute to their present day impoverishment and inequality among their fellow community members. In cases families are supported by educated children during old age they mostly change their wealth status and inequality greatly reduces for them. Nonetheless, these days as the labour market for educated people has greatly reduced since government is unable to provide jobs as it did some two decades ago, school leavers, college and university graduates who find difficulty getting self-employed or employed job will remain dependent on their parents and communities. Unlike the expectations of their parents and community, this exacerbates existing poverty and inequalities in society.

The death of an important household or family member can be an important cause of impoverishment or inability to break out of the poverty cycle. And this is even important when a household loses the mother or the father with a further developmental impact on children affecting them in a number of ways. A very poor man has two sons who are 15 and 10. After the death of his wife five years ago the children started living with their grandmother as his in-laws are economically better even though he has some problems with them. At the same time they stopped their education after the death of their mother. He stated that his economy has deteriorated since the last 10 years and most significantly since the last five years that is after the death of his wife. He is unable to support his children and in fact seeks help from others for himself. In retrospect he recalled his parents were better than him in their youthful ages because they had land and livestock to depend on. However, over time, they also became poor when they became old.

The case of this person's household evinces the role of women in household's economy and economic status relative to other households in the community. This man had taken his share of inherited land from his parents together with his siblings after which he started an independent life. When his wife was alive she had been trying every business like trading in *tella*, *areqe* and crops. He mentioned that was the main means for him to survive without challenge, feeding his children as well. However, after she passed away, everything got worse for him to the extent that he was unable to support his two children who had to move to their mother-in-law's house but still discontinuing their education. He has a very small plot of land which he is farming and in addition works as a day labourer during off farm seasons. He tried apiculture which he said was not successful. He is leading a hand-to-mouth life. In case of emergency, he has also received support from others as in last year when he received cash support from one person and seeds from another. Both of them are non-relatives to him and he was wondering that his brothers did not come to his support while he was starving in front of them.

This very poor person mentioned having good relations with other community members also involving on such social occasions as weddings and funerals. He also has relationship with some close friends who are poor like himself on the challenges of life and how to improve their livelihoods. He had a negative opinion that kebele officials do not have relationship with poor people like him because the officials prefer to create bonds with the rich.

The remark made by a poor woman is interesting about the role of diversification in economic inequalities among the members of the community. The respondent asserted that it is important to engage in additional activities hand in hand with the main livelihood that is farming activity; a single livelihood activity cannot adequately support the people from year-to-year. As an example she mentioned her own household. Her husband is a farmer and previously he had been riding a cart but stopped it recently for two reasons: growing old age and injury of the horse. The horse died last September after serving the family for a long time. She has been trading in crop and spices to support the economy of the household. She also stated that they have the plan to purchase and begin the horse cart business if the price of the horse declines. According to her, making effort by involving in different income generating activities helping poor households become middle or richer households. In the same manner, she added that rich households would become richer if they manage their farm and other income generating activities properly through hard work, strong motive, and innovation. Otherwise, if the poor depend only on one activity and if that activity is not successful, they remain poor. That the poor and the very poor have limited capacity and opportunity to diversify within and out of farming is mentioned by many residents in the community.

She discouraged the condition of depending on a single source of income which she said makes life very difficult to survive. Households have to engage in supplementary livelihood activities including day or other labour works. If someone merely sticks to a single livelihood, then it will be very difficult to improve one's economy which in fact will rather deteriorate instead. According to her perception this is more important for people who have small farmland. She stated non-diversification leads at best to loan from others and ultimately seeking support from others. Like other respondents but in a well expressed language she also said that the second reason for deterioration of one's economy and impoverishment is extravagant behaviour of the people. Human beings may have a series of interests but they have to be able to limit their need and routine expenditures by thinking for the future. Her observation is that lack of this saving practice or prudent use of resources is a problem among some members of the community leading to deterioration of their lives overtime. As a third reason she also confirmed what other residents have said that some people sell their land in order to escape from adverse incidents. The money they get from selling the land resource will be used up in short time but these people are finally left empty handed. Loss of land which is still a very important source of livelihood for this urbanising community then has affected many households rendering them unable to eke the income they need to support their families.

Changes in economic inequality

Because of various factors mentioned in this report, there has been change in economic inequality among the members of the community. Various factors have also been mentioned including those which have to do with the overall socioeconomic and political situations and personal factors such as aging, perseverance or lack of this and entrepreneurship or lack of this. Both respondents from the community and the government agree that investment has helped create job opportunities for many in the community and even for those coming from other parts of the country but this has also been a disadvantage for households who were forced to leave their land for inadequate compensations. New agricultural technologies and inputs such as improved seeds are in use and hybrid dairy cows are owned by many households in the kebele which is more than what is used to be the case before five years. This has helped many rich people to become richer and has opened some opportunity for very enterprising individuals. There are households who have four to six dairy cows selling milk to company clients that come to the village and also making use of milk in the household contributing to their nutrition security. On the contrary, poor and very poor households who are financially unable to buy these animals are not able share this benefit. Most of these households are also unable to improve their farming because of not having an ox, old age or inability to purchase inputs such as fertilisers and seeds.

Despite this variation, a very rich male farmer said economic inequalities are increasing in the community as to his understanding. He made the comparison that a few years ago almost all people in the area could feed their own families compared to the current trend. He added, "Only few people who have adapted to this dynamic world can remain rich currently while others are coming out of the game. Every sector has become very competitive and needs system to survive". According to this informant, it seems the number of people able to cope with the changes and complexities is lesser when we see his remark that the number of poor people is increasing because of increased population. He also linked the rapidly increasing population with available land which is constant, creating tension among residents. He was also very clear in his remark about very poor people: "*The same is true for very poor people. There are more very poor people currently compared to the past time.*"

This may serve as an additional evidence for the growing competition rather than cooperation in the community. And those who cannot fit the changing requirements would be further pushed to the margins of society even in a place like Ude Dhenkaka kebele which is declared as surplus producing, rendering the community out of government social protection programmes such as the productive safety net programme and the household asset building programme. This need may even be pronounced in the future as the area will be urbanised more and will become more complex socioeconomically.

Relations between rich and poor

The relations between rich and poor, as in any other community, take place in different social, economic, political and religious contexts and this has been the same over the last five years. Relations that are largely founded in the social context, for instance, are such associations as iddir in which all residents despite their statuses or characteristics could involve except for some time before a year or so when people who shifted to Protestant Christianity had some difficulty until this was resolved.

A rich woman living with her husband and four children said that she supports poor households in the community in different ways. For those who are physically able and can work, she will let them assist her in different activities such as cleaning cow dung and letting them take the dung in return. She added she also assists poor people in the community financially, materially and psychologically. She also advises people that working hard can change their economy and that they should send their children to school. She is also helping her mother in-law who is living in the same village with such

supplies as grain crops and soaps in addition to assisting the old woman to get medical assistance when sick.

The rich also support the poor or destitute for moral reasons, especially in cases the beneficiaries are old and physically weak. Shelter, food and other assistances are provided to them in this case as well. An investor engaged in dairy and furniture products since 2009 made the observation that support from the rich to the poor is decreasing because of ever-changing culture of the community from socialised to individualised life. However, the other reason might be that the poor may look for support from the government or from micro finance institutions rather than looking for the assistance of or begging from the rich.

While government services are open for all members of the community without discrimination, the poor and the very poor have been benefiting less from modern agricultural inputs such as fertilisers and improved seeds. What is more, model farmers are selected on the basis of their ability to adopt new technologies and inputs as well as economic success. Hence, while in theory training and related capacity building events are open for all; in practice model farmers have better access to this support.

A more formalised relationship takes place between the rich and the poor when the rich creates job opportunity for the jobless. Community understanding in general is that the rich become richer as they make use of the poor or the jobless in order to run or expand the business. However, the contribution of the rich in this regard seems to be significant, especially in the case of those who employ quite a number of workers.

Box 29. Hotelier employing others to run business

The woman running the hotel is married and has three children all of whom are going to school. She started the hotel 10 years ago and has been selling soft drinks and beverages such as draft beer, bottled beer as well as modern and traditional alcoholic drinks namely *areqe* and *tej* (mead). Coffee serviced in the traditional way decorates the mix of services. She also has butchery. Her services are based on clients' interest so that she serves non-fasting food as well during the fasting season of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church in which period she also serves fish. She started as a small grocery selling only some drinks. Gradually, she expanded the business as she added more drinks and some food. Through time, she started serving as a wholesaler or distributor of modern and traditional alcoholic drinks and traditional alcoholic drinks as well, distributing these items to the local smaller traders which is beneficial not only for her but also for the small traders and the community at large. She has bought a truck to transport these supplies.

The house in which she is running this business is her own, built on a plot she inherited from her parents who passed away. Before she started this business she was preparing and selling tea and bread in front of the school in Ude. Recently, she built additional rooms enabling her to serve more customers. She also bought a land in front of her hotel-actually her residential house which she was also using as a hotel- and built a new residential house leaving the former fully for the business. The new house has rooms for baking enjera to supply the hotel and rooms to shelter her employees. The physical proximity between the two houses has made managing her business easier for her. She is well assisted by her husband in managing the business, who also does the procurement of commodities, including the oxen to be slaughtered for the butcher's house which she has added to the business.

She is employing 24 people, the majority of whom are in-migrants or newcomers from other areas, mostly from Amhara and south Ethiopia while a few of them are from Oromia region. Out of 24 employees, 16 are females. Most of the employees are working in shifts. As already stated, they are living with the business owner in the same compound as the hotel and her residence, the place where they are also fed (from the hotel). This was a contribution so significant that she was awarded by government for creating job opportunities. Through this she also got additional

promotion as her success story interview was broadcast on a radio programme. Each worker is paid birr 700 per month in addition to food and shelter.

To run her business she uses her own money but also takes credit from MIFs. She mentioned recently she borrowed 80,000 birr from Oromia Credit and Saving Association (WALQO).

She is licensed by the Ada'a Wereda where she also pays her taxes except services taxes which businesspeople have been paying to the Ude municipality since recently.

Most of her usual customers are government employees but during market days farmers and some others from the surrounding areas also visit her hotel. Unlike other hotels in Ude, she said she provides integrated services and has more customers but the other hotel owners, who she said provide limited services, and have fewer customers, are not happy about her. That she has a truck and is a wholesaler has helped her to provide diversified and timely support. As she has a big lorry mostly she can transport supplies easily and sells more a little bit reducing the prices. She thinks this may be another factor for her to have more customers.

Her aim is to compete and generate more revenue even though this is not positively received by the others for whom she said she is willing to share experience. She recalls she had gone through different challenges to reach this level. She was unable to tell her profit of the last 12 months because she has more stock every time. However, she said she saves 15,000 birr every week in an informal saving association called *iqqub*. In light of this, on average she estimates that she earns a profit of 40,000 to 60,000 birr per month. She said she is just grade-3 complete and cannot keep account of expenditure and income, which she said is her major problem. Otherwise, she thinks she could have managed her business better. Selling wholesale items on credit she does not keep records and just relies on trust and memory which might be a liability to her business despite the fact that her business has been improving.

This case is quite rich and has more to say about the role of rich or very rich people in small rural towns such as Ude. In the first place, it serves as very strong evidence that hard work and perseverance are keys for success in business and has much to tell for young people who are organising in economic groups. Secondly, economic diversification as a source of more income and hence inequality is essential not only in the farming sector but also in the non-farming sector. The mutually supportive relationship between the rich and the poor or the job-seeker is very evident and employing 24 citizens for a self-starter like her is an outstanding success.

Also striking is her philanthropic personality. She assists persons who are not in a position to assist them. As an example she mentioned a pregnant woman who has separated from her husband. She is providing her accommodation and food like she does for her children. Besides, every day she gives food for a boy with a mental problem. Also, she lends money for people when they are in critical need, including those who need to finance the travel of their children to Arab countries for work and her former employees who want to migrate. She does this without interest. Even though mutual and none-reciprocal support particularly for the poor is decreasing over the years as already stated, help for the very poor and vulnerable is still existent in the community. In fact, the case of this successful hotel owning woman and her household may suggest that as people become well off, they would be predisposed to support others in need even though this might not have significant contribution in altering the structures of inequality in the community.

Even though there is general agreement among respondents that mutual support in the community has been decreasing, largely because of the increasing monetization of human relationship over the years, rich people still support the poor or vulnerable to some extent. A very rich man has been supporting a destitute woman who he has known from his early childhood in the neighbourhood he was raised as the best friend of his mother. He said the most common support he has been providing for her is crop and some money to buy coffee beans and other basic materials. She had her own house and he also supports her with some advice when needed. On holidays his family also

shares food and *tella* with her. He also mentioned not seeing any support for her from kebele or NGO.

In a way that was suggestive of the need for external intervention in this regard, he remarked that the situation of poor people in the community can be improved through two mechanisms. The first is involving them in some income generating activities like agriculture and the other one is provision of basic and consistent support for those who cannot work because of old age or health problems. First of all, he was thinking of government creating awareness creation activities and facilitating ways for the poor people. He was of the opinion that poor people should help themselves first than looking for support from others. This is a remark quite developmental that may stave off dependency which is an undesired outcome of developmental and aid interventions in many places. To make things improve for the poor he stated there should be contribution from different angles: the government, the community and the poor themselves should work together to bring notable change.

Political inequality

Elites

According to community respondents, generosity, particularly in times of trouble or emergency, higher level of educational attainment, honesty, eldership qualities, and leadership in politics, development and religion are among the attributes that may qualify someone as elite in their community. Many people can be categorized as elites based on this loose definition and in fact the community has several elites. However, the definition also suggests that it is not enough that one is in possession of good fortunes; it is not enough the person is well educated, and it is not enough the person is also in a leadership or influential position. For a person to be considered elite s/he should be able to use his/her influence for the good of the community as well and its individual members. It seems that this perception has been there before 2012 and, if any change in this regard, it has to do with the acceptance of knowledgeable and orator young people as elders, as old age is losing its effect in qualifying people as elders. There are several examples showing that to be an elite the person should use his/her authority to serve the community and its members, if not, not only the person may lose his/her influence but also the respect and good will of the people.

One recent example is the waning influence of development team leaders and 1 to 5 team leaders who used to play very instrumental roles in mobilising and organising the public and transmitting government messages and developmental information among the community members. As a result of a host of other factors but also because of the fact that community members have started giving more attention to their own businesses than listening to and working with these local government structures, the leaders have very significantly lost their influence which may mean they are no longer treated as elites by the community. Some respondents saw them as political instrumentations of the government or the ruling party to control the people. Therefore, even though no complaint was mentioned about the personal qualities of these leaders that went against public interest, their official duties are not appreciated. Certainly, their political influence was not seen as beneficial to the community. In fact, some community members view this to the contrary. There is public dissatisfaction about their roles and since their roles are not regarded as beneficial, they have or are losing their status as elites. A respondent remarked threat and punishment might reinstate their authority to have the public listen to them. Nonetheless, this is far from reinstating these people as elites who muster community respect unless they serve to the interest and benefit of the community.

Another demonstration is nepotism and corruption as related to who people may consider as elites. As a range of community respondents have expressed, there is some dissatisfaction among community members in accessing some government services and particularly credit services for young people in order to start income-generating activities in groups. There is complaint that those

who have relatives, friends and other connections at kebele and wereda level are the ones who have access to these services while the poor and vulnerable majorities are left out. There are also some civil servants who are not living among the community when they have to and who because of this fall short of providing adequate and quality services for the residents of the community. These elites do not generate admiration or high opinion from the community members as those who live the community. These cases may serve to illustrate that mere influence cannot actually enable individuals to fetch the qualifier elite and the associated respect and influence from community members. In this regard, political power on the part of the higher or influential section of the community needs to be employed to assist the community and its members.

In the following paragraphs, we shall describe the different elites that have existed in the community, the source of their influence, and the impact they have on the community and its members. Rich and very rich people are considered elites. And the source of wealth and differentiation in wealth among community members are basically access or lack of access to land and size of land owned and hard work which also includes diversifying out of agriculture. According to this parameter, most of the very rich and rich are people native to the area by virtue of being there when land was redistributed during the Derg regime. The other source of wealth is involvement in commercial activities such as trading in grains and having service provision facilities such as hotels. Combining farming and non-farming commercial activities has greatly served many farming households to become rich and very rich. Such households or their heads are elites and using their wealth as an influence they may support the poor, especially the very poor or destitute by providing them with permanent shelter as well as some food and cash support. The rich and the very rich are also those for instance who own deep hand dug wells and sell water for the rest of the community members. Even though the community members of Sirba and Qumbursa villages, and to a lesser extent Ude rural town, are experiencing significant water shortage, the rich and the very rich provide them with water for some payment, 1 birr per a jerry can of water. The rich and the very rich are also the ones who adopt new technologies when introduced by the government extension services and by the Bishoftu Research Institute because they have the resource to put on trial and have good experience of testing new technologies in the past. Speaking of such people, a farmer said,

Rich farmers are mostly benefiting from every developmental and agricultural activity in our community because they do have information and potential to implement what the government is saying about agricultural technologies. They do have potential and ability to purchase all agricultural inputs including fertilizers. They do have also trust from the government side. Poor and young people are less benefited. Let alone benefits, poor people do not enjoy their right. For example, nobody is willing to be established in groups with poor people to get credit services from WALQO.

The rest of the community members will follow after seeing the success of these early adopters who are in most of the cases model farmers and at the same time with comparatively better educational attainment. Thus, they assist the others by assuring them to put their resources on new technologies and share the benefits even though poor and very poor people are far less financially able to procure modern agricultural inputs and technologies. As a result, all community respondents have positive opinion for model farmers as their lead. The rich and the very rich are also the ones who most rent-in other people's land as they endeavour to make more wealth and personal enrichment. Even though it is well known by most of community respondents that this is done for profit and in fact a few community respondents said the deal is exploitative disfavours the person who rents out the land, all agree that the deal is made possible because of the presence of these elites. Respondents also acknowledge that households who cannot farm their land because of lack of male labour, lack of good health, old age and other reasons can have someone to do the job for them by means of this arrangement.

Those who have position in the kebele administration are also considered elites. The current kebele chair, GI, is 35 and grade-12 complete. His roles are multiple: administrative, developmental, and security related, also taking part in such issues as dispute settlement closely working with the kebele vice chair, the manager, the cabinet members, the Aba Gadas and community elders. This and other kebele positions are likely to provide one with political as well as elderly influence on community members. TY, who is 37 and grade-10 complete, assists and works the job of the chair in his absence. In conflict resolution they have complementary roles with the Aba Gadas and the community elders. WR, 30, is serving as rural Ude kebele manager and he is responsible for technical and professional matters in the kebele assisting the kebele administration. This position is the only paid position in the kebele administration. He supervises development sectors in the kebele such as education and health, serving as a link between the kebele administration, the development sectors and the community.

Civil servants in the kebele might also be considered as elites because of their positions, educational attainment and services they provide to the community. The head teacher, FA, 40, has been working in the kebele for two years where she has been serving as a cabinet member as well. She mentioned that she is happy about her work and the communities are very satisfied with their services. The two health extension workers serving in the health post are Nu, 28, and EM, 32. EM has worked for 14 years and Nu for five years. As she has been residing among the community, residents are very appreciative of EM. They said they work with developmental teams and 1 to 5 networks and kebele officials, especially during immunization campaigns. EM, who has been working for many years, said that she believes she has contributed a lot for the better of the community and can confidently say there is no home delivery at this time and contraceptive utilization rate is very high, and immunization coverage for under-five children is very good. She mentioned of her determination to still try her best to do more. She is working with the other HEWs and health developmental army leaders.

YS, 28, has been working as an agricultural development agent for crops production. She has been working there for two years and mentioned that they have worked strong to make the kebele FTC a model in the wereda. Introducing and promoting new agricultural technologies, including improved seeds, are among her responsibilities and said working for the community and making a difference is what she likes about her job. They work closely with zonal or village leaders in the kebele. TL, 29, is a livestock development agent and mainly works on familiarizing the community with modern livestock breeds and use of tractors for farming. The woman working as a natural resource management agent left a few months ago and no one has replaced here. LB, 30, is working as a vet technician in the kebele. He said he is working hard to serve the community and is highly appreciated by the people as he also vends his own animal drugs and personally provides vaccines for animals in the rural setting on a regular basis. He is selling animal drugs which are not available in government stock. He has been serving this community for the last five years. Other cabinet members, teachers, religious leaders, and Aba Gadas are additional elites found in the kebele. Religious leaders organise the followers of Ethiopian Orthodox Church into *mahaber* where people come together for feasting, prayers and worshiping. In addition to their religious services, they also work with elders and the Aba Gadas on conflict resolution. In fact, the kebele social court members-they are three- are also elites in the community, who closely work with the elders, the religious leaders and the Aba Gadas, in addition to providing assistance to the wereda social court when cases are referred to them.

As has been said already, political inequalities between the elites and the rest of the community members have something to do with benefiting the community at large and its individual members. These elites are also gate-keepers of the community. However, to enjoy their role as elites and to command respect and obedience for the community and its individual members, there is a certain degree of usefulness the elites have to fulfil for the community. In more direct terms, elites are expected to make use of their authority not for personal gains but for the good of the public and when they fail to do this and focus on personal gain they lose the respect and obedience of the

community. And in fact, there is complaint on kebele officials in respect to the provision of some government services.

Middle-level people with potential influence

Teachers, health extension workers, and agricultural development agents, development team leaders, 1 to 5 networks and health development army leaders may be partly considered as middle-level people with potential influence. At times they serve as a link between the community and the kebele administration or the kebele government sectoral offices in regard to agriculture, health and other services.

Access to important people

The people that are important in the community in terms of being able to command or influence others are many. All the elites mentioned in this report can be considered important in this sense. However, as in other communities, the numbers of people who are important to a person in the course of life are many and there are different ways of accessing them. Generally, people need to access important people because of professional, administrative and judicial services. Agricultural development agents, health extension workers and teachers are easily accessible for the community members, especially those who are residing among the community. Those at the far ends of the kebele might have some physical limitation but generally these experts are non-accessible to none in the community. The kebele manager, the chair, the vice chair and other cabinet members are important for their administrative purposes. All community members have the right to access these officials and it is their duty to serve the public but there is a procedure residents have to go through. Residents can only access these officials first through their 1 to 5 leader and then through developmental team leaders; otherwise making direct contact will have them go back their respective 1 to 5 leaders and development team leaders. If these lower structures are unable to handle their cases, then villagers are referred to the kebele officials.

The kebele social court judges and the judges at the wereda court are also very important people for residents when they seek justice. In this regard, community elders and Aba Gada leaders play very significant roles in mediation and conflict resolution before cases reach the judges and after cases have reached same. Residents can easily access community elders and Aba Gada leaders and also the kebele social court judges. If individuals want to appeal to wereda court they can easily do this and find no difficulty accessing them.

From what many community respondents have said there are two channels of accessing important people. The first is official channel which is by law required to be equally open for all members of the residents irrespective of wealth, connection or other factors. The second is an informal channel which many residents said is open for those who could manipulate officials or the system through kinship, friendship and other connections to have to do with undue personal gains. The use of informal connections is likely to increase inequality gaps among the people not only economically but also politically. Most respondents said that the justice system is improving after the start of the recent deep renewal following public dissatisfaction and uprising. It seems there is more chance for this to improve in the future.

Inclusion in government public services and interventions

As before, there have been different public services provided by government over the last five years. Agriculture, health, education, credit, training, administrative and justice services are the major public services provided in the area as in other parts of the country. The government has been in the forefront of providing new technologies, inputs and agricultural extension advices to the community. While there is no discrimination in theory, practically some community members, namely the poor and the very poor are either excluded or are made to get the least benefit out of government intervention in this regard. Comparably, the private market is better in Ude Dhenkaka kebele

because of the availability different companies in the nearby Bishoftu and Mojo towns but the cost is very high and mostly unaffordable for poor households. In fact, many community respondents stated that there are poor and vulnerable people who rent out their land because of lack of inputs. And this is said to be increasing from time to time, including the last five years, as farmers have to apply more amounts of fertilisers on the same unit of land which may imply that the land has become less responsive to fertilisers. A very poor farmer mentioned trying taking credit from WALQO for fertilisers but complained that was not profitable suggesting poor farmers may need more extension support to be productive. This may also be because of low application of fertilisers. Some farmers have openly questioned the government agricultural extension provision since the poor and the very poor are not sharing the benefit with the better off members of the community. Therefore, there is a tendency that poor people would continue so or would even become poorer because of unaffordable costs of agricultural inputs.

Education is accessible to all in the community as there is a high school in Ude town and lower grades in the rural parts of the kebele as well. Everybody has equal opportunity and right to attend these schools. Both the rich and poor in the community mentioned many children who cannot afford buying uniforms and textbooks and are psychologically affected to properly attend their education. Others living in rented houses without adequate support from their parents discontinue education as a result of lack of food and money for house rental. A rich farmer shared his concern that the availability of schools alone does not give sense if the necessary inputs, logistics and qualified teachers are not fulfilled, mentioning of a problem affecting the majority of the community irrespective of wealth. However, , the impact of economic inequality might be seen in regard to education as the very rich and rich send their children to private schools in Bishoftu whereas the others could not.

There is a health post in Ude kebele and a health centre in the nearby kebele of Dhenkaka where people can get consultation and some treatment for basic health problems, including MCH services. One of the health extension agents, who have been working there living among the communities, is at the centre of people's appreciation of health services in Ude. The health extension agents provide available drugs for free or for small payment and refer clients to the health centre as need be. While it is not difficult to think that the rich in general can have better access to health services, especially for such chronic diseases affecting kidney and diabetes, community respondents did not complain about the services provided by the health post and the health centre. In fact, many have appreciated the Community Based Health Insurance scheme that was started in 2012/13 even though many still have some complaints about the way it has been implemented like not advising people to get drugs not available in government stock from private pharmacies for free and lack of including in the scheme for these and other chronic diseases.

The insurance scheme has a quota that has enabled poor and very poor people to be beneficiaries of the system without the annual payment. While this is positively contributing towards including more poor people and reducing inequality in health services, still there are others who are not included because of the quota which targets a limited number of vulnerable households. In fact, financially able households might also opt to not renew their membership because of lack of adequate awareness of how the insurance system works: they consider their membership and payment wastage of money if they were not sick and did not need the service in an outgoing year. Nonetheless, the health sector may be considered the most inclusive service sector while it is still wanting in a number of respects as already mentioned. Its selection of non-paying members is also said to be fair but it needs to work hard to include the remaining poor in the community. A very poor farmer stated the only government intervention he knows of in the community that has been benefiting the poor and the vulnerable is the CBHI. Speaking of CBHI, this same respondent said,

It has many benefits for poor people. You do not know when diseases come to your household. In case the problems happen when you have nothing at hand, it is difficult to get

health services if you are not a member of CBHI. If you are a member of community based health insurance it builds your confidence very much.

Confidence, as a psychological dimension of wellbeing is a very important aspect of the CBHI programme; but it seems only limited people such as this respondent has understood this. Because of lack of this awareness of an aspect of the insurance system, it is already stated that some households are withdrawing from the scheme on account that they have not sought the services in an outgoing year and the premium cannot be carried forward to an incoming year. In this regard proper public awareness measure in addition to that done at the beginning of the programme is in order. Otherwise, there might be the tendency for more households leaving the programme and risk of future increase in the inequality gap that has been reducing.

Also, the positive results of the health sector might be somehow clouded by lack of potable water in the community except in Ude town where the service is better. A female landholder renting out land to a female farmer stated water is the basic problem of the community. She said they are drinking water from a traditional hand-dug well which is not safe, also mentioning that there is no health extension support to treat or purify this water to make it safer for drinking. On their part, she added some community members used to boil the water for drinking. Previously, some people were using water from a communal water point (a hand pump most likely) found in Sirba but it has been rendered dysfunctional due to a technical problem. The issue of water has been raised many times with the concerned body during meetings but nothing has come out of that so far. Very poor male farmer added water is a very difficult topic to talk about; there is no equal opportunity. He stated there are people who own wells and other clean source of water (hand pumps) for their personal use and for sale but he complained only those who are financially able could buy water from them while those who are not may fetch water from a seasonal river which is very contaminated.

Minibuses, motorbikes and the three-wheeler bajajs are the common means of transportation in the kebele which is crossed by the old highway and the new express road connecting Addis Ababa and Adama. A very poor man stated that transportation is available in the kebele but some poor people might face difficulty getting transportation fees and have to travel on foot, especially from Ude to Sirba. Therefore, it could be said that economic inequality is very significant to affect movement in the community among the rich and the poor. The internal roads or blocks are very muddy and during the rainy season it is difficult to travel, mainly for bigger and heavy duty vehicles that need to come into the villages to transport loads of purchased crops. However, this is not a problem affecting the poor specifically and of course it may be more of a constraint for the rich who keep their stock till this time to get higher prices.

Access to electricity is limited only to the centre of Ude town. People living only few kilo meters away from the centre of the town still do not get electric power. And even all of the households in the town do not have their own counters and had to informally extend electricity through wires from those who have the counters on some monthly payment just for lighting. There is repeated request from the public to the concerned authorities but the problem is not yet addressed. This may require the local authorities to approach the district electric power authority which is a separate administration from that of the wereda. Repeated power interruption also affects those who already have the connection but the problem is very serious for those running businesses such as hotels as well as metal and wood workshops.

Social protection

Formal Social Support

The Community-Based Health Insurance (CBHI)

The Community-Based Health Insurance (CBHI) is a program launched by Ada'a wereda in June 19, 2006 EC and the actual implementation started after two months. Initially it required the

contribution of 180 birr per household regardless of wealth status. The program includes children under 18, and those dependents with disability and mental illness are considered regardless of age limit. Otherwise any household that wants service for healthy children above 18 should pay an additional 36 birr to get services from CBHI. The program started in 2015 in Ude Dhenkaka community and the kebele chairman said that training has been organised by the government to wereda CBHI officers, kebele officials, and health development army officials working at grass roots level. Initially, it was the chair persons who tried to convince households to be part of the program; however lately, the HEWs took over the responsibility which improved the acceptance and coverage. The HEWs now bring CBHI membership cards from weredas and distribute them to those households willing and able to become members. The photograph of the head of the household is put on the card with the list of household members eligible to benefit from the program.

In 2016/17 the amount paid per household increased from 180 to 245 birr, and the extra payment for adult children above 18 has been increased from 36 to 48 birr. When the program was first launched 9 years ago as a trial in 13 weredas, the federal government was covering 25% of the CBHI fund but since 2017 this support has been terminated since the program has expanded in almost all weredas, which made it difficult for the federal government to keep such extensive support for a prolonged period. Due to this change the wereda started to cover 30% of the subsidies whereas the region covers 70%. The removal of federal government subsidy for this program caused an increase in the cost of membership for each household.

The poorest of the poor are considered for exemption of CBHI contribution, a committee is set up to assess the economic status of households and ensure their eligibility for the program. This same committee also revises a list of non-paying beneficiaries through a re-assessment of economic status changes/improvements every two years to renew membership, otherwise the household might be transferred to a paying member group or may leave the program. There was no conflict or confrontation that happened in this regards. For example, a poor man interviewed for this study appealed to the committee and they considered his appeal positively.

The kebele officials lack detailed data about the management of CBHI contribution and updated information about changes occurring in the program. However, data for the last two years has been presented about membership in general of CBHI for both rural and urban community in the Kebele as follows.

Table 2: CBHI membership in Ude Dhenkaka kebele

No	Physical Year	Location	Paying CBHI Members	Location	Non Paying CHBI Members
1	2017	Urban Ude Dhenkaka	310	Urban	83
		Rural Ude Dhenkaka	176	Rural	76
2	2018	Urban Dhenkaka	293	Urban	83
		Rural Dhenkaka	127	Rural	76

As the table shows, there are fewer members from paying households though the number of non-paying household members remains the same. The committee said that they renew membership to exclude households that are able to change their economic status and to consider others unfortunately joining the poorest of the poor. However, we don't have data about inclusion or exclusion of new household members.

Paying members of the program are declining and there are no new households joining due to various problems of the program. Some of these issues are poor health care service at public health facilities in the area, lack of laboratory facilities and reluctance to pay for the service, absence of

drugs forcing paying members to spend more money at private drug vendors, program's limitation to cover some chronic illness types, mistreatment of health workers and unequal treatment of CBHI members based on their economic status.

The wereda CBHI officer however, said that, members of CBHI can get service from 2 Hospitals (Bishoftu and Adama referral hospital), and from 7 Health centres. The most common types of illnesses treated in the CBHI program include diabetes, hypertension, surgery, and ultrasound services. However, there are chronic illnesses that are not covered by CBHI, like chronic kidney diseases that need dialysis, chronic cardiac/heart diseases, injuries or broken bones resulting from criminal activities, and uterus infection/diseases, eye and teeth illness is treatable by CBHI, but they cannot provide eye glass, or the service of installing new artificial teeth as the CBHI budget is not adequate to cover such services.

With regards to implementation, the official admitted that there are problems. For instance, whenever CBHI members visit health centres for an illness sometimes they tell them that the CBHI program excludes it and the legitimate members are told to seek alternative treatments by themselves, which is disappointing to them. Some members even complain up to wereda level, and there are households who decided not to renew their membership due to such incomplete services from the program. On the other hand, the wereda CBHI personnel stated that the wereda has entered into an agreement with 2 private pharmacies and 1 red cross pharmacy at Bishoftu town so that CBHI beneficiaries would get medicine free of charge whenever the medicine prescribed for them is not available in the Health Centre or Hospital. The HEW also said illnesses such as stomach ache, typhus, typhoid, cough, and simple gastric case are among the services that are covered. But for persistent illness it may be difficult to get immediate service because the CBHI scheme only provides service in government health institutions (health centre and hospital through referral). Sometimes in these institutions household members of the program still have to go to private health facilities in order to get investigations like X-ray, ultrasound and other needed services. According to the wereda CBHI officer, some health workers may not be aware of CBHI members 'right to get medicine not available in the HC from the private sector freely' and there is a gap in notifying them about the links created with private and Red-Cross pharmacies. A client approached their office at wereda level and complained that the health workers refused to stamp on the prescription given to him so that he can't get drugs for free from the private pharmacy. Recently, in every health institute a committee of 3 people (both from health officers as well as supportive staff) was established to receive and solve appeals of CBHI clients.

Image 13. The health centre in Dhenkaka serving six kebeles including Ude Dhenkaka



One of the paying members interviewed by the Research Officer said that CBHI members are told to buy medicine from private pharmacies, and another member complained that the HC at Denkaka doesn't want to refer him to Bishoftu Hospital, which limited his chances of accessing health services at the hospital due to the lack of a referral paper. On top of the many gaps mentioned, this has also made other households reluctant of becoming members of the program.

Membership to the program is voluntary and a household should pay 150 birr annually from December 30 to February 30, and it is a period when yield is obtained. People have diverse views on its importance as a social service/insurance. Some community members, especially the non-paying very poor and some of the paying poor and middle-class households consider it important since illness is sudden and may happen at times when they do not have any money/savings. From what community respondents said the payment maybe relatively fair and incomparable with what the private health facilities are charging. For example, a household receiving health service at Addis Ababa spent around 800 birr and another household spent 200 birr in Bishoftu private clinic. Even though they are in same economic category, others argue that the services are very poor and lack coordination so that, paying for the service either at public or private facility whenever the need arise is preferred. Due to this some members already left the insurance scheme, others decided to leave, and the rest of the community members are not showing interest in joining the program. However, if services were to be properly provided residents who have the capacity to go seek service even in private health facilities consider the premium fair.

The rich on the other hand use private health care facilities whether they are a member of CBHI or not. Some of them became members of the program just not to deviate from the community and the administration, but they mostly visit health care private facilities in Bishoftu and Addis Ababa for better quality services. Here are a few examples to support the information above:

- *A paying CBHI household member said that she has been a member since last year, however she is no longer interested to continue in the CBHI program since the quality of the service is way below her expectation. Besides the health centre even prescribed drugs without proper laboratory diagnosis which she considered negligence. She refused to pay the contribution this year, and no one tried to convince her to continue.*
- *This is a second household which stopped being member to CBHI because of low quality service and improper treatment of patients (she says there is no laboratory check), so they as a family decided to withdraw from the program after two years of service utilisation and have not been happy with any of their 4 visits. They decided to use their money by going to private clinics and public hospital in Bishoftu town. No referral needed according to this respondent.*
- *Another respondent said that, public health services are providing poorer services compared to private ones, so that she didn't want to be a member to CBHI at all, despite the fact that Kebele and Wereda officials tried to convince her.*
- *Another old woman who is also a member to CBHI needs frequent health service due to her chronic back pain, hypertension and pain on her legs. However, due to malpractice through bad treatment of the health workers at Denkaka health centre, she prefers to take transport and get service in Biyo health centre which is located in Lume wereda. This costs her transport and pay relatively fair service fee up to 50 birr at each visit, since her CBHI membership does not work out of the wereda. Whenever she gets the money she prefers going to Biyo health centre, and says, I hate the way I am treated in Denkaka health centre. (The implication maybe that CBHI is less favoured compared to paid services by health centre workers since it is not generating revolving fund for the health centre(Additional information by Shiferaw).*

NGO Interventions

Regarding NGO interventions, RATSON is the only NGO having a child support program in Ude Dhenkaka for the last 7 years. It provides educational support for children from poor households in two ways; one is through Kindergarten service for kids 4-6 years and also by providing educational material support for these children. One of the beneficiaries living in Ude however said that this

NGO provides other supports for the poor including flour, oil, blankets, cash, sanitary materials etc for vulnerable children and non-farmer poor in the area.

The data, however, shows that there was a one-time intervention of another NGO through the wereda health office to deliver slabs for poor households 3 years ago to enable them to build latrines. This support had the drawback of making households reluctant to build toilets unless slabs are given to them, which eventually led to the termination of the program.

Only one community member interviewed said that Self-Help Africa (NGO) had an intervention in renewing poor people's house, though this information is not known by others, putting to question the credibility of the information.

Currently about fifty people settled in the kebele after they were displaced from the Somali region due to a reportedly ethnic based conflict. They are settled in the rooms made available by the NGO Ratson Women, Children and Youth Development and at the places of multipurpose cooperative of Ude Dhenkaka kebele. The community members in the kebele contributed food and resources including household utensils to support the effort of the government to re-establish these vulnerable people.

Community members interviewed in this study described that in the last 10 years there is no change in the provision of care and support to vulnerable people in the community.

Other forms of formal social support

The wereda official interviewed for this study explained they have a programme to support students from poor families by distributing uniforms, and other community intervention like maintaining schools, reaching out to communities during emergencies by using the budget allocated from regional and national government contribution. Sometimes if there are unexpected natural disasters like flooding, drought and wild fires to crops and livestock, timely compensation is provided to the victims by reporting to wereda risk assessment and disaster prevention and preparedness office.

The wereda women's affairs officer said that, as part of community care coalition, civil servants contribute 1% of their salary to help people with disability, PLWHA and people with mental illness. For instance, 7 PLWHA who disclosed their status are getting free ART service, though about 30 or more people are suspected in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. The zone wereda and kebele workers contribute for the coalition. Two percent of the wereda budget is also dedicated for the coalition managed by women and children's affairs office. Mobilising the community members to raise money to assist some vulnerable people is also mentioned. The type of support obtained from CCQ includes clothes, uniforms, education materials and helping the poor to start some business activity. The office of women's and children's affairs also helps vulnerable children directly.

An old and sick woman interviewed, wished to have institutions like *Mekedonia Elderly centre* found in Addis Ababa, and said otherwise there is no formal assistance in Ude Dhenkaka. The Kebele office at Ude provides oil and sugar for people like her, but since she is not able to walk there, she couldn't get any.

Community members mentioned that, there is no formal social support for elderly and very poor people. NGO and government involvement is said to be very limited in the area in availing social support to the community, on the other hand almost half of the respondents in this study argued that, the informal social support mechanism by itself is shrinking from time to time, which left the needy alone without both formal and informal means of social security. However, still exemption of regular contribution and free CBHI membership is considered as part of government support to the poor/social protection.

Perceptions of Government Assistance

Community members expressed their concern about lack of government or NGO involvement to assist vulnerable people in the community. Except Ratson working on kindergarten and assisting few vulnerable kids and CBHI from the government, there is no major intervention to help the needy in the kebele.

The urban resident female interviewed said that there is no humanitarian assistance for the helpless women, elderly, or orphaned children due to HIV. Three kids whose parents died due to HIV/AIDS are taken to Bishoftu town by their uncle and the town administration is helping these kids, but there is no such assistance in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Poor and helpless people are allowed to benefit from free CBHI program and get health services from HCs and landless people are also given the chance to be exempted from any school fee or contribution where their children can attend.

Informal social security

Even though the extent of informal social support seems to be decreasing over time, still it is the major social security alternative available to the poor. With regards to who is supporting whom; mostly different kinds of supports are obtained from kin or close relatives, friends, neighbours, non-related households or business owners with sympathy, Iddir, religious groups, teachers and students etc. It is contradictory that few say no one is willing to support the poor and destitute whereas many others are explaining how community members are assisting them in different ways. The kinds of assistance include food, clothes, homes/space to stay, crops, flour, seeds, firewood/dung, school uniform or stationary, cash (loan or just support) mainly during illness and death of an animal, funeral service, prayer and emotional support among others.

Some stated that competition and improving one's own economic status is getting more attention, affecting longstanding mutual support among community members. As a result, the amount, frequency and readiness to help are diminishing and mostly supports are casual and limited to holidays. Furthermore, a mid-wealth female farmer interviewed said that 'unless the needy sit on the road side and beg, no one remembers them.'

Detailed review of different kinds of informal social support available in the community in order of their importance is presented as follows.

Kin Based Social Support

This is vital informal social support helping the community remain cohesive and self-sustained, filling the gaps created by the absence of formal social support either from government or NGOs. The data shows that there is an intertwined kin support system addressing socio-economic problems that community members face such as: elderly and child support, assistance during crisis, enabling supports among kin, and general support for poor households. By contributing their own support to kin members, the elderly and the students/children also play significant roles that make the system functional. Evidences are presented as examples under each category of support.

Elderly support: This includes provision of food, crops, homes, cultivating their land, cleaning their clothes and homes, medical care, and emotional support. Children who are able to earn income assist in availing those mentioned services and goods and younger children and grandchildren assist by contributing labour and by being there for them for (for such support as cleaning, talking to them, to cover their farm labour needs).

- *A young girl from mid-wealth family was interviewed and she said that she helps three of her aunts and grandmother by frequent visits to each. She cleans the grandma's house, washes her clothes, and assists her in domestic activities. She also supports her aunts in their trading, learning about trade while doing so.*

- *One of the destitute in the community said, 'landlessness coupled with infertility makes the elderly helpless and become destitute, but those who have children engaged in different income earning activities will definitely help their aged parents.' She added that her current situation is due to infertility and landlessness.*
- *The wife of the old man said that her married son provides them with labour during farming activities and also some items like oil and vegetables, food, as well as meat and eggs during holidays.*
- *The kebele official said that there are about 15 people (8 female and 7 male) who are old and need support. Their children, neighbours and relatives care for them by providing crops during harvesting time. The government also exempted them from health care costs.*
- *An old woman said that her four married daughters send her oil, soap, vegetables and other important items.*

Parents'/Elderly support or function: parents help their children by sharing their small farm land, creating a conducive environment for education opportunities, providing business start-up capital, funding migration in the hope of better opportunities for their children elsewhere (local and international migration), providing oxen to plough, and moreover allowing children to stay with them even till their late 20th or above. The elderly also provide space for divorced women coming with children, receive and nurture kids from daughters who migrated to Arab nations, give day care service by watching/carrying grandkids whose parent are away for work during the day, and they also give land and crops whenever they are able to do so.

- *A young woman in her late 20's said that since her husband is away for work most of the time her parents hosted her with her two children, and their father visits them rarely and sends money.*
- *A 26 years old man sent his wife to Beirut six years ago and their two kids are growing up with her parents.*
- *A divorced woman has three children ages 8-12 and she is living with her parents together with her children. She rented in a hectare of land and her brothers are cultivating it to earn income and to be able to support her children's education. She spends 12000 birr to rent the land and mentioned that she could get about 60,000 birr out of it, which covers her expense for the land, the inputs and her annual expenses for her family.*
- *The mid-wealth farmer interviewed by the research officer said that they drop their two kids at their parents' house when they go out to farm.*
- *The young woman in her early 20's from a poor households said that, when her grandfather harvests crops he gives to her mother some amount of the crops as her mother does not have any farm land.*

Assistance during crisis: mainly when people lack money for treatment of sick family members, they mostly obtain assistance from kin networks. These include direct financial support or loans during illness of close family members and death of animals.

- *A poor woman interviewed said that her sister helped her when she needed money for her child's medication, though other close friends and relatives also contributed.*
- *One of the poor farmers said his uncle and one of his close friends lend him money for his medication, and he believes that close friends and families are primary assistants during bad times.*
- *A crop trader said that his brother committed a crime and the elders decided that he had to pay compensation for the victim, so he covered all the money for his brother.*

- *An agricultural daily labourer said that he had to borrow money from his brother-in-law, as his child suffered from chest pain which cost him 4000 birr to treat.*

Kin-Based-Enabling support: sharing farm land and oxen, availing start-up capital, assisting in schooling and funding migration are some of the supports from parents to help the youth succeed and establish their own family. (One can refer to the non-farming chapter in this report for such support, which consists mainly of start-up capital and funding migration).

- *A young lady in her early 20's explained how her father helped her to start a poultry business by encouraging her to leave hotel employment which helped her to succeed.*
- *A mother of a young lady under 20 said that she is married and the young couple are earning income from a paint shop, mobile charging and bajaj transport business. The shop however was fully funded by her mother to support them.*
- *A mid-wealth farmer said that families help children to attend school, but there is more support for boys' education. Students also support parents in farming very well. House chores like fetching water and doing other things in the house and shopping are also another form of support as a family member.*
- *A young man from a mid-wealth household said that oxen sharing by parents and elderly on farms is common and also parents share land with their children*

As the non-farming chapter shows, the rich households who are engaged in businesses are creating jobs for their children, and some even bought a bajaj for them.

Despite the positive social support stories above, several community members interviewed believe that these days the support between kin networks is draining. For example, two respondents said that their relatives were not always interested to help while their friends were supporting them in harsh times especially during illness.

- *A poor farmer said that last year he had no money to buy uniforms for his children. His attempt to seek help didn't work and finally his wife borrowed money to buy them one, which she eventually repaid through daily labour.*
- *A girl from a poor household had to drop out of school at 3rd grade in order to support her younger siblings to attend school after the death of their parents, due to limited support from relatives.*
- *One of the returnees from local migration said that he was struggling to feed his family last year and started working as a daily labourer. He said he asked many people to help including his brother, but he didn't get any positive responses.*

Even though there are poor and destitute households, people with disabilities are the major vulnerable groups in the community. Respondents estimated about 12 people with disabilities in all villages. There is at least one person with visual, hearing and physical impairment, and there are 6 other mentally ill people. Their families are taking sole responsibility of taking care of them as there are no other alternative forms of support in the area. The NGO Ratson is currently helping orphaned and vulnerable children by covering their cost of education, and by educating kids (ages 4-6) in its kindergarten in Ude.

Poor farmers in the neighbourhood discuss their issues and how to help each other, and relatives living elsewhere still keep linkages and try to help each other in many ways. For example, a girl under the age of 20 said her biological mother allowed her relatives living in the kebele to adopt her since she was born out of wedlock, which was feared, would disgrace her kin in Sirba.

When we see the kin support in the larger picture, wereda administration and people in the wereda including the Ude Dhenkaka community are helping Oromo people displaced during the border

conflict with the Somali region. Ada'a wereda had to host 2,000 displaced households building quota of 50-100 houses in different kebeles. The community in Ude Dhenkaka and the civil servants just contributed money, but no request has been made for house construction in Ude Dhenkaka. This can be considered as an example of kinship support based on ethnic ties.

Social Support from Friends

Friends are among the actors of the informal social safety network. The kinds of support ranges from advice and emotional support to lending money, or giving out during emergency needs like illness, availing job opportunities and even lending money as a start-up for businesses. Even though the trend of supporting each other among friends is reducing, it is still almost as important as support from close kin. The agricultural employee said that mutual support between friends has reduced when compared to the past. Nevertheless, some of the evidence for the existence of support in a friendship network is presented below.

A hotel owner in Ude for instance gave a job opportunity to a friend in her hotel. This woman, having children by different men out of wedlock does not receive support for her children from their fathers. Now she earns 600 birr monthly which helped her to send the children to school. On the other hand, it is mentioned that even though rich people in the neighbourhood avail daily labour for their poor friends, they do not want to take it out of pride.

The petty trader who sells gum and cigarettes in Ude got a loan from his uncle and friend for treatment when he was sick last year. The small crop trader also had a shortage of money during a time of family problems and his friend gave him a loan which he repaid by selling crops. His friends also lent him money when the local government imposed a big tax on him last year. One of the barbers interviewed obtained a loan from his friend when he started the business, mainly to buy some equipment. He also helped his friend who lost his ox by contributing money to help buy a new one.

It is said that mutual emotional support among youth is there, and as an example, a friend of a young girl advised her friend to reveal her pregnancy to her mom and get ANC service, rather than attempting to hide and go for an unsafe abortion.

Social Support from Neighbours

Neighbourhood support is either in the form of mutual assistance during the production process or providing humanitarian assistance for poor, destitute and disabled people.

Neighbours in Ude Dhenkaka provide encouragement, psychological comfort, and sometimes financial and material support as well. The reinforcement includes advice on how they could work hard and change their situation. Historically influential/wealthy families play this role boldly and they also provide material as well as financial support by providing interest free loans in a neighbourhood or friendship basis.

Community welfare through neighbourhood networks helps the elderly, and it is mentioned that there are about 15 old and needy people (8 female and 7 male) that are currently being assisted by their neighbours and relatives who care them and also provide them with crops during harvesting time. Here are more bulletins presenting neighbourhood ties and support structures.

- *Neighbourhood is also one of the bases for the formation of co-ops. For example, 3 girls and 2 boys formed a co-op and started selling bottled water, soft drinks, and some food items. They said that their neighbourhood based cohesiveness helped for their co-op's success.*
- *One of the community members interviewed said that she allowed space in her compound for an old and destitute woman, and mobilized support from the neighbourhood to contribute wood, grass and labour to build a house for her.*

- *A rich farming household allowed a poor woman in the neighbourhood to collect animal dung for fires and to sell (earn income).*
- *The old woman with disabilities and illnesses like hypertension, eye disease, back pain is mostly helped by neighbours who fetch her water, give her clothes, bring her food and drink (mostly during feasts). The research officer who did the interviews witnessed the delivery of the food to this old woman. It's also mentioned that this old woman receives coffee, salt and sometimes money from neighbours.*
- *There are some poor households who only have sheep but not enough farm land, so neighbours give them residue of crops for their sheep. Some also lend money for needy households in the neighbourhood.*
- *'Walfala' and 'dabo' are means of traditional farm labour contribution/exchange among neighbours mainly during harvesting and threshing.*

These acts of mutual support have been taking place in the general cultural platform tending to individualistic and self-centred way of life rather than the longstanding tradition of support that favoured mutualism.

Iddir (Social Institution for Social Protection)

There are different forms of Iddirs, which are a mutual support social institution during funerals. Membership is important to be eligible for the services. There is a monthly meeting mostly during religious holidays where farming is not practiced at all. Latecomers to such meetings and defaulters are made to pay a fine. Even the poor and destitute are members of Iddirs since it is considered a very important social support institution. The poor farmer interviewed by the Research Officer said that she is a member to two different Iddirs. One of the destitute in the community also said that he is a member of one of the Iddirs, but many people pay for his monthly contribution since they know his status.

Iddir provides a determined amount of money to the bereaved family to cover the funeral costs. It covers the transportation cost of the dead body to the burial site/church and allocates labour for digging graves as well as other related tasks. Besides the burial service, Iddirs keep on giving psychological support and comforting the bereaved family for at least two weeks. Almost all of the respondents believe that it is most important social institution and that it serves all of its members equally during crisis.

Iddir leaders come from better educational backgrounds, have good behavioural track records, and they also serve as community elders to mediate conflicts. GR is one of these influential Iddir leaders mentioned. Iddirs have leaders, a secretary, a cashier and a treasurer. The properties Iddirs own is given to members free of charge during funerals and events like weddings and *Teskar* (memorial feast). The goods should be returned on a specific date, otherwise there is a pre-determined fine to be paid.

Apart from social support during crisis, the rich farmer said that some Iddirs have their own saving account and provide credit services for their members to help them engage in businesses, which has recently created livelihood opportunities.

For instance, Balewold Iddir was established 10 years ago and currently has 250 member households, out of which 30 are female headed (divorcee and widows). Each year, on average 5 households join this Iddir. The monthly meeting takes place on the 29th and the contribution is 10 birr per household. Missing a round will result in 1 extra birr fine the next month. If any of the members encounter death in their family (children, siblings and parents), they will receive 1,000 birr of assistance to cover the costs of the funeral. The Iddir also pays the transportation cost of the body to the grave yard/church which may cost up to

380 birr. This Iddir doesn't lend money or involve itself in development activities, but there is one Iddir known as Michael with 64 members which also provides a loan service.

Regarding membership criteria, it is said that religious tolerance developed through time and now people who are not Orthodox Christians are allowed to become members of any iddir in Ude Dhenkaka. Seven years ago, this could not have been imagined. The administration contributed to this level of awareness and changes of attitude, therefore now Protestants get a burial place next to Emanuel Orthodox church. Two Protestants have been buried in this place so far. Apart from liberalizing Iddirs and bringing religious tolerance, the wereda and Kebele administration use Iddirs to convey messages to the community. This is because people will definitely attend Iddir meetings, whereas they might not want to appear to meetings called by government officials.

Social Protection from Religious Organisations

The support from religious organisations is either for the poor and destitute or among the religious group members known as 'Mahaber'. This type of assistance includes food, clothes, exercise books, prayers for the sick, reconciliation, emergency assistance among Mahaber members and also saving as a new experience.

The majority of the community is followers Orthodox Christianity in Ude Dhenkaka kebele and there is only one Protestant church which came to existence recently. One of the 12 priests in the area interviewed by one of the two research officers mentioned that members will contribute 50 birr annually which is used to pay the salary of the priests and church guards. According to him, priests' 'salaries are low although he didn't mention the amount, and most of them came from the Amhara region. He heard that these days, youth are leaning towards Protestantism which may attract/pull many of them, but the priest said it doesn't affect his church. Regarding the support for the poor from Emanuel church where he preaches, he didn't mention anything except mediating conflict with kebele officials, mainly between spouses, when community elders failed to handle some cases. However, as an individual religious leader, he prays for sick people when they ask him for the service.

Gabriel Mahaber was established 15 years ago and has 150 members today. This religious association strengthened the bond between members who meet in one of the members' house on the 19th of every month. Food and drink are served abundantly to celebrate St. Gabriel day, whereby destitute are also served so as to get more blessings. The groups raise money and slaughter a bull once a year for the bigger feast. This group also created a sense of mutual support among its members and whenever a member household faces a crisis like illness, accident or death, they assist that family. There are a number of such *mahabers*/associations playing the same role in the community. Another Gabriel Mahaber exceptionally used the association for monthly saving 50-100 birr voluntarily.

A petty crop trader woman from the Protestant church said that she first goes to church members/leaders whenever she needs advice and she considers them as very important people for her. She also elucidated that there is a church group that supports poor people of which she is a member and she served the church for 3 years as a secretary of the support group. Church members contribute money to cover the cost of food and drinks which are prepared in the church compound for the poor during holidays (mainly Christmas). The destitute are provided with food (meat) and drinks in the church and celebrate holidays in the church compound all day long. Sometimes cloth and exercise books are provided for children from poor families as well as cash for the destitute.

Changes to Informal Social Support since WIDE 3

There are two groups of people with diverse views regarding the direction of changes occurring on informal social protection in the community. Some say that the support is still there and even increasing, but many argued against this idea. Accordingly, many of the people addressed in this

study believe that the trend of social support is degrading over time due to different reasons. Here are some of the major reasons given by these respondents.

- Adoption of an individualistic life style and ignoring the longstanding association and mutual support.
- Inflation and struggling with one's own livelihood prevent people from worrying about others.
- Increased value of crops has made people become market oriented, practicing less of crop gifts.
- The tendency to save more and engage in the non-farming sector by looking at successful entrepreneurs made them refrain from their former acts of generosity.
- Exemption of CBHI and school fees/contribution for poor families has given a signal to community members that the poor have other options through formal social support.
- General cultural changes contributed to the reduction of informal social support.

Conversely, other respondents argued that mutual support during crisis and supporting the needy is part of Ethiopian culture, enabling it to persist until today. They mentioned Iddirs as being one of the exemplary social institutions which persisted in offering social support services without any change for generations.

More than half of the respondents however indicated that the support from the rich to the poor has already stopped. In the past the rich used to offer support as 'gifts' but it is no longer the case today. Rich households may only support their poor relatives. On the other hand, the poor farmer interviewed said that unless people are sure that you earn something and will repay them back in some way, they don't want to help you, even at times of crisis. He said he is in a worse condition even today, but no one is willing to help him.

It is contradictory that more than half of the respondents believe that informal social support has eroded over time, though most of the informal social protection section shows evidence of assistance based on kin, neighbourhood, and friendship or through religious or social institutions. One may conclude that the trends, the extent and the responsiveness of informal social support has decreased overtime, but it still is an important social protection mechanism in the community.

3. Selected policy topics

Land use and urbanisation

Wereda

Wereda boundaries

Ada'a wereda, where Ude Dhenkaka kebele is found, has undergone significant boundary changes as the expanding town of Bishoftu, found in the wereda but enjoying independent administration as a municipality, has incorporated five rural kebeles from the wereda. Out of 27 kebeles in the wereda, 5 kebeles (namely Kaliti, Ganda Gorba, Kurkura, Gerbicha and Dambi) were taken and incorporated into the boundaries of Bishoftu town. Four of these kebeles were taken before last year but it was last year that Kaliti kebele, found on the eastern periphery of the town, has in its totality been taken over by Bishoftu town. The wereda administration has been fiercely complaining about this since these kebeles are hot spots of investment and income from such sources as employee income taxes and investment profit taxes, which are used to cover the salaries of government employees in the wereda.

According to wereda officials, the wereda had to stop its argument over this issue only after hearing from higher zonal and regional officials that the salaries of its employees would be covered anyway. Otherwise, the wereda had undergone real difficulties to pay salaries for its civil servants. As would be expected, the boundary restructuring has reduced the landmass of Ada'a wereda and increased that under the jurisdiction of the municipality of Bishoftu. The Ada'a wereda is now left with 22 kebeles. Bishoftu, a town that has been highly expanding into rural kebeles in its perimeter over the past five years, used to have 15 kebeles before some three years. For the sake of administrative convenience, nonetheless, some kebeles were collapsed such that the municipality now has nine kebeles, including the five rural kebeles it has incorporated from Ada'a wereda. Bishoftu town, as in the time before the incorporation of these kebeles, has been serving as the administrative seat of Ada'a wereda as well, also hosting all of its sectoral offices. The wereda is accountable to the east Shewa administrative zone of Oromia region.

Apart from these internal changes, externally, there has been no change to the wereda boundaries within these five years. Lume, C'afe Donsa, Liban and Akaki are neighbouring weredas to Ada'a wereda. Several years ago, Dukam and Bishoftu, which were in Ada'a wereda, became self-administered towns, which is also true for Liban C'uqala which were previously part of Ada'a Liban. This shows that the boundary changes have been taking place since a long time and Ada'a has been losing many areas under its jurisdiction.

Investors in the wereda

The Wereda Rural Land Administration Office head and an investment officer from the Wereda Investment Office stated that there are many investment activities taking place in Bishoftu area. There are investors engaged in manufacturing iron, tissue papers, cartons, garments and those doing flower and poultry farming. According to the land administration office, there are 11 flower farms some of which are inactive. These farms operate on very large areas of land, some of them covering as much as 25 hectares, while there is no flower factory operating less than 10 hectares of land. Other factories or investment activities in the area include shoe factories, food complexes, soap and detergent factories and those producing medicines. The investors have come from different parts of the world, including those from within the country. Globally, most of the investors come from China, India and some Sub-Saharan African countries. These investors generally operate their investment independently but in some cases there are shareholders involved from outside and inside the country.

Some of these investments are small-scale. The wereda Rural Land Administrator reflected that while most of the investors got the land through the Wereda Investment Office, some of them have directly rented land from individual farmers for a longer time based on the existing market value of the land. She said, sometimes, there is less productivity of some land when seen in light of the agricultural development packages the government has been implementing as a consequence of which some investors are made to evacuate the land. The agreement between the farmers and the investors at the moment of renting the land is not only of monetary value. The investors promise to additionally create job opportunities for the farmers as well as transfer knowledge and technology to the inhabitants. However, some farmers have the interest that the investors leave the land because of the current high productivity and high market value of the land. Farmers have now come to understand more can be gained by farming the land than can be by renting it for a longer period. In Ude farmers do not rent their lands for longer periods of time.

The wereda land administrator quoted the law which says investment projects have to be made about 7 kms away from main roads but almost all such projects are carried out nearby the main road and none are far from it. Hence, there is no opportunity to provide the community with such infrastructures as water and roads which investors should fulfil based on their promises. Sometimes, she added, one can observe water services near the investment areas; but not in the place where the community resides. Therefore, she said, *"We cannot say such is a right commitment on the part of the investors."* Nonetheless, according to the investment officer, in some cases communities nearby the investment areas are using water points constructed by investors. However, confirming the information given by the wereda land administrator, the investment officer also added unlike what is promised, the majority of the investors have done nothing to improve infrastructures around their investment areas.

Outlining in more detail the procedure of granting land for investment, the wereda investment officer said first of all the wereda identifies land appropriate for investment and following this it floats invitations for potential investors to apply to lease in the land. Accordingly, the investors file their requests to the wereda by submitting their business plans or proposals. Upon this, the wereda submits the documents to the zone and the zone to the region. Finally, after securing regional approval, the Wereda Investment Office pays compensation for the holders of the land and hands it over to the investor who has applied for investment. It was in this way that 32 big investors got land from the wereda. As there is no new proclamation for Oromia for land compensation, the wereda has still been using the older national proclamation issued in 1999. Due to this, until last year, the compensation for land given for farmers was birr 61 per meter square. Nonetheless, this year (2017/18), cognizant of the small rate that farmers are paid, the wereda has raised the rate to birr 102, after duly considering the matter. What is also new is that of applying the principle of compensation for 10 years which is intended to be started with the new rate. This means, for instance, if a farmer has to give up 400 meter squares of land for investment, s/he will be paid birr 408,000 in compensation. In light of this, the respondent thinks a new land compensation proclamation may be shortly formulated.

According to the Wereda Investment Officer, the wereda has joint meetings with some concerned government offices working on poverty reduction. For instance, there is a department known as Farmers' Rehabilitation and Follow-Up when the kebeles were under rural land administration which is not still functional. There is no training, consultation, and follow-up to be made for the evicted farmers because of investment purposes so as to show them ways of life other than being dependant on land. No training is provided to them as to how to prudently and effectively use compensation received, say, to run businesses, or engage in other profitable ventures. There is, of course, a policy to the effect that farmers should be trained before the compensation is released to them by the bank; yet, such is not a reality.

On the other hand, the officer stated, availability of many factories in the wereda as well as near areas such as in Bishoftu and Mojo, made possible through investment, creates job opportunities for the community members, including Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa community. Accordingly, some people are working in these factories even though the turnover is high because of dissatisfaction over payment. Rather, those who came from other areas are working for a longer time in these factories.

According to both respondents from the wereda, since last year, no investment land has been officially granted in the wereda as the people have been complaining about environmental pollution and other burdens on their lives and productivity because of industrial activities operating in residential areas. The investment officer added, the wereda is thinking of establishing an industrial zone to properly address both the undesired health and productivity impacts of industries. He added, land was taken back from two investors for not starting operation according to their plan.

Talking of Ude specifically, the investment officer mentioned that there are 17 investors working in different activities. The investors have established farms and factories contributing to the urbanisation of the area. Even though there is dissatisfaction about payment and employers non-willingness to adjust or raise salaries as per promises made on employment, and there is high turnover, as already stated for the wereda, the investment activities in Ude have created job opportunities for the local people in the area.

The primary school in Ude has asked these investors to assist the school with supplementary books, chairs and desks but it has not yet received a positive response from them. On a positive note, the investment officer stated that a few of them have dug water wells close to their investment farms and community members close to these investment areas have been benefiting from these water sources.

Urbanisation in the wereda

Expansion of large towns

No expansion of large towns has and can take place in Ada'a wereda over the years as there are only small rural towns that are striving to become towns. Out of the 23 kebeles in the wereda, four kebeles (Hiddi, Godino, Dire and Ude) with urbanising centres are on the way to becoming towns. Bishoftu town, a self-administering municipality as already stated, has been tremendously expanding. Despite taking some rural kebeles from the peripheral kebeles, all rural kebeles, including Ude Dhenkaka have linkages with this town for such services as markets, education, health, agricultural inputs and hospitality. These kebeles are benefiting from these growing rural-urban linkages.

Expansion of small towns

Ada'a wereda has four rural towns (Hiddi, Godino, Dire and Ude) known as *yeget'er ketema*, each having its own mayor, plan and budget. Since 2013 there have been significant changes to their development. Government efforts to transform these four places into towns started in 2012, with Ude having its mayor first and showing the most progress towards becoming one, followed by Godino, while the other two need to pick up. Recently these rural towns have taken their urban plans from Oromia regional state and have their own mayor since around 2012. They are doing much on providing land for youth cooperatives and also for other associations. Ude and Godino are changing very fast while Hiddi and Dire are a bit slow. Ude, found between Bishoftu and Mojo towns along the old highway connecting Addis Ababa and the eastern parts of the country, has a strategic location and attracts many newcomers to reside and invest there. Consequently, the number of people (investors, merchants, residents) 'buying' land from individual farmers, particularly along the highway, has massively increased over these five years and most likely would continue to do so. In relation to this, according to a respondent from the wereda, the plan is to make Ude the seat of Ada'a wereda as its sector offices are located in Bishoftu town, which is not part of Ada'a wereda.

Building commercial areas in these towns is part of the plan to contribute to the process of urbanisation.

The other three kebeles have also been attracting newcomers to reside in them and to do investment, even though not as high as Ude. In all cases, this is made possible as farmers, who, in an attempt to make use of the opportunity, and also to pre-empt small government compensation for land lost to investment, have been selling their farmlands for people who wanted to build residential houses, for merchants and for investors who wanted to do business. However, according to wereda respondents, the living conditions of farmers losing their lands as such is deteriorating and some of them are employed as guards for the firms that are established on the plots they used to own and cultivate. These respondents mentioned that this has already become a challenge as these households can hardly cope with the income from their small salaries as guards or from other insufficient means of income.

Municipalisation and urbanisation around kebele centres

As already mentioned the four kebeles in the wereda, including Ude Dhenkaka are in the process of becoming urban centres and already have their own municipality. While all the four are progressing towards that Ude's case, and next to that Godino, are better than the others owing to their location along the main road between Bishoftu and Mojo, attracting comparatively more numbers of new residents and investors. The two have better infrastructures, including internal roads. The urban centres are around the kebeles everywhere and so are the high school, health centre and other public services. Even though she does not recall the exact time when this would happen, the Wereda Land Administrator said, after the implementation of the master plan, three-fourths of Ude would come under the administration of the municipality and only one-fourth of it would fall out of the municipality, which is rural Sirba. The main purpose of the inclusion under the municipality is said to be developmental. The intention of the expansion of the town is to implement the urbanisation strategy and reduce eviction of farmers. In addition to the benefits already mentioned, the urbanisation has brought to the farmers some advantages in terms of their livelihood as few farmers have started to involve in some self-managed business activities.

According to this wereda source, the process of urbanisation is not taking place without difficulty. There were some challenges against the delimitation of rural land to be included in the urban administration. This is for two main reasons: first, the inclusion does not involve any real change because the farmers are still depending on farming even after the inclusion. Second, there is a perception that farmers will be paid only insignificant compensation for their land when expropriated, though for developmental purposes. There is fresh experience and ongoing problem that the expropriated farmers are given small amount of compensation in monetary value and farmers spent the money and then were left bare handed after a while. This could not make them happy. This concern is there even though they are made aware of the fact that they will be provided with a larger proportion of their land even when eviction is mandatory. Land transfers go to the next generations; but money does not, particularly if not invested in a way that could generate income. Therefore, the farmers have such fears, which are legitimate, since they have noticed such an experience in the vicinity. Most farmers who were expropriated were not successful in their lives.

Most of the farmers who received compensation have neither land nor money in their hands and cannot lead a successful life. The respondent said she knows some of them even personally (did not mention names) who are not successful in leading their life after eviction from their lands. There are many applications coming to her office, the Wereda Rural Land Development and Administration, from farmers seeking the revision of the estimation and compensation made to them instead of their expropriated land. For instance, there is a flower factory in Ude and also a mining site both of which evicted farmers from their holdings. Farmers are not satisfied with the compensation. The farmers were paid compensation based on the then existing monetary value when they were told to leave, rather than the value at the time the compensation was effectuated, which was later, the

correction of which they are asking. Of course, some did not have the whole of their land expropriated. Those who do not have enough land are using the money they have been paid in the form of compensation to rent-in and farm the land of other persons.

Two rich farmers who said they are unhappy about the ongoing urban expansion made it clear that this is a major concern of the farmers. Contrary to this, a landless and poor farmer said, *"It is an opportunity for people like me because I will look for other business activities rather than renting in land all the time."* A middle wealth farmer, on his part, expressed his personal dissatisfaction over the expansion of the municipality because farmers are evicted for a low compensation. The opinion of another male farmer of the same economic status seems somehow compromising: *"Urban expansion is good if there is an appropriate urban plan and adequate compensation. The municipality in Ude has done nothing except collecting taxes for the development of the town"*.

The outlook of another rich farmer is even more critical: *"People get frustrated about the expansion of Ude town because the government is providing very little compensation. Only investors are benefiting from the expansion of town."* He continued, *"Farmers cannot do anything in the town. They are exposed to alcohol addiction and high expenses. It is difficult to survive in the town without having a regular income."* As other residents have also expressed their views, it is not possible saying that these people are against urbanisation, about which some have already expressed its positive aspects. However, all are very critical about the process and its negative effects. An urban resident, who is not a farmer, gave his judgment saying *"Urbanisation is good if it is according to a town plan and with good infrastructure development. What is happening in our area is land grabbing both by locals and immigrants. They bought land for little money to sell later on for huge amounts of money without adding any value to it."* Another urban resident made his observation that there is no access at all currently because every land is occupied and he does not think the kebele themselves have land in their bank except smallholders land. While he agrees that this is wrong, he believes it is totally wrong to blame current kebele officials for what others before them have done. Nonetheless, he said still some problems have to be solved regarding land administration and allocation. The opinion of the rural kebele officials is not different. They know that the main problem in their kebele is the urban and rural land issue. Initially, they recalled that the kebele was divided into urban and rural administration. And following this, newcomers appeared and bought all the land within urban territory so that the urban administration is willing to take over the rural land. They said, *"This is a serious problem for our farmers."*

Community respondents who have been following the process have the information that the wereda is preparing to provide land for residential buildings in Ude paying compensation for smallholders to be removed. The decision is to provide 200 square meters plots of land each for civil servants, model farmers and specially teachers from the kebele and other parts of the wereda. Teachers are supposed to be paying birr 15,000 whereas the others would be paying birr 35,000 each. The major purpose of this scheme, which is said to be under process, is to speed up the urbanisation of the area. When it starts, this will put more farmlands under construction even though as wereda respondents said in Ude kebele, the master plan is not yet implemented and illegally constructed houses or structures are being demolished by the administration. There is a committee that freezes any construction at wereda level.

Kebele respondents said this is the current intervention for landless people in the kebele and of course for others coming from other places in the wereda. However, the urbanisation process has the plan to provide maps for already existing residential and business houses, a document which also serves as a title deed for the owners. In this scheme, the respondents stated that a household can have up to 500 square metres of land for as a residential quarter and 200 square meters for all of their children. And they can get a map as a title deed for these plots separately. All the same, if they own more than this, it will be taken by giving them compensation and it will be given for landless people or civil servants who do not own a house and need land to build a residence.

According to these respondents, the municipality of Ude has already prepared a master plan for the town to expand but many things remain unresolved for them. They added, for farmland there is a plan to provide temporary land use certificates and this most likely refers to lands that were not certified during the first round rural land certification, which itself, in fact, was not complete.

Explaining why the certificates are temporary, the officers mentioned that the land would only be used for farming for some time and in the future when the area becomes more urbanised, the lands would be converted into residential quarters to be distributed to landless people or civil servants who do not own a house and want to build one.

Landlessness in the wereda

A male respondent from the wereda said that there are few persons having no land in the rural parts of the wereda. People acquire land either through inheritance or through gift. Those not having land contractually rent in other people's land, a practice that has been increasing over the years.

Sharecropping, a common practice in the past which has been significantly decreasing in the past years, including the last five years, may still provide access to some households who may own small amounts or no land at all. According to this informant, the number of farmers who do not own land may be roughly estimated to constitute about 25 percent of the total farming population in Ude.

There is an increasing number of job seeking landless persons coming from other places to Bishoftu area that includes Ada'a wereda where this town is geographically located and specifically to Sirba and Ude areas. In most cases, they work as daily labourers while considerable numbers find their ways to the factories and farms operating in the area. During the harvest time, many individuals come from different places in the country, including North Shewa, Gonder and Gojam and many places in Oromia notably from west Oromia for day or contractual labour. Some of these in-migrants may stay longer and even become standing members of the community increasing the number of landless people or land seekers in the kebele. One does not find much job seeking in industries in Ude town.

Landlessness has different patterns in Ude Dhenkaka which may also speak for the wereda. There are individuals who have only a very insignificant patch of land and additionally depend on some other means for their wherewithal. According to community respondents, there are some people who do not own land at all, or, who, for some reason, have lost all that they owned. Actually, many such married women and widows lead their life by preparing and selling the local beer, *tella* and *areqe* while the men do day labour and other off farm activities. Therefore, their livelihoods are largely from hand-to-mouth and they have strong tendency of remaining poor. The case of this woman, a divorcee, may demonstrate this and how such individuals struggle to make ends meet in the context of an urbanising environment where ownership of farmland still plays a significant role in the economy of households.

Box 30. The case of a nearly landless woman

After she divorced from her husband and came back to her village, Sirba, she was living in a very small rental house which did not allow her enough space for her to prepare and sell *tella*, a major source of income to support herself and her children. However, recently she has inherited some land from her family with her six sisters and two brothers. She built a small house on this half *qert'* of inherited land and since then has moved to this house with her children, also getting enough space for her business, as she also turned her former house into a kitchen. Very recently, she also built another house made from grass roofing, securing a nice place for her customers.

In addition, when she is not selling *tella*, which she did during the weekends, she collects animal dung from farm areas and sells these in Bishoftu markets, earning some weekly income to supplement her major business. Previously, she was employed in a flower farm but resigned after sustaining a problem in her face from chemical contamination or contact that turned her face darker. The farm did not cover her medical expense; and lest she face further medical

complications or consequences, she left the job on her own accord. She does not collect any farm produce as she does not have farmland except the garden (part of the inherited land) she is using to produce fresh maize during the rainy season.

She does not have any employee for the *tella* business but her children assist her in its preparation. She does not have a licence and does not pay tax. She finances this business from her own pocket buying the inputs from the markets in Bishoftu and sometimes from Ude. Her customers are farmers from her village, Sirba. The major problem she faces in running her *tella* business is lack of water since she does not have her own water well. Hence, she is spending more time on this as she needs more water to prepare the beer. She is paying for water at a rate of 1 birr per jerry can.

There are some people who owned but sold their land, had their farming activities deteriorate and ultimately became very poor. Those who sell all or most part of their holdings become landless and, as already seen this is becoming more so in the last five years and would be so in the near future as well because of urbanising Ude. Consequently, these people, described as idle by a respondent from the community for lacking the guts to manage their farmlands, are forced to work as guards and casual workers in such activities as collecting tomatoes, working in flower farms and doing some petty trading. Yet they are getting poorer because of the ever increasing cost of living. The respondent added these people are just surviving; especially those who sold their land some two years ago are struggling to fulfil the basic necessities of their families.

Still another feature of landlessness in Ude Dhenkaka kebele is the case of people renting out their land for two or three years in a row and wasting the money as they excessively indulge in drinking, other forms of addiction or simple extravagance. As an example, a respondent from the community mentioned the case of a man in Sirba village who rented out his farmland for three years and then was hired as a farmer for other households. People who have come to and have settled after the last land re-distribution form an additional aspect of landlessness in Ude Dhenkaka as most of the lands were held before their arrival. The case of the following woman, who is around 70, is illustrative.

Box 31. Re-settler landless woman

Aged 70, she does not have formal education. She was married and spent many years with her husband in Meki area and does not have children. When her husband died 20 years ago, she came back to resettle in Sirba, her birth place, thinking that living alone in Meki area without any relative and some land to live off was going to be difficult for her. However, she returned to Sirba after the last land re-allocation was complete, and was unable to obtain even a patch of land for her residence. Her relatives, who were living in Sirba, had already passed away before her arrival. Now, she is living alone, physically weak and also sick most of the time, with no social role and little participation in social activities. She is included in the government social protection intervention.

This case shows that landlessness can be a convoluted problem with no foreseeable solution for people like this old woman. It is not clear as to how she did not have land in Meki but it might be the case that she did not receive land in Meki when land was redistributed because she was not originally from that area. Even though her relatives were dead their holding most likely were put to the government pool in control of the kebele but the kebele did not give some land to her even for residence. Another woman, who is also on the government social protection intervention, reveals the extent of landlessness in Sirba village and the entire Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

Box 32. The case of a landless woman

Presently, this woman is leading a very poor life, she has nothing. Previously, she was living by collecting and selling firewood but at a point she became physically weak and was no longer able to do this. As a result of this, she has been living from begging because she does not have some land, even residential and she has no support from relatives either but she is living with the help of the community members who give her food and the like. As she was doing this interview, she was

supplied with roasted grains prepared for the monthly commemoration of Saint Gabriel which female members of a *mahaber* had organised. She said villagers would supply her with food and drink on different feasts such as weddings. Previously, she had her own home but somebody burnt it down. After that, she has been sheltering herself in a very small and old house with grass roofing in a family's compound about which she was most grateful.

The case of a young man from another kebele in the wereda, and who was working as a day labourer in Sirba village, indicates another dimension in which individuals could be landless. He said he started this work because of the conflict that existed over land with his brother in their kebele. He accused his brother of refusing to share with him the family land when their father passed away saying he was raised somewhere else as an adopted or *gudifecha* child. At the time of interview for this study, they had resolved most of the issue and he was planning to go back to do his own farm work. He said, he has six qart' of land there.

According to kebele respondents, the total households in the kebele are 346 and the total population, 1,702. The number of land taxpaying households is 363 which most probably mean there are some households hosting more than one tax payer, assuming that the figures are correct. While there are 47 female-headed households in the kebele, 283 people are landless. There are also many young people depending on their parents and 78 in-migrants working and living in Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

Landlessness is thus a problem for some people in rural parts of Ude Dhenkaka and as a poor man residing in the urban centre of Ude remarked there is no equal access to urban land as well because of economic differences. Those having good money could buy some land in the town where there are poor people unable to even find shelter for themselves.

Homelessness in the wereda

According to Ude municipality officials, plots of lands for civil servants are being prepared in Ude town and the wereda respondent said it would be good if farmers will be willing to positively entertain the issue and the amount of compensation as well. All associated government employees (of the wereda) who have no house can be entitled to this scheme. They have to organise themselves in groups of 12 or above if feasible and be able to save 30 percent of the total cost before securing the plots. Municipality officials mentioned birr 45,000 is the total payment expected from one civil servant while the amount is much lower for teachers. Except for this scheme that is planned following the ongoing urbanisation efforts, there is no other assistance planned for the landless. As already said, those who already have a residential house will get a title deed for that.

There is no plot of land identified for newcomers. Under certain circumstances, teachers are provided with houses in the premises of the school, although, some do not use these houses and rather stay in the nearby towns where they prefer. For development agents, also houses are provided so that they live within and close to the community to service them better.

Kebele

Kebele structures and boundaries

Kebele structures

Describing kebele structures, wereda officials said, a kebele, as an administrative unit, is constituted of smaller divisions called zones, and a kebele has at least three zones. There are developmental teams under each zone. For instance, Ude kebele has three zones. Sirba is one of these three Zones in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Each zone has a leader, who, ex officio, is also a member of the kebele cabinet. Under each zone, there are developmental teams. Depending on the population in each zone, there might be four or more developmental teams in each. The member of developmental teams ranges from 25 to 30. One development agent is assigned to each zone. In each zone, there are five elected individuals called *kore misoma zoni* (zonal development committee members).

The structure goes down to the community and development teams again break into 1 to 5 networks (which is the lowest level structure) ultimately giving the structure a chain that descends in the following order: kebele, zones (got's), developmental teams, and 1 to 5 networks. The main functions of these teams and networks are very inclusive addressing agriculture, health, education, security and other issues within the kebele. They have joint plan on all these sectors or issues with concerned bodies. All zones submit their own sectoral plans to the kebele and the execution of these plans is also evaluated at the level of each zone. In case of a security problem, for example, the evaluation starts from the developmental teams and moves up the way through zones and then to the kebele. The same is true during decision making and wereda respondents said this hierarchy cannot be bypassed. People can have access to the kebele only through their developmental teams. When people go to the kebele (bypassing their developmental teams) the kebele officials will ask them to present a written letter from their respective developmental teams. If they don't have that, they are sent back to their respective developmental teams. Nobody will entertain peoples' complaints at kebele level without consulting their developmental teams first. For instance, if farmers want to register for fertilisers and weed killers, first they have to register at their respective developmental teams.

In each kebele there is a cabinet and a social court. The cabinet of each kebele is consisted of 8 members: four unpaid and community elected people working as volunteers and four government employees. The chair, vice chair, women's affairs and militia heads are unpaid kebele cabinet whereas the kebele manager, the agricultural development office head, the head of the health post and the head teacher are government employees serving as members of kebele cabinet. After five kebeles were assigned to Bishoftu municipality, there are 23 remaining kebeles in Ada'a wereda.

The lowest level government structures are the 1 to 5 networks responsible to the developmental teams which themselves report to the zones and the zones to the kebele. Politically, there is a ruling-party leader at kebele level and cells at community levels. There are nine members in each cell. These people serve simultaneously as advocates of the party and agents of developmental activities. Government and party work may go together; there are party members who lead sectors. According to wereda respondents, all developmental agendas are carried forward with the knowledge of party members; all plans are assessed in the presence of party members as they have to follow development activities. Government and party structures have joint planning and evaluation activities. The Party also has its own agenda apart from developmental agendas.

Wereda respondents stated that the existing kebele structure has its own advantages and disadvantages. For instance, it is convenient to administer training activities. The main purpose of such a structure is to communicate effectively in delivering information, education and messages. Seen top down, the zone (here referring to east Shewa zone) communicates with each wereda and each wereda communicates with each kebele, each kebele communicates with each zone and each zone communicates with each development team and then one-to-five will receive the information easily. When this happens it means the information has reached the entire community. The disadvantage is that there is no uniformity in equally communicating the information or messages to the community. Some zones under each kebele are too large and some are too small and the wereda does not expect equal convenience in communicating with the lower structures. Because of this, sometimes it is difficult to follow all the procedures on the structure. There are situations in which the structure may not work.

Kebele boundaries

Ude kebele has three zones: Ude, Qumbursa and Sirba. Ude kebele is bounded to South by Lume wereda, to the West by Liban wereda, to the north by Bishoftu town and to the East by Denkaka kebele. Recently, there is unconfirmed information going around that all the three zones in Ude kebele are included into the urban administration under the municipality of Ude while it is true that large part of these zones is set to be in the municipality administration. This information/decision is

not yet implemented and people are waiting to see what will happen. As much as the kebele boundary change in the past five years is concerned, the Wereda Rural Land Development Administrator stated that Bishoftu town has extended beyond its boundary and took Gomeju fuel station area which was part of Ude kebele. The part of Ude kebele made part of Bishoftu town is much less. However, according to the information from the community members, areas where Gomeju fuel station is established are still part of Ude Dhenkaka kebele.

The internal boundaries of the kebele are affected or are going to be affected by municipalised Ude town which in the new master plan has taken most of Sirba and Qumbursa rural areas into its jurisdiction. This has also resulted in these villages being considered as urban structures with new code names and plate numbers already given to houses found in the urban part (01 kebele). Recently they have changed to three ketema / urban structures that have become kebele 01. They have already given house number for the houses found in the urban part/ in kebele 01. However, in terms of boundaries there are some residential areas that remain under the rural administration that is under kebele 02. The municipality has also labelled the town as Ude Dhenkaka instead of just Ude because of an Ude road that also goes to Dhenkaka, a name mentioned by most by travellers in the area. As already said the municipality has got its own master plan or land use plan which has been under revision for long and may be implemented in the near future.

Municipality boundaries

Ude town is already separated from the rural administration and is directly responsible to Ada'a wereda and recently it has also become a municipality with its own separate budget and administrative structure. It has the three major sectors under the municipality namely Small and Medium Enterprises, revenue and land which are responsible to the town's mayor. Under its administration there is cabinet and social court. The boundary of the municipality has expanded and it is expected that the great majority of the villages of Sirba and Qumbursa will be incorporated into Ude municipality. Kebele officials said this plan which is said to be under revision is not yet implemented but the news has already reached the community.

Kebele land use

Smallholder land

Rural residence and farming are the major forms of land use in Ude Dhenkaka kebele currently and the change that was taking place in the past has been further intensified during the last five years. As will be described in this section, urbanisation of the area at large is a major factor in this regard. Community members recall when the last rural land redistribution was carried out during the *Derg* regime; the largest land holding of a household was five hectares and the smallest one hectare. Over the last 30 years, as parents have been sharing their lands to their marrying out children, the size of land held by households has been continuously decreasing. Due to this, currently, there are many households owning only half a hectare (2 *qert'*) and even a quarter of a hectare (1 *qert'*) of farming land. The process of urbanization that has been taking place over the years is another factor for the reduction of the amount of land possessed by farming households. After some parts of the kebele were incorporated into the expanding town of Bishoftu, an increasing number of people have been coming from Addis Ababa, Mojo, Adama, Meki, Shashemenne and Bishoftu itself buying plots of land from individual farmers.

The process of land transaction in this manner has been intensified over the last five years and constitutes not only land use change but also a major socioeconomic change in the area. The prices at which farmers have been selling their plots are varied. Figures respondents mentioned included 150, 240, 260, 270 and 300 birr per square metre depending on the location of the land relative to the main road, level of urbanisation in the specific quarter the land is located and its position relative to the specific housing landscape in that place. In Ude, which is a small growing rural town with its municipality since 2012, and centre of attraction, the price is as high as 300 birr. On the other hand,

in Qumbursa, which is still more of rural, the price is lowest, about 150 birr for the same measure of land. The newcomers who bought lands have been doing their businesses, poultry farming and others, including those who built residential houses and are living there doing seedling or planting business. As already stated this process of in-migration has been increasing over recent years and residents' projection is that it would increase, also further changing the land use pattern of what otherwise used to be fully or nearly fully farmlands. Consequently, smallholder land use and agriculture itself would continue to be affected by these socioeconomic features for the coming years as well, most probably changing the level of its significance as a major source of living for many rural households in the kebele.

According to respondents from the wereda, the performance of each kebele differs depending on their income and geographic opportunities for investment and hence the level of change of their land use. Ude Dhenkaka kebele is the most investment active kebele in their wereda. It has fertile soil with favourable weather condition and for reasons not mentioned farmers in this kebele are educated and have better access to new technologies as it has been chosen as a site to do experimental researches. Farmers in the kebele are pioneers in using new technologies and the kebele serves as a model kebele to others. On their part, however, they mentioned that the major concerns are illegal expansion of the town into farmers' land. However, the wereda officials stated civil servants in Ada'a wereda have requested land for residential house construction in Ude kebele and discussion was held with the farmers about their compensation. In both cases, these farmers seem to be keeping losing their holdings and smallholder farming shall remain under threat as the traditional land use pattern would continue to be significantly affected with more of residential, business, recreational and paved areas. It is reasonable to think that this land use change affects not only the amount of land for smallholder agriculture, the quality of soil and vegetation cover but also the proportion of paved area affecting precipitation and moisture retention.

Male farmers said there were two stretches of communal grazing lands in Sirba and Kelala areas on the way to Gafat Armaments Engineering Factory where people used to graze their animals. Around 2014, the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Institute in collaboration with GIZ and the community, organised the people to protect these grazing lands as an environmental measure to adjust to the ever-changing climate. In order to achieve this, GIZ had deployed professionals and had brought suitable tree seedlings that were planted through community mobilisation, also enclosing the lands and hiring guards for their protection and upkeep. At the time of this research in the beginning of 2018, the Kelala area forest was in a good standing. During the rainy season (mid-June through mid-September) the community members cut the grasses and share the produce among them. Due to this, there is no communal grazing land as such in the area but whenever harvests are collected and the farmlands are left fallow, people leave their livestock to freely roam and feed on the stubbles and the undergrowth. As the land holding size is becoming smaller, farming households do not have individual grazing lands and to cope animals are fed more of crop residues. This has made the traditional crop-livestock integration all the more complex and has been serving as a factor of smallholder agriculture transition in the area as households are adopting zero grazing or the cut-and-carry system and have to depend on factory products for livestock feed. The change shows that grazing land, a form of traditional smallholder land use, has been out of picture and a new way of securing forage and feed for livestock has to replace it, or livestock rearing has to be compromised to some extent.

Despite growing reduction in farmland and introduction of investment and other non-farming economic activities, land ownership and traditional land use are still very important for the economy of many households in the kebele. This is evident from the observation of a woman engaged in small trading: having farmland as large as one hectare makes households richer and, over time, this is becoming more so with technological advancement which is enabling them to produce more. Two young respondents from poor households stated that farmland is an indispensable resource for rural livelihood in Ude Dhenkaka but expressed their doubts whether this can be the option for young

people because of land scarcity. One of them remarked this may be true for those working on irrigation cooperatives. Talking about youth policies and programmes, a female wereda official said there was no intervention in which farmlands were given to individuals, including young people. According to kebele officials, the number of people holding small lands is increasing from time to time as parents are sharing their lands to their children.

Compared to the last five years, it could be said there is a significant change in land use in Ude Dhenkaka and this has primarily to do with the urbanising and expanding Ude town, the massive movement into the kebele of investors, merchants and residents from different parts of the region and the country at large and consequently the establishments of factories, farms, and residential areas on what formerly used to be farmlands. The municipality of Ude town has very considerably expanded into farmlands or rural areas under Sirba and Qumbursa and it has immediate as well as medium or longer term plans to fully urbanise the area, which, after some five or 10 years, may leave the area with more of urban rather than smallholder land use patterns.

Irrigated land

Data is not available on the amount of land irrigated in the kebele but irrigation is small-scale and dependent on hand-dug wells which only well-to-do people could afford. There was a group organised with the support of an NGO called Passion Connect which started cultivating different vegetables through drip irrigation based on water drawn from wells they dug but that was not sustained. A few young people organised for irrigation had some land given to them by the kebele but have not yet started.

The introduction of wells, canals and the like is expected to be intensified by a government-financed project which started roughly six years ago may increase the land under irrigation in the kebele. This project, termed the Oromia Ada'a-Becho Project set off with a much bigger vision and modern technology. It established a committee involving communities and training or orientations were provided for local farmers at the beginning. In different places, it dug nine wells to the depth of 300 meters using heavy machineries. Many smaller holes (chambers) of about four meters depth were also excavated around the deep wells. The design is said to be linking all these holes together with pipes so that the flow of water from one hole to the other can be regulated. Pump tests were made on the nine deep wells and the results have shown there is enough groundwater discharge, further igniting hope of the community and the wereda.

The project, initially designed to be completed within two years, is much behind schedule. That it is exceptional to the area and needs much cost are stated as justification for the delay. Also built was an electric powerhouse; and a generator was made available as a backup in case of power interruption. The plan was to fix the deep wells with submersible pumps. According to wereda and other respondents, all costs were to be covered by the project (government finance) with no community contribution at all. The project, when complete, was said to have the capacity of irrigating about 300 hectares of land (including about 117 hectares in Sirba, 50 hectares in Qumbursa, about 75 hectares in Ude). The plan was for the wereda irrigation office to complete and hand over the scheme to the community who would then manage it by themselves. Wereda officials said when the project is ready for use it will significantly scale-up the use of wells, pumps and canals/ditches for agricultural irrigation in these communities.

Community members have been feeling the negative impact of this prolonged delay, an example of a significant issue in the quality of local governance. In this regard, a middle wealth household heading female stated she did not try to use motor pump to produce vegetables since it takes 10,000 birr to dig a well and 30,000 birr for the motor pump. Besides, she said starting from 2012/13, it has been said that irrigation water from this project would be released for the community. There are two water harvesting chambers dug in her farmland. However, as the water has not been released so far, she did not try to irrigate her farmland. Thus, in terms of irrigation, she said she was not able to do it and is still waiting for the project to be completed and start work. If

the project is going to be completed in the near future, the said amount of land would be put into a new form of land use. With time there is also the likelihood that this may be scaled up and owing to its being the first of its kind in the wereda, and perhaps in the zone, there is the possibility for it to be scaled out within and out of the wereda. That said it is not yet clear what impact the ongoing urbanisation may have on the future fate of this project and its benefit for the community.

Co-operative farming land

Kebele officials said the kebele administration has given about 11 hectares of land for youth cooperatives, out of which 10 hectares are rain fed and the remaining 1 hectare is irrigation site for farming. There are farmers groups or associations producing improved seeds but they are doing this on their own holdings. Therefore, this is an area that has shown, little, if any, change compared to the situation before five years.

FTC land

The FTC is located in Ude town. Land belonging to the FTC is less than one hectare, while, in principle it meant to be three hectares. Kebele officials do not know the reason their FTC land is very small. They said the kebele is paying the salaries of the FTC guards from voluntary community contribution. They complained that the urban administration declined to cover at least this expense despite the fact that they are collecting many taxes inside the rural administration. The female development agent working in the kebele mentioned that the FTC has become a model for other kebeles in the wereda because of their hard work.

Kebele centre land

Kebele officials said they have offices alongside the urban administration in the same place in Ude town. They have three rooms for offices and are using one common office with the urban administration for other purposes. The kebele centre is where government sector offices, residents and hospitality services are also found serving as the hub of ruralisation and urbanisation in the area.

Land for building

Out of informal transactions, many farmlands have been turned into land for building and the shift has been prominent during the last five years. As illegal buyers have a way to legalise land thus secured, this informal transaction has been intensified rather than abated, also because of the economic opportunities the area offers, now and in the future. Investors, residents and merchants have secured and erected buildings along the main highway and in different strategic places. Therefore, it can be said that transaction of land for building has been booming.

After the municipality of Ude was established to urbanise the kebele, the kebele has been divided into urban and rural parts. Community respondents said, up to 2014, the urban parts of the kebele were from Ude and Dhenkaka village and Sirba and Qumbursa were the rural parts of the kebele, but then after another arrangement was made from each of the villages (Sirba and Qumbursa) some parts close to the main road, up to 200 meters away from the road were relocated to the urban part of the kebele, the rest remaining as parts of the rural kebele. Ude was fully re-organised as an urban entity, and in fact after some time, is poised to incorporate much of Sirba and Qumbursa in its municipality when the master plan is implemented. As these decisions were taking place informal reallocation of farmland for building has continued. In fact, new, urban style and decorated houses are being erected. The municipality on its part made a survey of farmlands along the main road, starting from Arose hotel to Qumbursa, with the view of securing land for building for civil servants, model farmers and other people. It has also arranged a market place for this forthcoming residential place. As the great majority of farmlands in Sirba and Qumbursa are going to be under the municipality's administration, there is intention to use part of this for construction of buildings in the future.

Community forest land

Kebele officials said about 81 hectares of land are covered by forests in their kebele which they find very encouraging compared to the reality in the country. Wereda respondents said there are also non-invested investment lands and forest lands that were given to the youth to subsist themselves.

Government land

In the kebele, communal lands are called government land-comprising forest land and mountains. There are lands reclaimed from illegal land grabbers which are included to government land pool.

Kebele land

The kebele, representing the government, is responsible for all land not under private holding. This could be forested areas, mountains and other spaces which the kebele manages and uses as need be for public services, for tree planting, for pasture, farming and for construction. Kebele respondents stated that the main problem in their kebele regarding land is about rural and urban land management. Initially, the kebele was divided into urban and rural administration and newcomers and investors, who they referred to in a derogatory way, have taken all the lands within urban territory and the urban administration is poised to incorporate rural land. The respondents have mentioned this as a serious problem for their farmers.

Grazing land

Kebele respondents mentioned that there is no grazing land in their kebele at present which is a significant change from the past. There were two communal grazing lands (in Sirba and in Kelala areas on the way to Gafat Armaments Engineering) where the communities used to graze their cattle but around 2014 GIZ organized people to protect this grazing land for environmental purpose. GIZ, in collaboration with the Bishoftu Agricultural Research Centre, had spent funds for invited professionals, suitable plants for the area and for mobilizing the community members to participate in these activities. Accordingly, the grazing lands were enclosed and trees planted and guards hired. The Kelala area has become forested. When they are fully grown communities cut and share the grasses and instead of using the lands for grazing as before. After the harvest is collected people let their animals roam freely and feed on the stubbles. Individuals do not have their own grazing patches and as before, crop residues are used as livestock feed.

Other communal land

The kebele has some communal land which is covered with forests and has mountains.

Land for investors

Kebele officials said they never let investors invest in their kebele legally. They are illegally buying land from farmers and trying to invest. Sometimes they may take permission from the urban administration to invest in the rural administration. However, the officials recalled that over the last 10 years some people lost some plots of their farmland as the wereda investment office gave these lands for investors who started some activities in the area. It is the wereda investment office in collaboration with wereda administration office that gave the lands to these investors by paying compensation for the farmers, who lost their land due to these investments. At that time the compensation was small (61 birr per square meter).

For the China Road Construction Company that camped in the kebele constructing the Addis Ababa-Adam express highway the land holdings of some people were taken in exchange for some payment, just like a rent or compensation for the years the camp was going to be working there. When the camp was closed, the farmers (14) were told to use their lands but as the plots are full of concrete, it is not possible to plough them. The company refused to give them money in compensation for that stating they have already left the land and the owners can use the lands. The owners have taken the

issue to the court and the case, even now, is with the Supreme Court of Oromia since the wereda and zone courts were unable to solve it.

As a rule, since last year, no land has officially been allocated in the wereda for investment as the allocations already made have instigated public uproar because of industries interfering in residential zones and proper public life. Otherwise, the wereda investment and rural land administration offices are the key players, together with the consultation and approval of regional authorities, in assessing, assigning and awarding land for investors. Kebele authorities may have a consultative role.

Land for graves

Kebele respondents mentioned that land for graves is their main concern and a serious problem for the community, especially farmers.

Others

No other forms of land are reported.

Urbanisation

Rurbanisation in the kebele

Over the last five years, there have been very speedy urbanising activities around the kebele centres, especially Ude, which has been hosting the kebele offices for both rural and urban administrations. The kebele has 346 households with a total population of 1,702, also entertaining more than 70 in-migrants. Ude has its own municipality and mayor. Of course, Ude town and part of Sirba are under the urban administration of Ude kebele.

A number of internal infrastructural changes have taken place over the years even though there has not been change on the external road that passes from Bishoftu to Mojo, crossing the community. This is the old road and still it is in use even though traffic has minimised as mostly the new express road is used.

Internal roads, bridges and paths

In Ude village, the internal road taking from Ude's part of the main road to Giche Gere Abuu area was cleaned and improved by selected materials or gravels laid over it by the municipality. The community, upon the request of the municipality, has contributed 100 birr per household in addition to labour contribution. However, in the other two villages, that is Sirba and Qumbursa, there was a plan but nothing has been done so far, except clearing some overgrowths and side bushes.

Urban-style buildings

A respondent from the community said that after the municipality was established in the kebele, to further urbanise it like other areas, the kebele has been divided into urban and rural parts. Up to 2014, urban parts of the kebele were in Ude and Denkaka village whereas Sirba and Qumbursa were the rural parts of the kebele. However, after that another arrangement was made and from each of the villages (Sirba and Qumbursa) some parts close to the main road, up to 200 meters away from the road, were incorporated into the urban part while the rest remained with the rural part of the kebele. What was formerly Ude has fully fallen within the urban part of the kebele. With this, modern-style houses started to be built, the municipality arranged a market place and surveying the farmlands close to the main road, from Arose hotel to Qumbursa, was done with the view of making the land ready for residential buildings (may be for civil servants), and perhaps leasing. It is due to this fear that many farmers are selling their lands to individuals as they know the compensation they will get from government will be much less. People informally heard that the compensation is from birr 103 to 105 per a square meter. However the same unit of land can be sold to individuals or investors for 260 or 270, or 240 birr, depending on the location of the land and other factors.

Accordingly, as to this respondent (who is a community member), and as one may expect, people prefer selling their holdings to individuals who buy these plots mostly for residential, poultry farm and seedling station purposes. In the last five years, large numbers of new villa styled houses locally called *amora kinf* have been emerging.

In Mesalemiya area along the main road and flanking to the right as one travels from Bishoftu to Mojo, and close to the entrance of the express road, a big fuel station called Gomeju fuel station was built on 2 hectares of land. This is a strategic area close to the entrance of the express road to Mojo and Denkaka. The land belonged to a farmer named Addeme, who, out of the five hectares he owned had sold two for the fuel station builder and one hectare for another person. The fuel station man legalised the land and built the station on it. The respondent said legalising such land has its own process and may take up to three years, with a bit of its own challenge. Before sometime, people paid land tax for some years and they presented that as evidence which was accepted by wereda authorities to have the land in their names. However, the wereda officials said the owner got this land through formal procedure in collaboration with the wereda investment office.

Water structures for irrigation

The majority of the irrigation infrastructures in the kebele are hand-dug wells and almost all functional wells used for irrigation are owned by private investors coming from Bishoftu, Addis Ababa and some local residents. Constructing wells started many years ago and still some people are digging wells inside their homesteads (gardens) and in their farmlands. There are public wells fitted with hand pumps which are not functional and are destroyed. For example, such public wells constructed by a Chinese Road Construction Company were rendered dysfunctional (and destroyed) after the company left the area to another project site. There are also other wells fitted with hand pumps which have stopped providing services in recent years, most likely because of mechanical problems. Of course, these wells themselves were primarily built for homestead and livestock consumption and not for farm irrigation. The kebele does not have rivers to irrigate. People who have wells are using generators to irrigate their farms and others fetch the water manually for the same purpose. Irrigation infrastructure in Ude Dhenkaka kebele is small-scale and community led and the large irrigation project financed by the regional government is not yet complete.

Water structures for drinking

According to community respondents, there is no government intervention in this regard. Rather, there are wells dug and owned by individual households who use pumps to get the water. Villagers get their supply for money from these households at the rate of birr 0.50 for a jerry can of water (20 or 25 liters). Some communal water points that were in use have become non-functional due to technical problems and lack of maintenance. Community respondents said the water well built by the Chinese Road Construction Company while camping there also used to serve the community but after the company left the site the well has become dysfunctional, again due to technical problems. As a result, the communities of Sirba and Qumbursa are complaining about shortage of drinking water. In Ude, drinking water supply is good as there are some functioning wells. Nonetheless, still some people have to buy water, including the health extension agent, who is paying from her own pocket, also for the services of the health post.

Grid electricity

The community has good access to electricity. They have got their private counters in two rounds but households who were told they would be served in the third round have not yet been served. These households, however, get electricity for lighting by informally extending lines from their neighbours. There are complaints about the delay of the third round.

Solar panels

As the communities have good access to electricity, solar panels are not common and are used by households who do not have access to grid electricity.

Mobile phone and masts

Nearly every community member, 15 and above, carries a mobile phone. In addition to making and receiving calls, mobile apparatuses are used to listen to FM radios, music and interact in social media, mostly Facebook. There is one mast erected by the telecommunications, probably a mobile phone mast in Ude Dhenkaka kebele which may also be serving surrounding communities but the network is unreliable and very inefficient (when available).

Environment

Planting of new trees are regularly carried out and the closure of the two grazing lands described above are major environmental outcomes in these communities.

Urban creep from outside

As already mentioned up to 200 meters into the farmlands, on either side of the main road; has been re-defined as urban area, leaving some parts as rural to Sirba and Qumbursa. Ude has already become the hub of urbanisation in the areas attracting newcomers from far and nearby areas, including Bishoftu, Mojo and Addis Ababa. Ude hosts different types of services given by agricultural cooperatives, kebele offices (both rural and urban), secondary school, and a health post, and different hospitality services such as hotels and restaurants. Due to this, more residential houses are being built in Ude than in Sirba or Qumbursa. The road to Gafat (where the armament factory is located) and other neighbouring kebeles such as Gobesaye, Enselale and Kelala passes through Ude, increasing its attraction as a centre of urbanisation.

Kebele respondents and others said sheds built by the municipality to be used by youth economic groups are part of the interventions that are changing the features of Ude. According to a rich male farmer and another rich man who is not farming, growing rural and urban linkages for market, health services, personal visits, religious affairs, social problems, and hospitality have contributed to the recent increased demand for land in Ude turning what used to be farmlands into residential and business spaces. As such, urban Ude has been somehow expanding or creeping into Sirba and Qumbursa itself forced to give more space for newcomers who buy land and build factories, commercial houses and residents, including those who live in rented houses.

Industrial creep into the community

In the kebele there are big companies involved in various activities such as flower farming, vegetables and fruits farming, textile industry, packaging and plastic materials manufacturing firms, motels and hotels and poultry farming which is a dominant form of investment in Sirba village. All companies or factories have turned farmlands into industrial or modern farms not only securing land through the official channels but also by buying plots from individual farmers. This industrial expansion has created job opportunities not only for the locals but also for newcomers from the nearby areas and other regions of the country. Nonetheless, it has resulted in farmers being 'evicted' from their holdings, forcing some of them to work as factory or farm workers. In Sirba, where poultry farming has been significantly expanding over the last five years, residents have mixed reactions. Some of the residents do not see any issue with poultry farming; rather they see it as an opportunity to learn new experiences. Accordingly, some community members have started buying some chickens for eggs production. On the other hand, other community members complain the waste has some bad smell which is not good for their health. However, that these companies or industries have interfered with public life, an indication that their planning had some problems, seems to be a collectively shared complaint strong enough to have the wereda authorities freeze allocation of investment land since about a year ago.

Four female respondents from different social classes mentioned that there were farmers who were removed from their holdings having been given compensation in the area for the implantation of a factory. At that time, the *wereda* officials told the community that these factories would help them by improving their infrastructures like roads but they did not do what they promised. Even though these factories and farms have created job opportunities for the people, there are widespread complaints about low salaries and work environment that are not good for human health. As a result, some have resigned and started petty trading or other related activities while other women have migrated to Arab countries. The respondents made the suggestion that for the youth to be employed and earn income, the companies need to improve their salary scales and need to have benefit packages, including overtime payments and emergency leaves.

Municipalisation

Ude has its own municipality and mayor. Ude town and parts of Sirba and Qumbursa are under the urban administration of Ude Dhenkaka kebele. Female urban residents said that it has been about some five years since the municipality was established. According to them, the major activity of the municipality since last year was controlling illegal house construction. Now, according to respondents, the officials have discussed and agreed as a next step to make sure that construction activities are carried out as per the master plan of the town, which is going to be implemented in the near future. Each master plan is said to have its own identification number at regional level so that no other master plan will be made. Upon the implementation of the master plan, every household will be issued with title deeds for its house, certifying it as a legal urban property. Households whose houses will be along roads and need to give way will be given other plots of land in compensation and money to build houses.

These respondents mentioned that the master plan was discussed with the community members before it was drafted. The discussion took place for three full days at different times. The main issues raised on the subject matter included the amount of compensation for the households to be dislocated which is already known not to be enough. The other issue was that the amount each member of the community is going to pay to get land for residential purpose is high and most associations were dissolving as a result. According to these respondents, each person was required to pay about birr 50,000 for 160 meter square land and this was too difficult for an individual. The government responded asking people to be patient till the municipality become self-sufficient and additional budget can be allocated.

Officials from the zonal and regional levels of government participated in the discussion held with the community members and all the questions raised by the farmers were taken note of. Finally, they were told that each land owner of a plot of land is entitled to 102 birr per square meter. The total amount of the money the possessor is entitled to 102 birr multiplied by the number of square meters. The productivity of the land for ten years will be the basis for the calculation of the compensation. Now the land owners are claiming the compensation should be in line with that of Dukem town which is birr 168 per square meter. This has not been approved so far, however. The community is expected to be happy with the revision of the amount of compensation.

A rich woman living in the town said that the municipality officials have been registering model farmers to give land for them to build a house and she also wishes to be among the beneficiaries. She complained that model farmers are given the opportunity for their best performance while she is denied though she is also a female model entrepreneur. She became successful in her business by using a loan she took from Busa Gonofa (MFI) in 2004/5. She ridiculed the authorities for their action or inaction. From her experience she underscored that there is a need to be strong and patient to be successful in one's work also highlighting that this needs determination.

The sale of property on land is legal and has to go through the official procedure. Urban female residents said, neither the government nor individuals can transfer land in the form of sale unless it is in accordance with the lease holding proclamation. Recently, they added, there is no person who

was removed from his/her holding and was compensated. Yet, there are persons whose plots were taken for the purpose of road construction and flower farms some years ago. The municipality does not have its own office; rather they are in a rented compound where the rural kebele administration is also hosted. However, it is building its own premise on a 3,000 square meters of land reclaimed from an investor that did not put the land to use. The municipality reclaimed the land through the cooperation of wereda. The respondents were hopeful that when the municipality becomes stronger they would see more urban services and successful businesses.

Residents have mixed reactions about the urbanisation of the area. A middle wealth non-farmer said, *"I don't hate urbanisation if it is with basic town requirements. Urbanization without basic town requirements is simply wastage of land and other natural resources. Ude town is highly expanding to the external boundaries since a few years and farmers are selling their land to merchants at a low cost."* Another poor, non-farming man said, *"Urbanization is not good for the farmers because it shrinks down their farm land."* A rich farmer, on his part, had the following to say, *"People get frustrated about the expansion of Ude town because the government is providing very little compensation. Only investors are benefiting from the expansion of the town. Farmers cannot do anything in the town."* He added, *"They were exposed to different addictions like alcoholism and high expenses. It is difficult to survive in the town without having a regular income."* The following quote from a rich non-farmer has the same spirit as the others, *"Urbanization is good if it is according to a town plan and with good infrastructure development. What is happening in our area is land grabbing both by the locals and immigrants. They bought land with little money to sell later on for a huge amount of money without adding any value to it."*

We think these concerns and dissatisfaction could be used as inputs to implement the master plan of Ude town. The involvement of zonal and regional authorities, which has started from the outset, would be to the benefit of both government and the public if it is carried further during the implementation of the master plan as well. Urbanisation of Ude town which was there before 2012 has been intensified informally and would be doing so formally with the master plan and also maybe informally. Along this, however, the study suggests that the concerns and dissatisfactions of the community have increased, with many farming households regarding municipalisation and urbanisation ultimately as a threat rather than benefit. One way of handling this can be implementing compensation as per the proclamation and guideline doing all the necessary preparatory activities and follow up to enable those losing their farmland to start new business to do supplementary work in order to support their living. In any case, it seems inevitable that Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa will experience more modernising features and expansion in the future.

Rural-urban linkages

According to different respondents from the communities, rural-urban linkages with larger towns in the areas have to do with market, health, education, hospitality and administrative services the people of Ude Dhenkaka need. Agricultural training opportunities and inputs, administrative and justice services like courts, prison and WALQO, religious affairs, socialisation, enjoyment- all serve as a cause for the rural people to seek linkages with the large towns in the area. A middle wealth woman heading a household said the following regarding rural-urban linkages with large towns: She said Bishoftu town is a central market of the area and she accesses everything she wants from this market. The big market is on Saturday and she visits the market every week or every two weeks. The respondent also visits Mojo town to sell and buy livestock. The market of Mojo is used by the respondent only for livestock marketing. She also visits Adama city to buy livestock as it is thought that livestock market price is lesser than at Adama market. She stated many other households in her community have similar links with these towns.

Urban-rural linkages within the kebele

In the kebele there are big companies involved in various activities such as flower farming, vegetables and fruits farming, textile industry, packaging and plastic materials manufacturing,

motels and hotels and poultry farming which is a dominant form of investment in Sirba village. All companies or factories have turned farmlands into industrial or modern farms not only securing land through the official channels but also by buying plots from individual farmers. This expansion has created job opportunities not only for the locals but also for the newcomers from the nearby areas and other regions of the country. Nonetheless, it has resulted in farmers being removed from their holdings, forcing some of them to work as factory or farm workers. In Sirba, where poultry farming has been significantly expanding over the last five years, residents have mixed reactions. Some of the residents do not see any issue with poultry farming; rather they see it as an opportunity to get lessons or new experience. Accordingly, some community members have started buying some chickens for eggs production. On the other hand, other community members complain the waste has some bad smell which is not good for their health.

Four female respondents from different social classes mentioned that there were farmers who were removed from their holdings in exchange for compensation for the implantation of factories. At that time the wereda officials told the community that these factories would help them by improving their infrastructures like road but they did not do what they promised. Even though these factories and farms have created job opportunities for the people, there are widespread complaints about low salaries and work environment that are not good for human health. As a result, some women have resigned and started petty trading or other related activities while others have migrated to Arab countries. The respondents made the suggestion that for the youth to be employed and earn income, the companies need to improve their salary scales and need to have benefit packages, including overtime payments and emergency leaves.

Land planning in the kebele

Rural/integrated land use plan

Oromia Regional Institute of Planning is the organisation that carried out the land use plan of the kebele. Based on the regional planners, kebele officials stated that the plan has residential land, commercial land (in areas close to the road), mixed land (for both residential and commercial), service areas, manufacturing and storage, recreation area, farm area, forest area, green area, and special function are a reserved area or buffer zone. As to the land use plan there would be different service provision centres that the municipality is expected to build such as a youth centre and bus station. The types of houses to be built are not yet specified or designed so that people are now free to build any type of house they want.

According to kebele officials, the zone and regional officers provided technical support in designing and preparing the land use plan. There is no financial support provided. The wereda rather is focused on political activities, mainly about the implementation of a reform such as visiting development teams. However, it is the wereda that collects the income and profit taxes from the businesses operating in the kebele. The municipality only gets service charge, which is much less than the income and profit taxes. If they have such revenues the municipality can facilitate the urbanisation process like completing the municipality building and building commercial shops and other urban facilities. Recently, the municipality has complained about this and higher officials are considering the issue so that the municipality's financial capacity will be enhanced. The master plan of Ude kebele is not implemented and illegal construction on the farmlands are being demolished by the action of government. There is a committee that halted any construction at wereda level.

Town plans

As already mentioned in this report, Ada'a wereda has four rural towns (Hiddi, Godino, Dire and Ude), each having its own municipality since 2012. According to a wereda official, even though she does not recall the exact time when this would happen, after the implementation of the master plan, three-fourths of Ude would come under the administration of the municipality and one-fourth would fall out of the municipality. The main purpose of the inclusion under the municipality is said to

be development. The urbanisation of Ude town demands the provision of additional services and accordingly those who do not have housing services are being supported to construct houses. The respondent thinks that the master plan will come from the Oromia regional level and modifications would be made. In this regard, she thinks there will be a new intervention. Thought the master plan is a big change and going to be implemented in the near future, the respondent said, ongoing interventions will continue. Each master plan is said to have its own identification number at regional level so that no other master plan will be made. The major activity of the municipality since last year was controlling illegal house construction, their next step down the line being ensuring that construction activities are carried out in accordance with the master plan.

Female urban residents said that upon the implementation of the master plan, every house will have its own plot map and be certified as an urban entity while houses that may fall within the road according to the new master plan will be removed and their owners will be given plots in other places. The master plan was first discussed with the community members before it has come as final. The discussion took place for three full days at different times.

Wereda officials said all the four small towns of Hiddi, Godino, Ude and Dire (in four kebeles) have their own master plans or land use plans. For instance, the master plan of Ude Denkaka town is already designed and on the way to be implemented and already given to the municipality but still there may be some revisions which the concerned authorities may do. Besides, the Dire town master plan is under revision. The master plan shows the boundaries of the town from different directions. The towns have their own administration whereas the rural kebeles are administered under the wereda administration. The Ude town comprises of Ude, Sirba and Qumbursa villages. Ude village forms the greater part of this town as it is the major centre of the kebele as well as the structures of the houses are better and different offices are already located in there. This means, all areas of Ude village are included into the administration of the town whereas nearly 75 percent of Sirba and Qumbursa villages are included, and people think that it will only be a matter of time before the remaining parts are also included. In Ude Dhenkaka town the office of the municipality is under construction (with its own budget). In Dire, however, they have already constructed the office of the municipality. Some budget also comes from the sale of properties of the investors that was relinquished. The service charge from the commercial activities in the area is also revenue for the municipality while the major taxes go to the wereda.

Landholdings, landlessness and homelessness

Patterns of landlessness

All respondents from the community, rich and poor, stated that the largest amount of land is in the hands of people who took land during the Derg regime, both in urban and rural settings. Recently, many farmers have lost their land when the Addis Ababa- Adama expressway was constructed and still complain about the inadequacy of compensation received. A few people have had to give up their holdings for schools and other public services, in exchange for replacement land. As already stated in this report, it was possible to learn from kebele respondents that over the last 10 years some people have lost their holdings for investment based on the decisions of the wereda investment office that handed these lands to investors. Farmers who lost their land were compensated birr 61 birr per hectare of land, which is said to be very small.

The observation of the wife of a poor farmer is remarkable about the challenges of young peoples' landlessness in their communities.

Box 33. The challenges of landlessness

The youth in this area make their life through formidable struggle. The crop land they are possibly given by their parents is too small to support their life. They have to engage in additional economic activities to support their livelihood. For instance, the male youth involve in wage labour on

construction sites and the female youth engage in petty trades, including preparing and selling *tella* and *arege* (local alcoholic drinks). Her sons and daughters are participating in these activities.

A rich farmer put young people from the local and other areas in the first rank of land seekers in the kebele. Young people, described as most common land seekers, do not own farmland and houses as well because of not having some land. Next to young people are government employees in the kebele. Even though they cannot be considered landless, a rich man who is engaged in farming said that people coming from big cities are seeking land in semi-rural areas like Ude Dhenkaka, attracted by the potential of these countryside areas to grow into big towns in the future. Another rich farmer said, *“Every person seeks land. But there are two kinds of land seekers. The first ones are those who seek land to live on. And the other ones are those who seek land for profit. The second types of people have their own life somewhere else and seek land here to run businesses or to sell it later when the value has increased.”* Another man from town also said everybody seeks land including him because land is money. However, he also mentioned that the level of need really differs: *“There are people who seek land to live on and there are people who seek land for luxurious life.”*

Including those who own land, respondents from the community, including the rich farmer quoted above said, rural residents do not have equal access to land. The man said there are rural residents who have no land and there are rural residents who have more than six hectares. Historical, familial, age, sex, personal and political factors may explain these inequalities which will continue as long as land re-allocation is not made. An old woman receiving social protection benefits cited access or lack of access to good amount of land as a major cause of social and economic differentiation in the kebele. She described those who do not own land due to different reasons becoming poor and destitute, adding that this is the major factor that made her destitute. The differences between the poor and the rich is visible in the way they live, the rich having comfortable life with good household goods while the poor lead deplorable life without the fulfilment of basic needs let alone having beautiful household goods.

Homelessness in the kebele

There might be very few homeless individuals in the kebele. However, there are people who do not own their own houses and are associated in groups to be given plots of land for building houses, particularly for government employees. According to Ude municipality officials, plots of lands for civil servants are being prepared in Ude town and the wereda respondent said it would be good if farmers will be willing to positively entertain the issue and the amount of compensation as well. All associated government employees (of the wereda) who have no house can be entitled to this scheme. They have to organise themselves in groups of 12 or above as it may be feasible and be able to save 30 percent of the total cost before securing the plots. Municipality officials mentioned 45,000 birr is the total payment expected from one civil servant while the amount is much lower for teachers. Except this scheme that is planned following the ongoing urbanisation efforts, there is no other assistance planned for the landless. As already said, those who already have a residential house will get map for that.

There is no plot of land identified for newcomers. Under certain circumstances, teachers are provided with houses in the premises of the school. Although, some don't use these houses and rather prefer to stay in the nearby towns. For development agents, also houses are provided so that they live within and close to the community to service them better. According to respondents from the kebele administration office, there are no homeless or on or off street persons in the kebele. Rather, people who do not have their own homes shelter themselves with some other families.

Land allocation

Kebele officials and respondents from the community stated that no land allocation as such was carried out in the kebele during the last five years. If there is anything that may be mentioned in this regard, it is the construction of 14 container shops in Ude by the municipality which it has handed to

jobless young people for income generation activities. Four groups of jobless young people have also access to a quarry site that has been in use since 1973; they have been mining and selling stones. A few groups of young people have also taken some land from the kebele for income generation activities like irrigation. Land was already allocated and owned by farmers. Common lands are in the hands of kebele. Kebele and wereda officials are the main actors to allocate those lands for youths or for development works like schools.

What two rich men, a farmer and a non-farmer, said supplements the above: nobody has been allocating land for any person in the urban district except for youth cooperatives. Kebele officials play a crucial role in the allocation of land for youth cooperatives in consultation with wereda people. The kebele officials identify the areas to be given for the youth cooperatives and the wereda finally approves the request from kebele officials. They are influential because they have the authority to allow or deny the land. The two men added, there is no individual land allocation for residents recently. For those who illegally bought land from the farmers the municipal officials are the most influential to make it legal.

It is to the knowledge of many community members that the largest land is in the hands of native residents who took land during the Derg regime or before it. There is no young person having large amounts of land. Those having large holdings in the rural area may have also land in the town.

Land re-allocated

Land re-allocation is another new idea in the community but not yet started. Those who owned large land holdings are opposed to the idea of land re-allocation whereas landless people highly support land re-allocation. Wereda respondents and community members recalled when the last rural land redistribution was carried out during the Derg regime; the largest land holding of a household was five hectares and the smallest one hectare. Over the last 30 years, as parents have been sharing their lands to their marrying out children, the size of land held by households has been continuously decreasing. Due to this, currently, there are many households owning only half a hectare (2 *qert'*) or a quarter of a hectare (1 *qert*) of farming land. Respondents from the wereda said now the largest land possessed by a rural household is two hectares. There was no rural or urban land re-allocation after that done during the Derg regime.

Most important actors in land allocation processes

Wereda respondents said investment interest should come from bottom upwards. The investment board, together with the Rural Land Development office, handles investment applications for land. However, such investment issues are entertained by the investment council based on feasibility studies and taking into account the priority interest of the youth in the proposed project area.

Kebele officials play a crucial role for the allocation of land for youth cooperatives in consultation with wereda people. The kebele officials identify the areas to be given for the youth cooperatives and the wereda finally approves the request from kebele officials. They are influential because they have the authority to allow or deny the land. The two men added, there is no individual land allocation for residents recently. For those who illegally bought land from the farmers the municipal officials are the most influential to make it legal.

Rural land transactions

Even though the law does not allow it, many farmers, particularly over the last five years, have been selling their farmlands for investment, for commercial and for residential purposes. This has been intensified recently and it is likely to continue unless some form of restriction is applied. In fact, individuals or investors who bought land informally have been able to legalize these holdings, a process which has its own procedure and may take up to three years. The important actors in these informal transactions are the land holders who de facto sell the land but de jure some property on the land, the investors or other individuals buying the land and perhaps brokers and witnesses

involved in this process. The government might not be considered as an important actor as it just provides the legally required services when a property is transferred from one person to the other. Land cannot be transferred to another person except in the case of inheritance but as already said people evade the law so that ownership of land actually has been changing hands. Land given for investors by paying compensation for individuals through the wereda investment office is a formal land transaction in the wereda until it was discontinued about a year ago.

Among the customary land transactions land rentals have been increasing over the last five years whereas sharecropping has been significantly reduced. Land rentals are also carried out by investors such as those investing in poultry farming. Rural land transactions also occurred when the government distributes land to citizens for residential purposes as in the case of Ude where civil servants, mostly teachers, model farmers and other residents who do not have their own residential houses will be granted plots of land.

Urban land transactions

According to kebele respondents, before two years buyers of residential houses appeared to the Ude municipality with agreements providing for the transaction and were able to create a file in their names for the new property with the municipality. The municipality did this after checking on the owner's file it maintained to check that the person selling the property is a legitimate owner and can dispose of his/her property. Thus, the new file is maintained with the municipality and the buyers for which the buyers in turn paid some charge. The respondents said this was the only way in which property owners were able to have their property registered in the municipality suggesting that those properties at the time were informally constructed without the authorisation of what later became Ude municipality administration. However, since 2015/16, according to Proclamation no. 182, this was prohibited unless the seller provides a plot map certifying that s/he is an authorised owner of the property. Despite this, to facilitate this for the people the municipality has prepared itself to provide authorised plot maps for all residential house owners as has been done in other places administered by municipalities. They even have posted a note that informs people to bring their documents, including those who have inherited residential land from parents or relatives. The call is also for those who did not get land certification to bring other document that show they own the land so that they will get plot maps for these residential lands.

Another change in this regard, according to the same kebele source, is that formerly before the establishment of the municipality and its urban land management office, it was the wereda investment office that provided land for big investments through lease for many years such as 20, 40 and 60. However, now it is the regional investment office that sends a letter to the municipality through the zone to check the availability of investment land given but remaining idle. The municipality, in turn, checks and gives feedback to the regional investment office. Now the region has set a new annual lease amount, which is 189birr per metre square that is paid every year.

Investors given land

A wereda official said that during the last five years and before, investors have been receiving land from the wereda investment office for different kinds of industries and farming. As already stated in this report, there is a formal procedure investors have to go through in order to secure land based on the announcement the Wereda Investment Office makes for potential investors.

While the above is the officially recognised way of securing land for investment, some investors would simply informally buy or rent land from individual farmers for longer periods. According to this wereda official, sometimes, the land may be found to be more productive also given the agricultural extension services and because of this some farmers ask the buyers to leave the land. When the two parties get into this transaction the agreement is not only in terms of monetary value. The investors promise to additionally create job opportunity for the farmers, transfer knowledge and technology to the inhabitants. However, some farmers have the interest that investors leave the

land because of the current productivity of the land and market value of the land as well. Farmers are now aware that they can produce more than what they could get by renting their lands for long period of time. However, in Ude Kebele farmers do not rent their lands for long period of time.

An Ethiopian investor who runs a hotel and car wash services narrated how he bought land from a farmer for poultry farming in Sirba. He said about nine years ago when he was travelling on the Addis Ababa-Adama road, he was simply fascinated by the beautiful landscape. It attracted him very much and he decided to be there some time in the future. He was so inspired that he told himself this place should be his final destination. Later, that is before eight years, he came back and bought 3,000 square meters of land for about 9,000 birr. He said it was his personal motivation which influenced him to choose this place for investment. He personally bought land from the farmers and has gone through all the process to make it at least official. He also said currently it is a bit difficult and expensive to access land and no one can imagine buying this amount of land for such a small amount of money. Prices have skyrocketed and this is real evidence as to why farmers regret their decisions. This form of access to investment land is not seen positively by the kebele administration. The kebele chair who mentioned lack of capacity to provide water, internal roads and other infrastructures as their challenges added that their other major challenge is related to illegal land grabbing, especially that done by illegal investors on their farmers land.

According to wereda officials, land lease for investors is carried out based on the existing legislation. As per the procedure, first the investment request comes from the regional government upon the demand of the investor and the wereda investment committee contacts and convinces the farmers to be willing to handover their land against the current rate of compensation. In case of couples owning the land, both the husband and the wife have to sign on a form prepared for the purpose. The location of the plots is also taken by GPS and other measures as well which used to be taken manually by measuring tapes. Once these activities are done, the investor is contacted and required to deposit the required amount of compensation with the Wereda Office of Finance and Economic Cooperation from where the farmers leaving their lands will claim their compensation. Farmers have the opinion that the amount of compensation is not adequate and they prefer to sell the land to individuals by themselves. Thus, after the investors received the land through this procedure, they investors will keep paying the annual lease at the rates indicated in the contractual agreements. The wereda respondents stated this was done some years ago (before 2015/16) and since then no land was given for investors and still now there is no plan of giving land for investors.

Table 3: List of investors who received land in UDE Dhenkaka kebele (Wereda Investment Office)

Sn.	Project type/name	Land size (square metre)	Year land received (EC)	Lease year	Capital (birr)
1	Motel & recreation	8,000	2,000	40	7,000,000
2	Printing house	2,000	2,000	40	2,007,000
3	Horticultural PLC	11,898	2,000	30	8,000,000
4	Spice Processing	3,000	2001	40	4,000,000
5	Hotel, 3 star	3,000	2001	40	1,000,000
6	Purifying (water?)	5,000	2001	40	32,900,000
7	Vegetable & fruit farm	39,918	2001	20	100,000
8	Motel & recreation	2,000	2002	40	369,930
9.	Bottling water (Highland)	9,685	2001	40	8,000,000
10	Textile Factory	4,937	2001	40	34,320,219
11	Agro-food Processing & Furniture	20,000	2002	40	3, 360, 000
12	Association of Oromo Culture	5,000	2001	40	3,000,000
13	Fruit & Vegetable	20,000	2001	40	250,000
14	Hotel (Arose)	22,904	1999	135	20,000,000
15	Plastic Material (Crown	10,000	2007	70	68,000,000

Sn.	Project type/name	Land size (square metre)	Year land received (EC)	Lease year	Capital (birr)
	Packaging & Plastic Material)				
16	Motel (Gomeju Oil Ethiopia)	15,000	2004	15	51,329
17	B/Water Plant Project	2,500	2,000	40	5,400,000

According to wereda officials, no land has been auctioned or transferred through bid competition in the kebele/municipality. The major means whereby people acquire land is by buying from farmers who prefer to sell their holdings to investors or individual who need the land for other purposes rather than deal with government for a smaller rate of compensation even in view of the adjusted rate of 102birr per square metre of land. Land can thus be sold informally for higher rates, ranging from 200 to 300 birr per metre square.

Farmers with land in the kebele and houses in town

Some rich farmers who are also engaged in nonfarm activities build or buy additional houses in Ude or Bishoftu towns. These individuals have maintained their ownership of rural land and houses as some of their families live behind in the villages.

Co-operatives given land

The wereda Rural Land Administration head said that more than 60 hectares of land have been given for youth cooperatives at wereda level. In the same manner, rich and poor male farmers said the kebele officials are only allocating land for youth cooperatives in rural kebeles. As community respondents mentioned, there is no change related to land for agricultural co-operatives since 2010 as the cooperative compound is as it was. For those who are working in the town, the administration is arranging business activities for them like cafés and shops. This refers to the 15 container shops Ude town municipality has constructed and provided for income generating youth groups which have started operation. The youth are organised in five or six member groups, involving both men and women. According to kebele officials, the municipality has a plan to construct such containers each year to be given to job seeking youths. Kebele officials stated that there are also other young people organised in economic groups such as the one that received a loan of 300,000 birr to trade in livestock fodder and another that got a loan of 80,000 birr for the preparation and sale of livestock feed. There is also another group that got a loan and is currently involving in livestock trading among others not mentioned here. Groups that have received land for irrigation have not yet started.

Other land seekers and gainers

As already stated in this report, respondents have put it very clearly that everybody seeks land, those who have more, those who have less and those who have none. All the same, rich persons and others who may be financially able can have access to more land through different means. These means are renting-in, a practice that has been increasing over the last five years and to a very limited degree, sharecropping- a practice that has been decreasing over this course of time. To some extent there are also strong females heading households who rent in other people’s land to cultivate and earn more. Access and right to land is still an opportunity for both boys and girls but this is more so in households that have relatively better amount of land. The youth and the landless are the ones who seek land most but have the least opportunity to do so. The rich are always the gainers.

It is expected that those who rent in the land are the ones who gain more than those who rent out. Renting in, as already discussed in the Farming Chapter, is employed by many households as a strategy of generating more wealth and becoming richer. Otherwise, all natives and new comers, especially from the south, are said to be always seeking some or additional land. The poor, young people and newcomers from other places are said to be seeking more but may not be able to gain as much as the rich do, those who already are in possession of good amount of land.

Land lost and compensation

This report has already documented 17 investors that have taken land in Ude kebele formally through the wereda investment office. There are also far larger numbers of investors and other individuals who have bought land from individual farmers, especially for poultry farming and residence. Government compensation is shied away from because it is very small and informal sale is much preferred. Nearly all of the community members consider it unfair and in fact those in kebele and wereda offices as well. Even though the rate is raised to 102birr from 61birr, it is still very small compared to what investors and other private buyers offer.

Box 34. A household that lost land and compensated

A farmer, 63 and grade 3 complete, said he used to have one and a half hectare of rainfed land but as he has a large family he also used to rent land from others. His five children who used to live with the family have all left and are leading their own life in Addis Ababa but he still sends them money. His wife has been sick for two years and she is still in bed, which is a major problem for him. He complained that the government forcefully took his land so that he has none to rent out at this time he has stopped renting in because of lack of strength. He does not have other means of income than farming and said he did not get support from wereda or kebele within the last three years.

This case represents those who lose their land without their real consent and will have to run into problem later to support themselves and their families.

Box 35. A farmer who lost land and was compensated with other farmers

Another man stated that one hectare of land was taken from him by the Chinese Road Construction Company for a construction site (to construct warehouse, produce concrete). After finishing their job, they left the land covered with concrete and construction materials, rendering it useless as it cannot be ploughed. He went on to say, we took compensation in 2001 EC but we cannot call that compensation, it was a joke. Initially, people from the wereda came and told us the government needs our land. We insisted in our refusal first but later we were afraid because they were threatening that it is the government who wants the land. It is funny; we took compensation of 27,000 birr for one and a half hectares of land. It is totally unfair. We expected more than 100,000 at that time. There are many other people who lost land with me. We are 18 farmers who lost land. Farmers who lost half a hectare and there are farmers who lost one hectare and above. If I have that land now, I can say I am a Royal! One and half hectare means a huge size of land. It is enough for many people. There are 14 additional farmers who were compensated in the second round. They were given about 100,000 birr during the second round payment. They are people whose land was taken for the express road to fence the side spaces. Ours is left outside but covered with leftovers of construction materials and cannot be ploughed. Many government officials came and visited our problem; still no solution. We are waiting for them to solve our problems.

Box 36. A female land holder who lost land with others

The respondent is 55 years old and has basic literacy. She has 10 children (2 sons and 8 daughters). She owns 8 *qert'* of land which is equivalent to 2 hectares. Her husband and her son (who lives near her home) plough the farmland for the family which is all rainfed. The family does not work rented in farmland and farming is its only source of income, which is mostly managed by the man. They grow crops like teff, wheat and chickpea. She stated that there is no lack of fertilizer or agricultural seeds in her area.

The respondent mentioned that there are some people (more than 14 households) in the area who lost their land like her to the Chinese Road Construction Company that built the express road already mentioned. Her land, about 5000 square meters, was taken by the company in 2004 EC to build a camp. They took her land through a contractual like rental agreement for 3 years but when they left it was useless for any agricultural activity. Currently, the issue is in court in order to get

appropriate compensation for her land. She also complained they did not pay her some amount which they should have at the end of the third year. The road and transport authority is also accused and the others in the neighbourhood are also in court argument for compensation.

The litigation was started at the wereda court and went to the zonal higher court in Adama and now it is being handled by the Oromia Supreme Court in Addis Ababa. During this argument the wereda and Adama courts gave their verdicts in favour of the farmers to be paid 240,000 birr but the company appealed and are arguing through their lawyer. The respondent has been very sick since the last 6 months and she cannot follow up this land case, rather her daughter is the one who following the issue on behalf of her family.

Female respondents from the community said these people who lost their land because of the company are making a living now by farming the other plots of their farmland mainly. Besides this, some people have started to involve in trading activities by opening shops in their compounds.

Land administration

Women's rights

Female respondents from the community said women's access and rights to land has improved whereas wereda and kebele officials stated women have equal and full right to land as men and this is verified by law.

Kebele officials said that recently due to the efforts that have been made from women affairs officers women's right to own land has been protected. This is said to be the result of the first land certification that also incorporated information and education in this regard. Practically, the improvements are reflected in the fact that upon death of parents, females can share land equally with their brothers. As wives, women have also equal land rights with their husbands and respondents mentioned that the fact that their names and photos are on the land certificate is an enabling factor here. Upon divorce, women have nowadays the right to equally share properties with their husbands, including land. Also because of raised consciousness and the presence of the women's affairs officers as law enforcement bodies, unlike before, the women take action to protect their rights. As a result of this women's right has been protected better overtime. The understanding of kebele/municipal officials is that compared with the time before five years, women in the kebele have better awareness about their right to land possession and they are exercising such rights. Even though the husbands are named as the possessor of the land in the certificates, the wives are well aware of their equal right. The kebele officials also described the following case they know of.

Box 37. A young woman able to access land through inheritance

There are different cases whereby women inherit their parents land upon their death, even in case of the death of one of their parents as they equally share land with their brothers. I came across a woman who got her share upon the death of her mother. The case is as follows: after her mother passed away in 2016, she and her siblings asked their father to share among themselves the share of their mother/his deceased wife. He agreed and he took half of the land he and his wife owned and let his children divide it among themselves. Accordingly, they divided the land among themselves. Like anyone else OVCs and child-headed households were included in the land certification book. Hence, they are not disadvantaged.

According to the same kebele source, women in the kebele have been able to access land after divorce equally with men if they inherited some land from their parents while they got married. Otherwise, if she did not inherit from her parents, she cannot share the land her husband inherited from his parents. This is a debatable issue among the community members as some people argue she should be able to whether she has brought land to the marriage (from inheritance or otherwise).

Two male farmers of middle wealth income were more analytical when they said women's access to land might be through two legal means. The first is through inheritance from their parents and the

second through sharing land with their husbands on divorce. They said most divorced women in their area have taken their own share of land from their husbands on divorce. Speaking of the procedure, they added, the women will apply to take their own land share from their previous husbands to the kebele administration. If the husband agrees, the two will have elders and other concerned bodies to divide the land into two equal parts. Their children may choose with whom they are willing to live. If the husband disagrees to let her go with her share at kebele level, she will go to the wereda court where the final verdict is made.

It is noteworthy that two male farmers of middle income said the following: "As far as their parents are alive no one would give land for the daughters but it is after the death of the parents that daughters have the right to share land with their brothers, their counterparts. The male child can take land from his parents even before their death but the female child does not complain before the death of her parents. Once they are dead, she can complain and the law also supports her. This is a very critical issue that has to do with culture in general and how society views women and the female child. A poor farmer mentioned that his wife, who has no land at all, was not able to inherit from her parents when her brothers did. Women's access to land through inheritance, he said, is a recent phenomenon.

Also, it was possible to know from this poor farmer that women who have divorced are taking their land share and there is no doubt that they will take their own share but the process may take some time if the husband is not willing at the beginning. The husband sometimes may deny that the two have anything in common and would say the land they have been using is his father's land or may bring other issues to prevent the woman from sharing. Such happenings may reflect the experience that the community has been undergoing but may also need to be seen as just the perception of the community about what has happened. They might not always tally with the provisions of the rural land law which in this case says a woman at divorce can take just share of her land she has brought to the marriage and / or the share of their children, if any, in case the children choose to live with the mother.

Two rich male farmers said daughters are inheriting land from their parents. However, sometimes there might be complicated problems when parents die and siblings are not willing to equally share their parents land with daughters who have married away in the past and have their own land with their husbands.

In this regard, it is interesting to note what a rich man who is not engaged in farming has said:

"Wherever the family land is, daughters or wives do have a full right of taking their own share whether the land is in urban or rural setting but practically only a few daughters complain about the land share from their fathers and mothers. It is natural that daughters get married somewhere else and it is a son who takes the responsibility of caring for his parents and finally needs more share of his parents' land compared to daughters who have been living their own lives."

In spite of the positive changes mentioned by the officials and the kebele residents about women's access and right to land, this quotation indicates that there are problems. As land has been and still is key resource even in a semi-urbanising community such as Ude kebele, it is possible to expect people to take advantage of others over land, within and out of their families.

Disputes

Respondents from the kebele administration said that land disputes are first seen by the kebele social court. If not solved, the cases are then referred to the wereda court. The wereda in turn may refer the case back to the elders for reconciliation. Rural land issues (technical) are also dealt by wereda rural land administrative office, the government body that issued the first level rural land certificates to the people some years ago. A medium wealth female heading household said that

land disputes are common in the area and social courts and wereda courts are important justice institutions that people go to.

A rich male farmer gave the opinion that the currently existing social court in their community is good. They have started listening to the community complaints better compared to the past. A rich male non-farmer also remarked that the moment there are improvements both at the wereda and kebele level regarding justice. Wereda officials, on their part, said the existence of land certificates has contributed to the settlement of land disputes. They also remarked sometimes the certificates may not be conclusive evidence but in such cases community elders are responsible to solve the disputes. If not, as already said, plaintiffs will take the case to the wereda court.

The wereda rural land administrative officer recalled that previously rental of rural land was made and concluded at kebele level but at some point this was blocked by a directive. Hence, recently people have started to conclude their land rental agreements at wereda level. The kebele, on its part, authenticates the identity of the land holder and land possessed and provides the evidence to the wereda. Finally, the contract is concluded at wereda level and four copies of the contract are prepared: one for the renter, one for the renter, one for the wereda and the last for the kebele. Many contracts are concluded each year at wereda level in relation to land rental. He, the officer, estimated that some 100 contracts have been concluded only from Ude kebele. Social courts cannot authorise the conclusion of a contract for land rental. Previously, contracts of such sort were concluded at kebele level.

However, this does not mean land rentals are without problems. Wereda officials and the officer stated that those who want to acquire rural land for farming purpose used to rent in the farm land for many years and there is a tendency of buying that land (informally). These people are rich people or those who came from other areas and do not own land in this area. Renting land for many years informally has been creating disputes among the renter and the person who rented in. They added, some come to the wereda to complain or appeal that the person who rented in the land did not leave after the end of the contract time. Some come to the wereda to complain or appeal that the person who rented in the land did not leave after the end of the contractual time. Talking of land disputes further, the officer said others claim that they are legitimate inheritors of the land of their father or mother upon the death of either of them. Children are claiming the portion of land of their mothers if the deceased is the mother and vice versa which he said was not in the culture of the society. The division of land into pieces is not advisable as this creates inconvenience in the productivity of the land and in fact there is a minimum amount of land provided in the law beyond which a parcel cannot be divided. For such cases, joint ownership certificates are provided. The land dispute case in which many households are litigating against the Chinese Road Construction Company and the Ethiopian Road Construction authority is mentioned by kebele officials as special, not known before to this community.

A male landholder renting out land to a male farmer, with three male and two female children (one working in a flower farm) narrated the following dispute his wife won with her uncles:

Box 38. A case of a woman winning a disputed land inheritance

The notable conflict about land was when the grandfather of my wife died. The grandfather of my wife has 6 children including the father of my five. The father of my five died early before his father died. When the grandfather of my wife died all his land was distributed only for five people by excluding the father of my wife because he died earlier many years ago. My wife requested her fathers' brothers to divide the land for six people by also considering her father among others. They declined saying he was already dead and there was no one to give his share to. Then my wife went to the wereda and after that to the zone asking to get her father's share. Finally, the zonal higher court decided in favour of her upon which she got one qert' of land as an inheritance from her dead father.

The man said this is a very interesting story he will never forget. Many more cases may reveal the complexity of land disputes among these communities and the following is one among them. It is captured in the following box as narrated by the development agent.

Box 39. An aberrant dispute case not yet resolved

There was a man who came from Wello area and he lived in their kebele for many years with the help of some people by working as a hired farmer. Later on he married a wife by whom he has babies and they used to lead good life together. As his wife is originally from the kebele she has land that she inherited when her parents passed away. He has been ploughing that farm land. However, last year he passed away. Since then, his wife has been sharecropping out their farmlands. One of the dead person's sons, who was born from another woman, came to claim his father's share of the land but the surviving wife told him that the farmland she inherited was from her dead parents and he does not have the right to share this land. The claimant, who said he should be sharing his father's portion with his siblings, was justifying his claim that it was his father who had been managing and controlling the land. The case is not yet resolved; it is at the wereda court. The respondent said this case is new for the community and has divided opinion givers into two: those in support of him and those against him.

Land measurement, certification and documentation

Measurement

As part of the first rural land certification process rural land measurement was carried out in four regions in the country, including Oromia region. In Sirba, different sources provide different years as for the beginning of land measurement mostly 2005/6 and 2007/8. Kebele officials, said land registration was started in 1998 EC, and that residents of each kebele in the wereda, including Sirba, who could read and write were trained to do the measurement and how to register land. Then, these people were fielded and registered the amount of land, quality of land, and plot boundaries in all directions. Wereda officials said, in the first round, a trained committee constituted of farmers measured land using the ropes and the local unit was then converted into standard unit. Kebele officials said two forms were used: 'form 1' for the local unit and 'form 2' for the standard unit. In addition to measuring the land, during registration, the type of land measured was also specified as farm land, grazing land, residential area and the like. Additional specific information about the land measured included land size (in hectare or in *qert'*), the fertility of the land (high, medium, and low), the person to whom the land belonged (farmer or organisation), and the names of the persons possessing land on the boundaries of the land measured.

A rich farmer, having a primary land certificate, and a non-farming man recalled land was first measured in 2007/8 for primary certification. Talking about the process, they added there were committees organised which measured the land. People present in person on a site when a given land was measured were: the land owner, owners of adjacent plots, the militiamen and committee members. Once the land measured and the related details were registered, these men said, the information was submitted to Oromia region where the certificates came from. A poor farmer who got his land certificate in 2007/8 confirms that he was present when the committee measured the land and also people who owned land adjacent to his plots, in addition to the militia.

Among the land registration committee members was Girma Biru, a well-known community leader, who was very successful and a model for other farmers, and also was serving as chair of the social court of rural Ude administration, in addition to being a member of an irrigation committee. He served as secretary of the land registration committee. Asfaw Teshome, who was also a well-known community leader and successful farmer who served as a model for others served the land certification committee as a secretary. He keeps cross-bred dairy cows and a private irrigation facility and was a member of an irrigation committee. Yeshe Bekele was a successful female farmer who is at the forefront in using new agricultural technologies like fertilisers and weed killers. She has been

closely working with development agents and other agricultural experts and served as a member of the land certification committee. In addition, she was a member of an irrigation team.

Certification

According to respondents from kebele administration office, the last land certification process was conducted in the kebele 8 years ago, this means around 2010. They recalled there was no joint land certification and in the case of all male-headed households, only the photographs of the men were affixed on the certificates even though there was intention of including wives' photographs as well. In addition to the names of the male household heads, the names of the wife and children were listed on the certificate. These respondents added that where women's names are listed on the certificates, it is good for them to exercise their rights, especially if their husbands die, in which case they would continue owning the land as a legitimate possessor. In the case of females heading households their photos were posted on the certificates and the names of their children. Even though the husband is named as the possessor of the land, the wives are well aware of their equal right. Providing their assessment about women and land ownership, these respondents stated compared to the time before five years, women in the kebele have better awareness about their rights to land which they have been exercising.

Wereda officials stated that the information generated by the land registration committees was brought to the wereda, the level at which the data were copied to another book that was sent to Oromia. Finally a book, the certificate, bearing all the necessary information such as land holder and family names, was prepared and approved at Oromia level and given by the wereda to the land holders. Cross checks were made whether the book was prepared according to the primary information registered by the committees.

More can be said about the advantages of land user certificates. Two middle wealth male farmers said the certificates serve as guarantee and ownership evidence. Kebele officials added the rural land certificates, also called green cards, are also necessary for compensation purposes when a farmer has to leave his/her land as the card ensures that the person is the owner of the land and legitimate to receive compensation. The effect of this is however expected to be very minimal as all farmers shy away from government compensation which they say is very minimal and totally unfair. As stated in this report, many have sold their plots to individuals and investors to pre-empt government compensation.

Further evidence could be mentioned to confirm that land certificates have been positively viewed by the communities. Even though land registration has been completed during the five-year period set for registration and certification, all sources (community, kebele and wereda) confirm that there are some households who have not received the certificates. Community respondents stated that this has been, over time, a source of concern for community members who are not possessing land certificates. A respondent from the community said, *"Indeed, measuring and registering their land has been completed; only issuing the certificate is left. It is underway but the people do not follow and receive their certificates on time. They get fed up of following up and receiving the certificates."* There are also other categories of farmers without land certificates. First, those who took land from their parents recently that is after the completion (actually termination) of issuance of land certificates and those who received land as gifts from others. Some suggested there was not enough awareness creation or, farmers, despite this, were too suspicious. The kebele officials suggested that farmers were, however, concealing the amount of land they held for fear that excess land may be transferred to other persons.

Kebele officials, who also agree with other respondents that there are farmers who still do not have such a card, also stated that the registration itself was not complete. As there was fear on the part of the farmers that their excess lands may be given for others, some were hiding some of their plots from measurement. As such, indirectly at that time, farmers themselves were reluctant to have the land certificates. The kebele officials added, later on, lack of budget and lack of time resulted in the

non-registration of some lands. Besides, there are some farmers who are only using the form (from the documentation) not the certificates, also called the green cards. Kebele officials who said they have gone through primary land certification to some extent added that at the time they discontinued primary land certification because there was an intention from the government side to start digital land certification with GPS which has not yet started.

According to kebele officials, the land measurement and certification which was started in 1998 EC stopped in 2002 since the government planned only for five years. While nearly all respondents said it was the photo of the men posted on the green card in cases of male-headed households where the wives also lived, some individuals from the wereda and community said the photos of both husbands and wives were put on the land certificates to show that both own the land. Some community respondents, who, stated that women's access to land has improved as in the case of female children being able to inherit land with their brothers up on the death of their parents and wives' equal rights with their husbands, mentioned that the photos of both the husband and the wife appear on the certificates. Still other wereda officials said according to the law, the certificates have to bear the photos of both persons but the photograph of the wife does not appear on the card and the card simply bears her name.

Wereda officials also said that not all farmers have received these primary certificates at the wereda level while the majority of the native farmers have them. On their part, reasons mentioned for stopping the certification process was the need to consider the use of GPS instead of doing manual measurement. The intention to shift to GPS, as they said, was to digitalize the system which can also be made available online for others to use. However, as already stated, GPS certifications have not yet started. That there are people who are able to own land through inheritance of gift after the certification means there are more people or plots that are not certified and or registered. This GPS-based certification of parcels, which consolidates the primary certificates rather than replace them, was planned to be piloted in 2015/16 in one kebele in the wereda; but that was later incorporated into Bishoftu town administration. However, there is also another important reason. The wereda officials said that the second-round certification was not implemented due to lack of budget and lack of skilled human power in the wereda, whereas other weredas in the zone have implemented this. The budget is allocated from the regional government for such purpose and it comes directly from donation. Another source from the wereda land administration office stated that due to the mass unrest (the political instability) in the region, the second-level certification could not take place. Thus, it seems the second level certification has not been started or has been given up for a number of reasons.

Another respondent, the head of rural land administration office in the wereda said the second round GPS-based certificates, however, will help to certify each plot. If the farmer has ten lands in different places, s/he will be given a separate map for each. This is very helpful particularly at times the land is sought for developmental purpose. This type of certification will ease land administration as the measurement is also more accurate. Comparing the two levels of certification an officer from the wereda land investment office said the main difference between the two is that in the latter case, the land is measured by GPS not by meters (in rope) and hence more accurate as already stated. Secondly, the land was measured by a fifty meter rope in the first case in the land owning farmer. In the latter case, however, the measurement takes place with the help of GPS without the involvement of the farmer. While in the first case the certificate was provided to the farmer, in the latter case, which has not yet started, plot maps will be given for all parcels possessed by the farmers.

Four women from different social classes reflected that it has been a long time since the first level certificates were issued. Even though they heard that second level certificates are coming, this has not been yet implemented. They do not know the reason why it has not been done till now. The wife of a rich farmer has seen on the television that in other places people were getting certificates for

each parcel, one certificate for each parcel unlike their certificate which has in one all the plots they have in different places.

Land use as collateral

In the land administration policy it is provided that land can be used as collateral. Wereda officials have the knowledge that farmers are using their land certificates as collateral to borrow money for their children who organise in groups for income generating purposes. They recalled that in the past the municipality served as collateral for organised youth groups to access loans from micro-finance institutions. The youth were required to deposit some percent of the loan as a saving at Oromia Saving and Credit Association before receiving the loan. These days, the municipality has stopped being guarantors and the parents of the members of the associations are required to be their guarantors. If it is for the revolving fund (that was started last year/2016/17 as part of job creation project), the parents of the members of the association become guarantors simply by presenting their IDs and by signing that. However, if it is for securing a loan from Oromia Saving and Credit Association (youth has been accessing loan from this association starting from 2010/11), the parents are required to appear with their green card (land certificate/land possession book) to become a guarantor for their children who are members of the associations. Oromia saving and credit association retains the green card until the loan is fully paid back. The interest rate is 8 percent for the revolving fund and 13 percent (3 percent is service charge) for Oromia saving and credit association. The borrowers are required to save 10 percent of the amount of what they are going to borrow (advance saving). The Oromia saving and credit association was requiring advance saving of 20 percent in the past but now this is revised to 10 percent. If an association is going to borrow for the second time, then it is required to save 20 percent of the total amount it is going to borrow since the association is considered as self-dependent. A respondent from the wereda recalled that during the time of land measurement when farmers were told about the use of land as collateral they were interested to have the certificate.

Community respondents have stated that some women have used their land certificates as collateral to get loan from micro-finance institutions such as (Busa Gonofa) as they do in a group collateral. Through this practice, which they said existed before five years; more women have been receiving such loans due to the expansion of business activities in the area. In this regard, it does not appear that there is common understanding among the community members. A middle wealth non-farmer did not see people who use their land as collateral to take money from people or from bank. The banks need land with plot maps to consider the land as collateral; otherwise it is impossible to take money from bank with a land without plot maps and plan. Also, a poor non-farmer said those people in the urban area having land with plot map and plan may take loan from banks having used that land as collateral. Otherwise, he said he does not remember other practices in the community.

Land rental and leasing

It is already stated in this report that the four kebeles (Hiddi, Godino, Ude, and Dire) have their municipality, master plans, independent plan of action, budget and mayor. These kebeles have their own land management offices as well and they are supported by the rural land administration offices particularly in the areas of land possession rights, land related documents and so on. They have their own boundaries, and they administer their towns with the exception that they support each other with the rural kebele administration under certain circumstances. The land lease, for investors is carried out based on the existing legislation.

As per the procedure, first the investment request comes from the regional government upon the demand of the investor and the wereda investment committee contacts and convinces the farmers to be willing to handover their land against the current rate of compensation. In case of couples owning the land, both the husband and the wife have to sign on a form prepared for the purpose. The location of the plots is also taken by GPS and other measures as well which used to be taken manually by measuring tapes. Once these activities are done, the investor is contacted and required

to deposit the required amount of compensation with the Wereda Office of Finance and Economic Cooperation from where the farmers leaving their lands will claim their compensation. Farmers have the opinion that the amount of compensation is not adequate and they prefer to sell the land to individuals by themselves. Thus, after the investors received the land through this procedure, they will keep paying the annual lease at the rates indicated in the contractual agreements. The wereda respondents stated this was done some years ago (before 2015/16) and since then no land was given for investors and still now there is no plan of giving land for investors.

Wereda officials mentioned that land leasing has stopped for the time being. The most recent land given by lease was at an industrial place around Dukam which took 200 hectares of land paying birr18 birr for one hectare. They added their farmers are highly affected by the leasing system. The farmers have no experience of using money when they are given compensation- it might even be one million birr. They added those farmers evicted from their holdings are now working as guards to that factory. When the farmers insisted not to leave their land, there was pressure from the government side saying the government has a right to take land for investment purposes because land belongs to the people and the government. The officials added those who want to acquire rural land for farming purpose used to rent in the farm land for many years and there is a tendency of buying that land (informally). These people are rich people or those who came from other area and do not own land in this area. Renting for many years informally had been creating disputes between the renter and the person who rented in.

According to respondents from the kebele administration, in the last three years, the kebele social court, in addition to handling land rental disputes, has a format prepared for the land owner and the renter to be signed when concluding the agreement. Hence, unlike three years ago, because of this document which also lists witnesses, there has been no reported dispute among land holders and land renters. Most of the people have appreciated the procedure as it allows the renter to use the land confidently and the landholder to stay without the risk of being denied his holding. Before three years, there were problems in this regard. A farmer who has been renting in land from two persons said the contract is renewed annually. The contract is signed in the presence of witnesses and the copy of their agreement is submitted to the kebele. He added the agreement doesn't say he bought the land rather it says he rented the land because land cannot be sold or bought. Once the copy of the agreement is submitted to the kebele, he said, there is no problem because it serves as a guarantee. All the land he rented in are rainfed and is producing crops like teff and chickpeas. He has the plan to rent in more land as long as he is healthy and strong.

According to kebele respondents, before two years buyers of residential houses appeared to the Ude municipality with agreements providing for the transaction and were able to create a file in their names for the new property with the municipality. The municipality did this after checking on the owner's file it maintained to check that the person selling the property is a legitimate owner and can dispose of his/her property. Thus, the new file is maintained with the municipality and the buyers for which the buyers in turn paid some charge. The respondents said this was the only way in which property owners were able to have their property registered in the municipality suggesting that those properties at the time were informally constructed without the authorization of what later became Ude municipality administration. However, since 2015/16, according proclamation no. 182, this was prohibited unless the seller provides a plot map certifying that s/he is an authorised owner of the property. Despite this, to facilitate this for the people the municipality has prepared itself to provide authorised plot maps for all residential house owners as has been done in other places administered by municipalities. They even have posted a note that informs people to bring their documents, including those who have inherited residential land from parents or relatives. The call is also for those who did not get land certification to bring other documents that show they own the land so that they will get plot maps for these residential lands.

Another change in this regard, according to the same kebele source, is that before the establishment of the municipality and its urban land management office, it was the wereda investment office that provided land for big investments through lease for many years such as 20, 40 and 60. However, now it is the regional investment office that sends a letter to the municipality through the zone to check the availability of investment land given but remaining idle. The municipality, in turn, checks and gives feedback to the regional investment office. Now the region has set a new annual lease amount, which is birr189 birr per metre square that is paid every year.

Informal land rentals for investors and for newcomers who want to reside there and for residents for different purposes including farming have been common and have come increasing over the last five years. The details are presented in the foregoing parts of this report. Some cases from the locals are presented as follows. A farmer who was renting 6 qert' of land was paying from 3,000 to 3,500 birr for a qert' of land depending on the quality of the land. When he thinks of the additional costs of fertilisers, weed killer, without mentioning his labour, he says renting-in land is very difficult. In spite of this, he started renting in with two qert' of land and has been renting in more. On the other hand, a landholder renting out land and living with his five children and wife said: "It is about five years ago since I started renting out land. I am renting out 4 qert' currently which I have been doing every year. I started renting it out because I do not have oxen to plough with and children to support me. Actually I rent one qert' for 2,500 birr per year. Initially I tried to plough myself but it was totally wastage. Then, I decided to rent it out totally and purchase my household consumption with money I am earning from the contract. Now, we do have an agreement and that agreement is submitted to the kebele. Before that, the renter had been paying me informally only with oral agreement that is without any written agreement. Now, he asked me to submit our written agreement to the kebele. For me, it is the best decision; if he suspects me, he can do his best to be safe."

Common land

Public spaces such as roads, markets, religious places and government basic service provision sites may be treated as common lands. The two grazing lands that are enclosed and from which the public collects grasses could also be regarded as common lands even though they are restricted to grazing livestock. All lands or spaces not in private or institutional holding are government and public lands by law.

Young people's economic and other experiences

Young People in Ude Dhenkaka

In alignment with the national population data, young people also form a huge base of the demographic pyramid of Ude Dhenkaka community. This large and active population group is worth assessing in detail including experiences of education, the economy, access to land, marriage and setting up independent family, participation in social and political affairs etc. Accordingly this chapter will review diverse issues in relation to young men and women in the community.

Education

In Sirba village, there is one first cycle school and students can attend 5-10th grade in Ude to continue to preparatory schools in Bishoftu or elsewhere based on family convenience or availability of relatives in the destination. RATSON, an NGO funded by donors from Canada are providing kindergarten service in Ude in addition to educational materials support to children from poor families. On the other hand, the kids from better off families are attending kindergarten in Bishoftu town using contracted taxi transporting them every day.

Regarding quality of education; community members mentioned that there is gap in the provision of educational materials from the concerned wereda office and the quality of teachers assigned is low,

with a negative impact on the overall quality of education, coupled with increased tendencies of negligence and low attention of students. Parents are also blamed for giving little attention to supporting and encouraging their children to focus and pursue their education. Some even encouraged dropout and they fund their daughters' migration to Arab countries, hoping better opportunity for them there or even in order to receive remittance. Others just gave up on the return of investment on education and encouraged their children to engage in businesses, farming and marry at their early age.

Compared to 10 years ago, now more boys and girls are enrolled in school, however the trend of dropping out of school in order to take up jobs in local industries is becoming common mainly for boys. The young woman in her early 20 said that, unlike her poor family, the rich provide everything including extra books for their children to support their education, but students from poor families like her should even work after school to support their family, and may at a later stage be forced to drop out. The rich farmer's wife has three children attending school properly with better attention and performance and she also has a son who joined Gonder University. The family is able to provide them with better educational materials, and adequate time to study, and also they encouraged them to move forward.

It's mentioned that after completing 10th grade, some young men get a driving license hoping to be employed as drivers; girls who can afford migrate to Arab nations, some join TVET at Bishoftu and those from poor families work in flower farms/factories. Moreover, young men and women from better off families have a chance to attend private colleges in Bishoftu or Mojo towns. Students targeting getting a driving license as a goal usually attend only up to 8th grade.

The mid wealth female farmer interviewed has two daughters and four sons. One of her sons got a driving license but no one is willing to give him a job as he doesn't have the experience; yet his younger brother is demanding his family to fund his driving license training as well. One of her daughters migrated to Arab country and came with some remittance and she is currently planning to do some business though not yet decided what it should be.

The rich farmer interviewed stressed the issue of poor quality education, high school dropout mainly by children from poor families and female students. Another rich respondent from the non-farming sector raised the concern related to lack of important school materials and qualified teachers as major gaps of schools in the area. Children who fail to afford uniforms, exercise books and other materials get in to depression which affects their concentration in class rooms. Except the effort from teachers and volunteer students who try to deal with this issue (by contributing money), there is no other source of support to help these children.

Dropping out, and failure to pass to preparatory school and colleges is common; repeating classes is not mentioned as an issue. Both the dropout and lack of better performance have inter-related causes including economic, social, behavioural and other factors related to experiences of former graduates sitting idle in the community.

Economic pressure coupled with pessimism about promises of education, force students from poor families either to drop out or be less attentive till they complete and conclude their education at 10th grade. The boys look for employment opportunities in factories, flower farms and they work as daily labourers, brokers and few migrated to big towns in search of factory jobs. More girls are migrating to Arab countries these days but these are only those who can afford it and have the links to do so, the rest are left with options of low wage jobs in flower farms and factories.

Children dropout when their parents/guardians face chronic illness or death. Rarely, lingering sickness of students also was a factor, like in the case whereby a female student got sick for a long period and was forced to give up on her education after trying healing through modern and traditional medication like 'Holy water'.

Behavioural causes are mainly sexual behaviour, and indulgence in drug and alcohol abuse. Young people interviewed put these among major causes for them to drop out of school or give little attention to education. For instance, early sexual life is increasing which is causing pregnancy in their late teens, putting enormous pressure on girls to drop out and they face a social crisis due to pregnancy out of wedlock. Even though few students have given birth, only this year 6 girls attending grade 4-8 had to abort in Denkaka health centre with the guidance of HEW in Sirba. Chewing chat, excessive use of alcohol and use of Shisha (drug) are expanding in Ude which is becoming a challenge for young men to focus on their education and even it is making them lose interest.

Early marriage has been mentioned as reason for dropout of girls from school, but also caused a few young men to leave school due to high responsibility of providing the family they built at an early age in their life. So that they have to focus on farming if they have access to land, or get employment, to fulfil the breadwinner's responsibility.

In Ude Dhenkaka, there are a few university graduates who are not still able to get jobs, and most of the 10th grades complete do not have comparative advantages compared to those who dropped out earlier. The current state-of-affairs has two mutually reinforcing impacts; there is lack of interest for education in general among youth who feel they are wasting their energy and commitment into something that may not pay them back; this in turn is shared by their parents, who became reluctant to invest in supporting their children's education, which gradually makes them withdraw their follow-up and encouragement.

Here are some of the statements regarding education from young people interviewed:

- *The 26 years old young man from a poor farmer family said that he studied up to 12+1, and drooped out due to financial constraints. He also has training in hotel management and electronics maintenance. He admitted that he is also less committed to his education. He worked as Mobile maintenance, broker and other activities in the last 12 months*
- *Another 26 years old man from mid-wealth family said, students don't have commitment here, and they prefer focusing on earning money. Some work as land brokers, assist investors and get money, some also work as daily labourers and women migrate to Arab nations*
- *The 23 years old man from a poor family, believes that students drop out of school at 8th grade since most of them don't hope that they could join university, some of them drop out due to economic reasons. When the graduates remain unemployed for long, the motivation of others dropped, and early marriage is one of the causes for girls' dropout. Only few joined university, but most of the youth including those who failed at grade 10 wish to work in office and undervalue other jobs.*
- *The young man in his mid-20s from a poor family said that, children from rich families have better chance of completing high school and joining universities; if they fail they can either go to private college or engage in their own or family business.*
- *The 30 years old from a rich family said that, his parents used to encourage him to engage in business and get married, so he decided to drop out in grade 8 and followed their advice and did exactly as they counselled him*
- *Lack of professional skills, high rate of unemployment, lack of interest and commitment to take low paying jobs are main problems as the rich 30 years old man observed.*

The children from poor families face multiple challenges to succeed in education, starting from malnutrition which affects IQ and hunger in class rooms diverting their attention, followed by poor provision of school uniforms and materials causing further moral crunch. This doesn't end there: another challenge putting further pressure on them is the necessity to work after school, mainly

hard daily labour sometimes to support their parents too. They don't have the promise like children of the well to do families to pursue their education through private colleges and it is even a challenge for the very poor to rent a house in town, when their children have to attend preparatory school at Bishoftu or Mojo towns. Many of the respondents faced the challenges mentioned above, causing low performance and dropout. However, the 17 years old boy from mid-wealth family argues that although students from rich family have better support, it is those from poor family who put maximum effort in their education as they understand that it is their only way out to change their life.

Economic Experience

In general, the community at large and youth in particular presented unemployment as a crucial concern among other things. Apart from the mass of unemployed youth in urban and rural corners of the kebele, there are young men and women who took different available opportunities within and outside the community. Employment, daily labour, small private businesses, cooperative production and business groups, farming, migration and commuting for work are some of the opportunities for youth. Some of the sectors like private businesses, transport sector, migration, and even farming required support from parents. Parents also had to share farm land and avail oxen, provide start-up capital for business, some of them funded daughters' migration, others purchased horse carts, bajaj, and paid for driver's license training.

Employment opportunities in the area include agency based and private business employment in hotels, groceries and poultry farms. Factories in the near kebeles and towns like Mojo, Dukem and Bishoftu are providing job opportunities for those who may want to work in factories. Flower farms also created jobs mainly for young women, despite complaints of low wages. However, youth in Ude Dhenkaka consider private business employment lowly and it is therefore mostly people from Amhara, SNNPR and other Oromia areas who took these opportunities. A woman who owns a hotel in Ude hired 24 waitresses, guards and cooks, but except the guard position, the rest is taken by in-migrants. Farm labour is also taken up by young men from SNNPR since the youth in Ude Dhenkaka kebele neglect such jobs. Private poultry farms are emerging in Ude Dhenkaka kebele, particularly in Sirba village and have created employment for a few, mainly for women. (See non-farm employment section in Non-farming Chapter)

Private businesses are present, both small- and larger-scale. Most big hotels, crop trading, big shops and groceries are owned by adults (households), but the small shops, barbers, beauty salons, mobile maintenance, movies and music renting/uploading shops, horse carts, bajajs, etc are typically owned and run by youth with the support from families, though a few of them were able to get started by their own effort. For instance, one of the beauty salons in Ude was opened by a young girl who funded her training by working half day in a garment factory and she encouraged her sister to raise money to start the business on a shared basis.

The rich male farmer said that he has 8 children; he bought 2 bajajs for two sons to engage in transport services, two of them are able to lead successful independent lives as farmers, and one of his children is a medical student at Haramaya University. He believes that assistance and guidance of parents is vital.

Cooperatives: the wereda is implementing the rural job creation program in the community, using the youth revolving fund aimed at reducing the overwhelming youth unemployment through forming cooperatives of different types engaged in production, business and mining cooperatives. There are about 16 youth cooperatives established in Sirba, out of which 11 were able to get loans from the youth revolving fund to start functioning. Fattening, dairy farming, animal feed trading, mining of sand and cement materials, wood works, shops, grocery, livestock trading, poultry, irrigation etc are some of the activities in which the cooperatives are engaged according to their proposals. The highest fund allocated is 400,000 birr, which is given for a dairy farming cooperative.

There is a quarry site in the kebele for almost a decade, where about 100 young men are engaged in 5 cooperatives. An area of 3000 square meter land was given by the administration at the site, where they can excavate stone. (For more see the section on 'government intervention in nonfarming' in the Nonfarm Chapter).

Farming: Most youth in Ude Dhenkaka are not able to rely on farming to establish an independent livelihood mainly due to shortage of farm land while some in richer households may. Those households who are able to share a relatively fair size of farm land for their children enabled them to support their new families although they still need to find alternative income sources to adequately provide for their family and raise their kids. It is mostly when young men get married that parents share land if they are able to do so. Otherwise, it is through inheritance after death of parents that young men and women have a chance to access land. There is no kebele land to be shared for youth interested to engage in farming. Renting in farm land is another option, but this requires 2500-3000 birr for ¼ of a hectare, which is acutely unaffordable for the youth. In the area most of the young men in general help their parents in farming activities, but the sector cannot support them in setting up an independent household and independent livelihood.

Migration and commuting: international migration is experienced only by young women, mostly traveling to different Arab countries including Beirut, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Dubai. Young men recently started migrating locally to bigger towns including Addis Ababa, Hawassa, Dukem, Bishoftu and Mojo mainly in search of factory-based jobs in these cities. The benefit of girls' migration is debated among community members. Most of the respondents agree that these girls are able to earn better and they are sending money to their parents, they built/renewed their parents' house/built one for themselves, were able to buy TV, sofa set, refrigerator, kitchen cabinet 'bufe' for their parents, which is considered as a sign of having someone who has gone out of country for work, and some of them returned back and opened businesses like shops and groceries. However, others argue that, not all of them are successful in doing what has been listed above, and some even returned back without significant saving and became dependent on their parents once again which demoralized them even to take up existing employment opportunities locally. One young respondent mentioned about a new start of young men to migrate to Dubai, and he himself obtained the visa and is planning to travel soon.

About 100 young men are hired by a Chinese Construction Company in Addis Ababa in the Kaliti area, and transport service is allocated for them to commute every day from their home in Ude Dhenkaka. There are others working on the Mojo-Hawassa highway construction site and in factories in Bishoftu, Dukem and Mojo, but these young people are using their own means of transportation. Those working in Gafat Armaments, flower farms, and factories in the neighbouring Kebeles also either walk or use horse carts to reach the work sites. (For additional information see the 'migration section' in the Non-farming Chapter).

In general, unemployment, scarcity of land, shortage of businesses start-ups and space are some of the challenges that young people are experiencing in the area. Flower farms and factories are able to absorb a few but still some of them are resigning due to low wages, failure to fulfil promises of salary increase, and health impacts. However, from the perspective of adults, young men in the area neglect existing opportunities and are selective in what they take as jobs. For instance, they don't want to work as farm worker/labourer, and they consider private business employment as low status job.

Perception of the Economy

Economic experiences of youth partly influenced their perception and attitude towards education, economic activities/work and the economy in general. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, investing time and resources on education is taken as wastage by the young generation and this perception is shared by a significant number of parents. This attitude arose from the fact that

large number of 10th grade complete remained unemployed and the few in the community who graduated from higher education levels were not able to get jobs after 15-16 years of efforts in their lives. As a result, students became less committed and also some parents tended to withdraw their follow up and encouragement. A few parents even advised some of their children to engage in other directions (migration, business etc.) rather than spending years in education.

There are university graduates in the kebele who did not get jobs. Despite very low commitment for better achievement in education, those large mass of 10th grade complete also wish to get office based professional jobs or something better, and they are not interested to take up some jobs which they consider as low status like private business employment and farm labour.

- *A mid wealth female farmer mentioned that, her sons undervalue business activities and refused to work in a private shop that the family intended to open for them, because they say shop is not for educated young people like them, rather they wanted to have vehicles to engage in transport service provision or open a garage. She added that, selecting job types is another major problem in a serious unemployment situation in the community.*
- *A young girl in her mid-20s from middle wealth family said she does not value education rather, she prefers to engage in business or get employed in agencies because she feels that education doesn't bring money. She added that this idea is bought by many young men due to expansion of factories and lack of opportunities through education.*
- *Another girl in her mid-20s from mid-wealth family mentioned that she dropped out of school at 6th grade since her dream was engaging in business. She said she values money more than education. So that she doesn't regret about her decision.*

Landless adults and youth are not beneficiaries of government agricultural interventions. Most of this support goes to model farmers, as they are the ones in a position (having land and capacity) to experiment with new technologies. Youth feel that they are landless; the kebele is unable to provide them with farm land, which excludes them from such government programs. As mentioned earlier, due to lack of access to land, farming is not considered as an important sector for youth to establish an independent livelihood.

On the other hand, most of the youth interviewed have a feeling that the government is not doing enough to create opportunities for them and the effort through the youth revolving fund is only directed to a few, and even to some adults that are in principle not eligible.

Many girls are targeting international migration after completing 10th grade or even by dropping out of school. Migration is increasing over time, because it is considered as the best mechanism to earn an income and invest back home to establish an independent livelihood as well as to support one's family. In the past few years, young men also started to believe that local migration to bigger towns would help them get factory jobs and other opportunities. Even though the number is limited, some young men migrated to different towns (Hawassa, Addis Ababa, Dukem, Mojo and Bishoftu) in search of jobs.

The 26 years old girl said, she had a dream of migrating to Arab countries and engage in business back home, then she completed 10th grade and migrated with 5000 birr cost. After 3 years work abroad, she returned back and opened a small shop and she is struggling to expand it without government assistance.

Non-farming economic activities, mainly businesses, have recently become perceived as more important than farming and employment in agencies. However, the huge issue raised by most of the youth interviewed is, lack of start-up capital, training, and working space.

Work and Domestic Work

Work opportunities in general are limited in the area. As noted earlier, there is high unemployment, which is considered as one of the major concerns of the community; the kinds of work available for young people locally are: employment in agencies, private businesses, and as domestic; working in own or family businesses, engaging in different animal and motorised transport services (*bajaj* and horse carts mainly), wood work and metal work, mobile maintenance, shops and movie shops, beauty salons, as well as cooperative based farming, and a few other non-farming activities.

Image 14. Bajajs and horse carts in operation (Ude village)



Domestic work is one of the neglected opportunities like that of farm employment which young girls are not interested to grab, out of pride for themselves and for the family as well. Moreover these days, domestic workers coming from elsewhere are taking the jobs in factories and flower farms, and currently households have to bring relatives from inner rural places to be raised with them, giving them an opportunity of attending schools while getting house chores done.

Employed farmers are of two types; permanently employed for a household or contract based seasonal farm workers mainly during harvesting. These are people mostly from Amhara region, Gonder, Gojam and North Shewa. Daily farm workers are from SNNPR and are hired mainly by people who rent-in land and work in irrigated vegetables. None of these opportunities are considered as worth taking by the youth in the area, mainly due to pride, and the payment is also not encouraging for 10th grade complete unemployed youth. (For detail see 'non-farm work opportunities' in the Nonfarming Chapter).

Access to Land

Poverty is largely caused by land shortage and the rich are mostly people that have large size of farm land; however, youth especially don't have access to farm land, and sometimes even space to build a house. Some of the respondents argue that, the means of obtaining land is still inheritance or sharing from parents, but the rising trend of selling one's land because of its high value makes parents reluctant to share land with their children. Youth from the area and from other places, civil servants, rich farmers and urban creep are land seekers in the area, though generally only the rich can buy land either in urban or rural Ude Dhenkaka. According to a young man from rich family, lack of access to land, loss of soil fertility and low productivity, coupled with increasing price of farm inputs altogether are making farming the least worthwhile livelihood option for youth, besides nobody can access land during their late teens except those who get land given by their parents.

Some of the young couples had to split or divorce due to poor access to farm land and lack of other opportunities to support the new family. A few of them decided to split for a while and husbands funded their wives' migration to Arab nations to deal with the situation. Others gave up and divorced, though shortage of land or economic reasons are not the only reason for all divorces occurring among young couples. One of the poor young man interviewed said "I don't have adequate land for farming and this is a reason why I sent my wife abroad". He said that, they encountered difficulties to raise their children. When the children are above the age of 5, they need to go to school and need better clothes and educational materials which he feared they couldn't fulfil otherwise.

The young man in his mid-20s stressed that, establishing an independent household depends on availability/access to land or alternative opportunities; both chances are limited for youth in the kebele. Only a few young men have access to land through sharing and inheritance. Lack of access to land and hopelessness pressed the youth in the area to indulge in different bad habits like chewing chat, excessive alcohol intake etc.

The 32 years old struggling young man mentioned that, his mother lost her land due to failure to pay land tax many years ago, so that he is not able to inherit land. Now he is engaged in daily labour because he is not able to rent land either. He said that he is struggling to feed himself. This is an exceptional story related to a history of land tax impacting the current generation.

It is repeatedly mentioned that the diaspora from Arab countries have a better chance of obtaining land at least to build a house, than other girls in the community. For instance, the 23 years old successful business woman owns a shop and her parents (unusually) were not willing to share land with her for her to build a house, so that she spent 50,000 birr to buy land on which she built a house. On the other hand, girls have little chance of accessing/sharing land compared to young men, unless at the death of their parents.

The kebele doesn't have land to distribute to young people, and also there is limited communal land. However, RATSON, an NGO, recently received land from the kebele to build an office and meeting hall, likewise quarry coops got 3000 square meter land in the mining site, but there is no more land allocation or reallocation to benefit young people in the community.

Migration

Migration in Ude Dhenkaka is gender-based with regard to destinations. Girls mostly migrate to Arab countries including Beirut, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and few to Dubai, and young men just recently started migrating locally to big towns like Addis Ababa, Bishoftu, Mojo, Hawassa and Dukem (due to the new industrial parks in the last two destinations). International migration to Arab countries is increasing gradually compared to the past partly due to lack of opportunities locally and some success stories of diaspora girls in the community. One of the young men interviewed mentioned that, he obtained a visa to fly to Dubai in search of jobs, and few more men are thinking about this as an option. Those who have gone out of country for work are able to send money for their families and husbands, renew or build new houses for their family or for themselves, some of them created businesses like shops and groceries upon their return. Such glossy stories are stimulating other young girls to dream about migration even before they complete 10th grade. However, there are also a few diaspora who are not successful in creating businesses or assisting their families to the level that others are able to.

There are three types of in-migrants: the first group are in-migrant farmers from Amhara mainly Wello, Tigray and Kambata, engaged in farming activities since a long time and now settled in Ude Dhenkaka; the other newcomers are from SNNPR, mainly in search of farm labour employment opportunities, and the third group is seasonal in-migrants from Amhara (North Shewa, Gonder and Gojam area) mainly to harvest *teff*, and other crops in contract agreements. (For more see the 'migration' section of the Non-farming Chapter).

Establishing Independent Livelihoods

The section on economic experiences above outlines the opportunities and challenges facing youth in the community to establish an independent livelihood. There is evidence that the non-farming sector is comparatively more important for young men and women to find means of livelihood, since farming is not a possibility due to scarcity of land. Those youth having a chance to inherit land get only a small plot that cannot support them to establish a dependable livelihood. Farming without additional non-farming income is very difficult, if not impossible, for them. Besides, both due to land shortage and the new trend of selling land, the chance of getting land from parents sharing land with children is fast decreasing.

The poor man interviewed said that, he dropped out of school at 6th grade and got married 5 years ago. He is raising 2 kids, which requires him working in the quarry group in addition to farming his small farmland and his wife is also selling *tella* to support the family.

Some of the new couples have been highly challenged by their fragile livelihood, which could not sustain their family, so that some had to divorce and get back to their parents.

Non-farm opportunities like employment in agencies, engagement in different small-scale businesses, working in cooperatives were relatively important to establish an independent livelihood. However, it doesn't mean that all young people in the non-farming sector are able to have an independent livelihood: many of them continue to stay with their parents and only a few set up their own households. (See the Nonfarming Chapter, nonfarm cooperatives section for more on this).

Young women are less likely to inherit land compared to young men as mentioned earlier, but some in the diaspora are given land by their parents at least to build a house, some of them opened shops and groceries which contributed for their independent livelihood. Marriage is still considered as one way of establishing an independent livelihood for girls, though it became more of a challenge for young men since the girls are becoming conscious about men's economic status as criteria. (See the 'migration' section in the Non-farming Chapter for more on this).

Young men from rich families have better chance to engage in business and establish an independent livelihood than others, and it is also easy for them to get married.

Land is one of the key resources that contribute for the establishment of an independent livelihood and to set-up a household. However, the majority of the respondents said that, land can be purchased but mostly they lack the money and others, the rich and the urbanites coming from elsewhere, are able to get hold of it. The 28 year old 10th grade complete man is still living with his family and he said it is difficult for youth to become economically independent in the kebele.

Setting up Independent Households

Economic opportunities will lead to setting up an independent livelihood which can be a guarantee to set up an independent household. Young men in Ude Dhenkaka can set-up a household when they are able to share land from their parents, when they get a chance to engage in non-farming activities, and also with the encouragement and assistance from parents. Most of them start living independently when they get married.

Premarital sexual intercourse among youth is increasing leading to stressing conditions when unwanted pregnancies occur. Some abort at the health centre and others had to deliver the child which will push the partners to set up an independent household although economically and emotionally unprepared, which is becoming a challenge for youth in their late teens.

Use of contraceptives is limited among young women, though some of the young men have better awareness and have the courage to get condoms from HP. A few cases of boys denying their responsibility in pregnancies are reported. One such case had to be taken to the wereda court; on

the other hand elders were able to deal with parents to reconcile another such case, which made the partners finally start to live together and raise the new-born. However, economic problems are said to be a major challenge to take newly formed households/families forward.

Young people between the age of 19 and 26 interviewed agreed that marriage is dependent on the ability to establish independent livelihood, otherwise, finding a wife by itself is not difficult. The second level challenge is raising kids in the poor livelihood condition that young couples have. In addition, using contraceptives in order to delay child birth is rare. Young men who don't have land, a house or a business/income are not chosen by girls, so it would make finding a life mate difficult.

The 24 years old girl from a mid-wealth family said that unemployment is a big issue for the community; however in the past two years loans for cooperatives helped to reduce it together with migration to Arab nations for girls. Some of the girls also have taken marriage as a way of getting an independent life. Therefore, non-farm agency-based employment, engagement in small scale businesses and migration to Arab countries are some of the key means of creating an independent livelihood and household, in addition to assistance from parents.

A young man in his early 20s from a rich family was able to start a business and to get married thanks to his parent's assistance. He has a shop and his father built a house and a hotel for him.

The 25 years old man from a poor family believes that, parents mostly help their children in education and during the time when their children get married even by sharing land for the new family. Most often it is land to construct a house which is given, since not all families are able to provide farm land for their children.

Marriage

Marriage is a transition for youth which is affected both by economic and social factors and the information presented in the sections above already gives a clue about what marriage might look like in the community.

Rape, abduction, FGM and arranged marriage are said to be very rare in the community today, however early marriage is still an issue that is causing school dropout, followed by other difficulties associated with early age pregnancy, child birth and related responsibilities. Early marriage is driven by different factors including the interest of the young partners, parents' encouragement and pregnancy out of wedlock. Parents don't dictate mate selection let alone arranging marriage; however, they are pushing for early marriage.

Despite delayed marriage among men, there are a few cases of young men's who dropped out of school due to early marriage as they had to assume the responsibility of providing for their new family, so that they had to find ways to earn an income. There is no intervention from the government to address this issue and the scale of the problem is not taken as a concern, however the interviews with young girls revealed that, most of the young women in their late teens tend to get married or trapped in to premarital unsafe sexual intercourse and its consequences.

The expanding urban way of life, the watching of various TV channels and movies, the use of mobile phones, chat with different apps and Facebook, facilitate interaction between opposite genders and their desire for sex. Early age and unplanned pregnancy through such interaction has caused health and emotional risks with abortion, school dropout, and conflict with parents and between parents and denial by boys from being responsible for the pregnancy out of wedlock, which eventually had to be dealt either by wereda court or elders. The mediation by elders or the good will of families and of the partners made for better conditions for partners to start living together and setting up a household, regardless of their lack of maturity and unpreparedness.

On the other hand, young couples decide to get married without prior planning and preparation; this has recently become a challenge for many. Most of these young couples struggle to keep up and take the family forward due to economic reasons. Some adopted a mechanism of temporary

separation like sending out wives to Arab countries for a while and unfortunately some ended up divorcing. The challenge is even worse when these new couples have children. The knowledgeable young man interviewed believed that fatherhood puts poor young men under pressure when children are born. He said that *'When you are single you may go anywhere to eat food but when you became father you cannot take your children to look for food with you'*.

The 26 years old man married when he was 18 and got two kids that are now growing with their grandparents whilst his wife migrated to Arab countries to support the children and even she sends money for him. There are other such cases in the community showing the challenges of young couples due to lack of independent livelihood options locally.

When children get married, parents who are able to share land, try to help them in this way although the size of the land is said to be insufficient to create an independent livelihood with just that. For instance, a 50 years old man with 8 children shared $\frac{1}{4}$ of a hectare for each of his sons when they got married. As mentioned earlier girls mostly don't have the chance to share land and rarely inherit it. Besides it is not common for them to establish an independent household without getting married.

In-migration and out migration for marriage occurs for girls particularly but mostly inter-marriage is between neighbouring kebeles and with nearby towns (Mojo, Bishoftu etc).

Women's Issues

As mentioned in different sections in this chapter; early marriage, teenage pregnancy, abortion, early child bearing and associated challenges, divorce, separation and taking risks of migration to save newly formed families, lack of economic opportunities, limited access to land compared to young men, and cultural pressure/attitudes interfering with young women's efforts in education are some of the major issues of young women undermining their development in the community.

One urban resident woman stated that, family guidance and consultation are vital to prevent girls from risky behaviours and being deceived by men, but there is a gap on the parents' side in this regard. She also believes that it is very important to follow up school attendance of girls by creating contact with teachers. She added that, early sexual practices, pregnancy, dropout and the huge challenge of raising a baby at an early age are some of the vital problems. She also argues that, because of cases of parents funding migration and encouraging girls to take as role models some successful diaspora, girls tend to envision migration from an early age and rush to finish grade 10, rather than giving attention and getting good grades. According to her, the remittances they bring from Arab countries do not last long and do not allow changing their life at all; and yet, girls' migration is increasing a lot.

The young girl in her mid-20s from mid-wealth farmer family said that, young men are selfish because they trap innocent young girls for the sake of their sexual gratification. The girls are immature and easily fall prey. When a problem happens, they deny their relation with them. For instance, she had to host a girl who became pregnant, dropped out of school and was evicted by her parents. A few such cases had to be taken to court, in order to force male partners to accept their fatherhood and assist victim girls.

One of the late teen girls from mid wealth family said that, there are no awareness creation clubs in and out of schools and sanitary pads are not available which makes some girls miss classes. Even though good quality training has been given about HIV/AIDS and HTPs, there is not enough awareness among the girls for them to feel confident to report any harassment or abuse, which is still an issue in the community.

The HEW believes that various TV channels and mainly KANA TV, contributed to behavioural changes among the youth and their engaging in early sexual practices. For instance, 6 girls attending school 4-8 grades got pregnant just in the course of this year only. She consulted and asked their decision,

and all decided to abort. She advised them to have safe abortions at Denkaka HC instead of traditional life-threatening alternatives. The use of contraceptive is low among young girls. Some boys appear at the HP and collect condoms, but few girls have this idea. Also, they prefer to go to private clinics rather than the HP/HC (no reason mentioned, may be confidentiality). The HEW also suspects that more girls from this community may abort at Bishoftu health facilities, and recently she registered 3 cases of birth out of wedlock. One of the poor young men interviewed said that, when such pregnancies occur, either they abort or go to the boyfriend's family to live.

FGM, abduction, rape, early marriage, domestic violence and so on were the challenges of young woman in the past. Now, except some cases of early marriage, these are not concerns for women anymore. Girls have better interaction with their mothers and they consult them when they want to marry.

The girl in her early 20s from a poor family divorced rapidly due to economic pressure which triggered conflict between the partners. She believes that this is common to other newly married couples as well.

The issue of limited access to land and imbalanced participation in the economic opportunities are some key challenges. Due the nature of the works male labour is required for participation, like in the case of quarry group, however still girls' participation is minimal in the other forms of cooperatives supported by youth revolving fund. The nature of the work is said to be requiring masculinity for participation in such activities as stones/sands quarrying but girls' participation is still minimal in the other forms of cooperatives that do not require male labour.

Addressing these women issues is important for the overall wellbeing of the community; however there is no government or NGO intervention to deal with these critical concerns.

Life in the Community

There are opposing views about life in general in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. The young people interviewed argued based on their experiences, observations and perceptions. The group of youth full of optimism about life in the community listed a number of features they liked, including good weather, fertile soil, plain landscape, rapid expansion of urbanization, access to electricity, business opportunities mainly in Ude, and also peaceful and friendly characteristics of people in the community. On the other hand, there is another group of young people discontented about the very poor infrastructure including dusty/muddy internal roads, the lack of drinking water, the huge rate of unemployment, bad governance, the absence of youth recreational centres and play grounds, insignificant change in farmers' life, and poor interventions regarding youth unemployment etc.

- The young man in his early 20s from poor family for instance said that, new comers buying land created a chance to bring urban way of life to the community members mainly in the past five year. The 29 years old man from same economic status however argues that, there is nothing changed to the life of the community.
- The girl from a rich family in her late teen said, she came to the area a year ago due to marriage, and she found it a better place due to availability of electricity which she never had in her parents' place, and Ude is good place for business due to expanding urbanization. Besides people are very friendly and services like family planning are made available to her and for other interested women.
- The 19 years old young man said that people in this community have good behaviour; they are lovely, caring and respectful.
- The young man in his 23rd year said that, this is peaceful community despite some protest and conflicts last year in schools and at Bishoftu town as well. However, he doesn't appreciate anything regarding economic changes to people's life. For many of the youth,

unemployment leads them to hopelessness and some are recently indulging in drug abuse (mainly chat, shisha and alcohol).

Leisure

As partly indicated in the sections above, there is limited leisure service in the area. Young men complained about poor government involvement to avail healthy alternative ground for leisure like youth centre, football ground etc. The kebele chairman admitted the problem but also mentioned that there is no plan for the construction of such recreational centres in the kebele. Those young men interested in sports are using schools' field to play football which is open at any time. Some of the young men interested in Arts complained that, there is no centre where one can cultivate and enrich such potentials.

Digital entertainments due to electric power, expansion of electronic gadgets mainly smart phones created alternatives. Various TV channels like KANA TV (TV that translates international movies in local language), movies from Arab countries, spiritual channels etc are used in addition to local TVs. Mobile phones are used to listen to radio, music, and also for internet mainly Facebook. There are two music shops in Ude that are uploading music on mobile phones by charging up to 30 birr and renting out films by 2-3 birr depending on the movie type. There are new famous Oromo Singers, named Teferi and Chala Bufume and Hachalu Hundesa. Even there is a hair style known as 'Hachalu style' recently adopted by young men.

Another set of leisure activity is the use of alcohol. Due to increasing urbanization, more hotels, groceries and bars are emerging mainly in Ude but also in Sirba village. In addition, a number of small *Tella* and *Areqe* houses everywhere are longstanding alternatives for the poor and young people from poor families, though it is not exclusively consumed by the poor. Those young men who can afford beer meet and spend time in groceries or bars, but the poor on the other hand use *tella* and *areqe* houses, and one of the young men in his mid-20 from poor family said, this is association and recreation which is class based. Those young men from well to do families even sometimes go to Bishoftu town to relax there while having a beer in a better place.

One of the young men from a poor family said that he wishes to direct films and casting in the future. He is trying to follow the disciplines of this art by his own effort and he is hoping to fulfil his dreams in the future. He also likes music and dancing at home when he is free. Sometimes he also reads at home or relaxes with friends or with his wife having one or two beers.

Religion

Orthodox Christianity is the dominant religion followed by recently emerging Protestantism and a few Muslim community members. There is no tension and conflict between followers of these different religions, though some of the youth interviewed mentioned that the emergence and expansion of Protestants is not easily accepted by Orthodox Christians and a few even call it 'false religion' according to a 19 years old girl from poor farmer family. Despite the respectful interaction between followers of these different religions, a 23 year old girl said that '*people will marginalize you if they know you are a follower of the Protestant religion*'. Respondents mentioned that, some white people sometimes visit the protestant church to preach.

In general, the elderly are spending much time in Orthodox churches and young people interviewed believe that, it is because they don't have other activities to do, due to their age. Some other productive adults normally go to church at weekends, however young people mostly go to churches during holidays or rarely on Sundays. It's mentioned that girls have better interest and attendance than young men, though still only a few girls go to church in their late teens.

There are occupation-based associations and socialization among youth, and also rarely religious membership is used for the same purpose. Regarding spirituality and respecting of religious rules, there is no difference mentioned among followers of different religions. One of the young men in

the early 20s argued that all religions have rules prohibiting alcohol, premarital sexual intercourses etc, but all young people following any of these religions fail to obey it.

Partly due to their limited attendance, none of the young people interviewed were able to tell if there is any change in the religious rules they follow. However, they said that these days the language of prayer in Orthodox Church has been made flexible and anyone can pray with the language which is easier to the disciple.

Politics

Politics can be assessed in the community in both opposition and pro-government attitude and structure. Regarding OPDO (the regional ruling party) and its grassroots level political structure for youth, nominally there is a youth league, youth federation etc like that of the national EPRDF structure. However, there was loose effort and commitment to involve the young people in these party structures. Young people are not interested and are suspicious of these party structures; some are afraid of it, others didn't hope anything out of it, and many remained unconcerned about politics until recently. Membership to the ruling party for the sake of benefits like a chance for office-based employment and better position etc gradually reduced and only a few are willing to join the party.

However, in the past three years the regional political context changed and there was a wide range of opposition movements and political violence which affected young people in Sirba as well. Even those less concerned and less interested in politics, gradually became conscious partly due to the above mentioned regional and national movements and also the pressure from overwhelming unemployment and hopelessness. The contribution of the US-based Oromo politician and activist Jawar Mohamed and his Facebook posts were mentioned to be vital as well as new powerful and emotional political songs from Teferi and Chala Bultime. One of the main songs of Teferi was titled as '*Saqi Sanqa*' (open the door). The impact of these songs is huge in triggering emotion, but their influence varied depending on the personality of each individual youth.

The young man in his 17th year from mid-wealth farmer family mentioned that, many years ago almost everyone was supporting the ruling party to get some benefits like job opportunity and positions in the government structure. Now it is different and only a few people are willing to join the ruling party. The general attitude of young people is against the ruling party, they are always demanding for political change directly or indirectly.

Ideas Coming into the Community

Social dynamics is inevitable due to globalisation and generational transformation, which challenges longstanding structures, norms and customs. The changes in Ude Dhenkaka generally are categorised into technological/ICT changes, changes in lifestyle, in tradition, in religion and in politics.

Technology: Technological change is a globalization effect through the availability of modern ICT technology and channels from different global satellite TVs. In recent years, the availability and use of smart phones expanded and almost all young men and women except a few from very poor families have access to this. This has created easy communication and allowed the use of internet and social media (mainly *Facebook*) which in turn became a huge political platform for information and political mobilization. Its impact in facilitating interaction between opposite sexes is another change challenging the existing custom of arranged marriage or longstanding patterns of interaction among opposite sexes.

A few years ago, only local TV channels like ETV, Oromia TV were there, but since 2014, KANA, J-TV etc together with different international TV channels provided alternative entertainment for the youth in the area. However, especially Kana TV which translates movies in to Amharic is catching the attention of children diverting their attention from education. Some of the movies from satellite TVs

are also said to be responsible for bringing new trends of early sexual stimulation among youth of course including this Kana TV.

Styles and life style: young people are wearing new hair styles and fashion clothes partly considered as deviating from the culture and condemned by conservative elderly and parents. Young men tend to grow their hair taller and make it curly, girls are neglecting the old *shuruba* style and are adopting new hair style made with machines and imitating movies they are watching on TV. Very skinny trousers are used by both young men and women, and preparatory school students at Bishoftu and university students come back with torn-out trousers which are odd to elderly but fashionable for the youth. In addition to this, girls also try out other styles they have seen on movies.

The other new style is a house design that emerged in recent years and is known as 'American style' mainly due to its unique roofing. In addition to this, furniture like sofa sets are becoming common in diaspora and rich families' houses and are considered as modernity and status symbol.

Challenges to Customs: some of the traditional ways of life are challenged; however, in the past few years, *Gada* as a custom revived, together with the movement of Folle and dressing of traditional clothes. Feeding, drinking and entertainment, marriage and other holidays also underwent some changes. For instance, in the old days, porridge was common which was gradually replaced by injera, and then now the way injera is served is changing by rolling and cutting it in to pieces with a buffet style mainly during ceremonies. The common traditional drinks like *tella*, *tej*, and *areqe* are also neglected by those who can afford beer and bottled liquors. In contrast with the revival of *Geda* and its ceremonies, festivals like *Meskel* and Epiphany are getting lower attention, though they were celebrated colourfully with huge crowds in the past.

Politically: new youth movement's consciousness about politics started demanding changes in the political system in the past three years. The Qeroo youth group either demanded Oromia to get real self-rule authority or general reform to come at the national level. In a departure from the past many years, this movement brought young people into political participation and opposition.

Regarding Religion: Protestantism emerged as a new Christian sect; they were aggressively preaching door to door until the time it was halted by the administration when community members started to complain. On the other hand, the revival of '*Wakaefata*' as a very important belief is one of the new phenomena in the community. (*Wakaefata* is a traditional Oromo belief).

Conservatives are mostly the elderly struggling with the overwhelming flurry of new things coming into the community that are mostly attracting young people. The hair and dressing styles, the political movements, and deviation from arranged marriage and excluding initial involvement of parents in this regard are some of the tension areas among generations. It has been mentioned that the administration proposed land re-allocation; however this was resisted by the older generation having big size of land holding. The young people interviewed agreed that, the old generation wants to retain the status quo and see all the changes as evil.

Inter-Generational Relations

In general, interactions between generations are positive, and many young men and nearly all young women mentioned that they have good relations with their parents, and even with grandparents and relatives. These good relations are built on reasons like young people's willingness to support parents in farm work and house chores and obeying them with respect. On the other hand, parents also take responsibility of assisting their children in education, at times when they have to set up an independent livelihood and household, including by sharing their land. Students also advise parents to adopt new farming technologies and improved seeds due to their better awareness from school and TV broadcasts. Even though recently deteriorating, respect for parents and for elders is still an asset that is cultivating the positive interaction.

The 30 years old young man from rich family said, he is thankful to his parents for building a house and a hotel for him, which enabled him to set-up a household and now have two kids.

The girl in her late teens from mid-wealth family said that, she is helping her three aunts in their business, she hopes to learn business skills in the process and she has a plan to start her own business in the future. She also visits her grandmother and helps her by cleaning, cooking and washing her clothes.

On the other hand, a few young men clearly mentioned that their interaction with their parents is getting worse. Some of the causes of tension are: youngsters' dressing style, tendency for premarital sexual relations and pregnancy out of wedlock, excessive use of alcohol and adoption of new drugs like Shisha and Chat, as well as disrespectful reactions and interactions. The knowledgeable young man interviewed believes that, there are divergent views on every aspect of life between adults and young people, contributing for discontent and tensions. The 26 years old young man from poor farming household observed that some even started insulting their parents.

In comparison, girls are said to have better interaction than young men, some of whom also indulge in drug abuse and alcohol use.

- *The young girl in her late teens from rich family came to the area last year due to marriage and she visits her parents rarely in holidays. She observed that young people's dressing style is annoying parents, but they do not want to accept their advice.*
- *The health extension worker said, girls from well to do families and/or educated ones are less exposed to risks of early sexual practices, because the parents give better follow up and support. Many young girls from poor families don't accept advice from parents who suspected behavioural change like, standing and talking with men on streets for longer etc.*
- *Four of the female farmers interviewed agreed that the main problem of young men in the area is lack of motivation to work. They do not support their parents, they are lazy, do not want to change their lives and the lives of their parents, some of them already developing chat and cigarette addiction, and they try to find shortcuts to succeed by engaging in unwarranted activities like violence*

Despite the nature of interactions, most of the youth live with their parents, or have communication with them if they already set up an independent household. However, there are a few cases of separation or eviction that occurred when parents found out that their daughter was pregnant and dropped out from school. A poor young girl in her late teens is living with an old woman in Sirba with whom she has no blood relation.

Young People's Perspectives on Government and Development

With regard to government development interventions in the community, young people are not satisfied despite the recent job creation effort through cooperatives. The regional government's announcement that 10 billion birr is assigned as youth revolving fund to benefit the large number of unemployed youth created huge hope among the young people in Ude Dhenkaka kebele. However, they believe that only a small proportion of these funds reached their community and the implementation is problematic. Many of the respondents complained that only youth being involved in the ruling party and affiliated to the kebele administration, as well as those having relatives among the decision-makers, were able to benefit from this fund in 2017. The 17 years old young man from poor family believes that young people in the community are marginalized politically and economically by the government system, which deprived youth from a chance to contribute to the economic development of the country.

Due to such government system and approach, the young people in the community have a negative interaction with the local administration and even with the administrators at all levels.

The young people mentioned that they are left with no opportunity to establish an independent livelihood, there is very limited access to land, and they have to wander around and sit idle in a community where there is not even a single recreational centre.

A few of the young girls interviewed wanted to give credit to the government for the recent job creation effort, which at least benefited more than 70 young men and women. However, others questioned the significance of these achievements compared to the extent of unemployment in the community, and complained about the recruitment mechanism which they felt was unfair.

The government interventions in agriculture are focused on support through the provision of improved seeds, fertilisers and technical assistance through development agents. Young people are not beneficiaries due to lack of access for farm land. Moreover, some argue that only model farmers are targeted whenever new agricultural development technologies have to be experimented.

Poor internal roads and access to clean drinking water are some of the major infrastructural development gaps highlighted by youth and other members of the community as well.

Adult Perspectives on Young People

The sections above on ideas coming in to the community and intergenerational relations already gave clues about what the perception of adults on young people might be.

There is a tendency among adults to see young people as deviants from the longstanding customs in relation to dressing, hair style, marriage norms, respectful interactions with elders and parents, work habits etc. Politically, the adults say that they tend to see things with slow and wise perspectives, and they accuse youth for their being emotional and demanding radical change overnight. Drug abuse and alcoholic behaviour is condemned by adults, and parents are worried about the emergence and expansion of new drugs like chat and Shisha in the area, mainly in Ude. Some of the respondents believe that youth in the area are becoming disrespectful, and their commitment for work is dropping. However, throughout the interviews, adults have also shown an understanding of the major challenges that young people are facing are, mainly unemployment and poor access to land.

Youth Policies and programmes

Youth Unemployment Data

Only in 2018, the wereda identified 4798 unemployed youth, of whom 1070 were female. Of these, 4,646 (3678 males and 969 females) were approved to be eligible for support through public meetings. However, the wereda official interviewed feared that unemployed young women may have been omitted during registration. This is because the registration for girls was made through the 1-5 groups, zones and village structure since they did not easily come to the kebele office, and their participation in public meetings for verification was also weak. Hence, this may have affected the accuracy of the numbers of registered and approved eligible young women in the wereda. Most of these registered youth are 10th grade completers, a few have completed 12 grade, 97 are university graduates and 50 of them have trainings from TVET.

The kebele didn't come up with data on jobless youth.

Wereda / kebele Youth support Structures

Both the wereda and Kebele support structures are linked and zonal offices are also contributing by approving project proposals and the beneficiaries registered.

The Small and Medium Enterprises office (SME), TVET College, Labour and Social Affairs office, kebele administrations are the government agencies responsible for job creation for youth. The kebele administration and municipality work with the grass root structures like 1-5 groups to identify unemployed youth and bring data to the kebele office. Due to complaints about biased selection,

the administration decided to arrange public meetings for approval of eligibility of the registered youth.

There is a small and medium enterprise (SME) structure in the four urban areas of the wereda including Ude, which assists newly formed cooperatives in developing project proposals and links them with the Wereda SME office. Then the zone office further approves lists of beneficiaries and proposals. In addition to the SME office, the wereda Labour and Social Affairs office is also cooperating by providing IDs for registered and screened unemployed youth, which will help them join a group and form a cooperative. In line with the essence of mainstreaming, if a cooperative is engaged in irrigation, the land administration and irrigation offices will take part in the process to facilitate and assist the group, and other concerned offices are expected to do the same depending on the nature of a group's proposal.

Oromia Saving and Credit Association is also contributing, by providing credit service for cooperatives with the requirement of getting the parents' land certificate as collateral, and a cooperative has to save 10% of the loan money, pay 3% service charge and 10% of interest rate. The OCSA was the only source of finance for loans for youth cooperatives until the emergence of the youth revolving fund in 2017. The YRF provides loans at an interest rate of 8% which is lower than any bank or MFI. However, this fund requires 30% of the loan money to be saved and only the remaining amount is released for the cooperatives.

The integrated support structure provides fund, equipment and machineries like tractors, excavators as well as short term orientation/training for cooperatives.

Youth interventions and beneficiaries– Wereda

The wereda youth policies and programs include both political and developmental goals. With regard to political goals, one official interviewed at wereda office had no clear data about youth membership in various party structures like youth league, federation or association; however, he boldly stated that the local level administration made young people participate extensively. This came in contrast to what the youth in Ude Dhenkaka mentioned; as well as another wereda respondent who gave as example the lack of consultation and joint planning regarding how to create jobs for the youth in the areas. As a result, for instance, the container shops built in Ude are not successful, some of the cooperatives returned the keys, and others are keeping it in their pocket but not functional.

Regarding development policies and programs, one respondent from the wereda administration highlighted as important for young people, the efforts made and the success obtained mainly in expanding schools in each kebele in Ada'a wereda, coupled with the high girl enrolment rate. Parents are convinced to send their daughters to school, which contributed to realize the goals of equal opportunities. However, very poor educational quality is a concern for the administration and it is also being questioned by parents. Some students pass grades without the ability of even writing their name. Some of the issues identified are absence of residential place for teachers which force them to commute long distance every day, their being late to start class, and absenteeism among students, however, these are not the only reasons for drastic failure of quality of education according to the wereda informant. With regard to youth livelihood development, the wereda attempted to create jobs in many Kebeles; data on the coverage and nature of the interventions is briefly presented in the Non-farming Chapter 'cooperatives section'.

The wereda's efforts to address the issue of rural and urban youth unemployment started with some efforts made to link youth groups to the Oromia Saving and Credit Association to realize their projects. As mentioned above, before the government released the youth revolving fund the Oromia Credit and Saving Association was the only financial source for such cooperatives, with the help of the municipality which was giving guarantee instead of collateral. However, the cooperatives failed

to repay their loans and the municipality stopped giving such service. Therefore, the Association now requires parents to bring their land certificate to be retained until debts are repaid.

Government interventions targeting youth economic development became more visible after the release of the youth revolving fund in 2017. The wereda received 13 million birr from the youth revolving fund last year, and 23 million has been promised for 2018. The announcement of this Fund and the release of an allocation of 13 million Birr for the wereda was followed by identification of unemployed youth, registration, providing them with IDs and short-term training and the funding of various farming and non-farming projects. The 2017 allocation was used to form and support 51 cooperatives in the wereda, out of 80 awaiting funding.

In 2018 only 600,000 birr of the loans given was repaid by the early beneficiaries. This amount together with 1.5 million birr remaining is used to assist a few more cooperatives this year, and currently there are 68 cooperatives that are functional so far. Despite the announcement of another allocation of 23 million birr from the youth revolving fund for the wereda for 2018, the budget had not yet been released until the 8th month of the fiscal year, which the wereda official called a '*paradox*' and which undermines the programme's effectiveness and is damaging people's trust in it.

More generally, in the past two years 42 cooperatives have been formed in four urban places and 89 cooperatives in rural parts of the wereda, with support from either OCSA or the YRF, and also some which do not require loans. The urban intervention in these 42 cooperatives embraced 467 men and women, and about 1789 rural youth are involved in the 89 cooperatives. Membership in a cooperative might be limited to 5 or even open up to 50 and above, depending on the nature of the project. Those projects requiring little or no funding like quarries are suitable for larger memberships, otherwise the membership is more limited; youth, especially when they are graduates, are being advised to form groups of members with common professional backgrounds and to align their project proposal with their professional background (such as agriculture, construction etc.).

Wereda officials explained that AGP is a World Bank grant provided for the farmers without the need to repay and farmers sometimes mistake this for the Youth Revolving Fund which is a loan fund. In contrast, the youth revolving fund actually is loan money, and each cooperative should repay its loan by instalment payments. For instance, a woman in Dire Kebele used AGP fund to open mill and she never paid back.

With regard to landlessness, the wereda official said that they are identifying forest land, land occupied illegally and investors who held investment land idle for long, to distribute it to jobless youth. This land is meant for youth to engage in irrigation, though the Oromia Irrigation bureau failed to dig 8 wells as earlier planned. Through this initiative, 500 square meters of land at least is availed to each cooperative member to use for 5 years, which is supposed to be sufficient for her/him to create financial capacity and be self-reliant. Among other kebeles in the wereda, only in Kuftu Kebele 83 hectares of land was taken from an investor who kept the land idle for a long time and this land was distributed for youth. In addition to land, three associations are provided with tractors that cost 3 million birr each.

The wereda program also made land available for some of the cooperatives in other kebeles, and built 15 container shops in Ude Dhenkaka to create working space for youth groups to be supported by loans from the youth revolving fund. The wereda and kebele officials mentioned that, orientation has been given to unemployed youth that are given a chance to engage in different cooperatives. The administration on the other hand is encouraging members of the cooperatives formed to see Oromia Credit and Saving Association as an alternative financial source, because the youth revolving fund is limited besides its age limitation from 18-34.

There are no other youth focused interventions in the wereda or in the community.

Youth interventions and beneficiaries - Kebele

In Ude Denkaka kebele about 15 cooperatives have been established since 2009 EC, each having a member of 5-10 youth depending on the nature of the project they proposed. However, only 11 of them are funded due to shortage of funds and the delay in the second release of the budget from the YRF. The community members and youth interviewed have complaints about the selection process which they believe included youth from better off families at the expense of helpless youth. Young people who participated in the (ruling) party and close to kebele officials, young people having relatives or contacts in the decision-makers at kebele level, and those who were able to attend the youth program launching at the kebele meeting were some of the early beneficiaries in 2017. A typical example of gaps in identifying the right beneficiary or nepotism is a rich woman, hotel owner, who made her children currently attending school to access a loan from the youth revolving fund and used the money to start dairy farming herself. She complained about the exclusive government focus on youth, and that entrepreneurs like her are ignored. In her attempt to justify what she did, she said the children are in school and don't have skills, that is why she is using the money for her own project.

The kebele chairman also admitted that in 2017 the selection was problematic and after deep renewal/*gimgema* in 2018, they involved the public through meetings to approve unemployed youth identified. Those recruited this year are said to be eligible, but the second round of funding is not released to the wereda though it was promised to reach almost twice the level of the first year.

So, this year, lists of unemployed youth are verified and approved at public meetings before being sent to the wereda Labour and Social Affairs office, which gives an ID for each of the registered and approved youth. These IDs are collected by the individuals when they get involved in a cooperative, in order to avoid double membership in different cooperatives. Young people between 18 and 34 years old are eligible to get a loan from the youth revolving fund, if their recruitment is approved by the public. However, there are still a number of unreached jobless youth in Ude Dhenkaka community.

The kebele has no plan to address the issue of landlessness and did not provide any land for youth for farming, non-farming business or house building. According to the kebele chairman, building of youth centre or recreational centre is not planned at all, and the wereda official interviewed said, they are focusing on the burning issue that is creating jobs, and the wereda takes recreation as secondary. Expanding drug abuse and excessive youth of alcoholism however is partly caused by the absence of alternative healthy space for leisure coupled with hopelessness stemmed from lack of access to land and economic opportunities.

Independently Economically Successful and struggling youth

This report is talking about how establishing independent household is challenging for youth in the community, mainly due to lack of access to land, deteriorating commitment and success in education, as well as lack of other economic opportunities. Therefore, without the support from families and government interventions, it seems very difficult for young men and women to become independently successful. Of course there are some diaspora returnees who are able to start some businesses still with the help of parents who offer land for construction of houses and shops.

There are two cases of an independently successful young man and woman as presented below:

The 23 years old young woman had to sit idle after she completed 10th grade since her family couldn't afford to send her to private college. She never married though 9 of her siblings are all married. She decided to open a shop while selling soft drinks and alcohol side by side. Due to limited start-up capital her profit is somehow limited, but she was able to buy land with 50,000 birr on the main road side where she built a house at the cost of 70,000 birr. She rented the new house with 250 birr and will do so until she is able to get better capital to

expand her business. This entrepreneurial young girl has no connection with kebele officials and she has no participation in any kind of kebele activities.

Even though not entirely independently, the 28 years old young man was able to build a house while living with his parents; he is engaged in farming with a small plot of land given by his parents in addition to a hectare of land he rented in. In addition, he said he values and takes up any kind of job opportunity and he works even as daily labourer whenever he is free. There is no moment he wastes and most of the time he spends his time working. However, the major challenge of youth in the area is said to be unemployment coupled with neglecting some of the opportunities as low status jobs.

In most cases, unemployed youth from poor families are the ones that are suffering from lack of economic opportunities. Some of them also have to take care of their sick and elderly parents on top of the economic pressure. The newly married young couples are another group of people going through difficult experiences of livelihoods to support their new family, hence separation for migration and even divorce.

The 32 years old landless man is an example of those struggling youth. He is living with his mother who is chronically ill requiring his close care and follow-up. He said that, due to failure to pay land tax, his mother's land was taken away long ago, which leaves him with no land to share or inherit. Renting in land is totally unaffordable for him since he is struggling to survive and assist his sick mother by working as a farm labourer and also by engaging in other different daily labour activities. All the house chores are on him, he fetches water, cooks, cleans the house and does everything on top of the burden of taking care of his mother and taking her for medication. In the recent past he tried to migrate to Addis Ababa, Sendafa and Aleltu areas which didn't contribute much to improve his condition. However, he would still want to try other routes and destinations locally, if his mother was not alone and sick. He blames kebele officials for helping the rich and better off people and ignoring people suffering like him.

Perceptions of the government interventions

Unemployment is among the burning issues of the community followed by land scarcity, drinking water and internal roads. Some adults argue that parents are gradually becoming reluctant to provide support and encourage their children to succeed in their education, and they don't give much attention when they drop out and indulge into excessive alcohol and drug abuse, which creates more unemployment and an unproductive mass of young men. However, youth on the other hand expressed their hopelessness in education when they see university graduates sitting idle with them, and that both educated and illiterates are doing manual labour like quarrying. Poor access to land was also mentioned to be a cause for youth unemployment in the community as well as in the wereda.

Factories, flower farms, poultry farms, different non-farm businesses are becoming alternative for youth; some get employment in these agencies, others are able to create small businesses with the help of parents, many young women migrate abroad, a few young men also migrate to bigger towns like Addis Ababa, Hawassa, Dukem, Bishoftu and Mojo in search of jobs. However, still unemployment is a huge issue and there are many young men and women sitting idle in the community. For instance, one of the mid-wealth female farmers interviewed said that, in her compound there are 6 jobless young men who completed 10th grade, three of them are her sons, and the rest are her nephews. She feels worried when they gather and talk mainly about politics, Facebook and also about the US-based activist named Jawar Mohamed.

Most of the adults and youth interviewed agreed that the government interventions to address the issue of unemployment are limited and some say that the effort just started recently in 2017 after the problem accumulated for years and reached a very pressing and high peak. When the youth revolving fund has been announced in regional media in 2017, people have been looking at it as a

'painkiller' to calm down the political unrest and opposition that were putting enormous pressure on the government. Except a few girls who appreciated the youth revolving fund for having reduced the unemployment rate since last year, most adults and young people believe that the support is insignificant. Many young people said that only their families are helping them and they have never been assisted by government interventions.

The rich farmer interviewed has doubt that the funding is used appropriately and according to the government directions. Another rich community member engaged in non-farming activity also said that the follow up and support to enable the cooperatives is limited which is affecting their success rate. In addition to that, the delay in releasing the 23 million birr funding for 2018 from the youth revolving fund till the 8th month of the fiscal year is also giving support to the initial rumours and suspicion on the program.

Government in the community is also blamed for focusing on rich model farmers rather than landless and unemployed youth. The youth interviewed and even one of the rich farmers agreed on this. Young people in the area feel that they are marginalized from development programs. Many of them also agreed that the kebele and wereda administration is not doing enough to address the concerns of youth mainly unemployment and landlessness. As said above, the youth revolving fund is appreciated by a few, as an initiative to create jobs for a small group of youth; however young people interviewed argue that due to nepotism, only relatives of wereda and kebele administrators have got prior chance to benefit from this fund.

- *The 30 years old man from rich family said, within the last few years the relationship between the government and youth improved a bit. Three years ago if you asked some questions the government people would label you as anti-peace and terrorist group. This problem created a big gap although since recently, they are trying to answer the question of young people step by step and this opportunity is bridging that gap gradually.*
- *A young girl in her mid-20s from a mid-wealth farmer family stated that, the municipality and kebele administration are not doing enough to support young people. Moreover, she accuses them of misusing government and NGO supports coming to the community.*

Some adult respondents on the other hand complained about the fact that the government is overlooking poor adults and entrepreneurs by focusing only on the youth. Biased selection of youth beneficiaries was also mentioned by parents; as said earlier, there was an attempt to involve them and the public at large for a fairer recruitment in 2018.

One of the urban resident female respondents emphasised the trends of young people's indulgence in drugs, alcohol, chat, and early sexual activity which is causing early age pregnancy out of wedlock, dropout of school etc. and was of the opinion that the government should design a program to tackle these problems.

In general, there are a few community members appreciating the recent effort to create jobs for youth; others say it is not inclusive of all youth and poor adults, and yet others complain about repeated nepotism in the recruitment.

Young people's stories

Young people from poor families

Young women

Case one - The respondent is 18. She was abandoned by her mother and grew up with distant relatives in Kelala Kebele since her mother was pregnant out of wedlock, in order to hide her and avoid the shame and disgrace for the family. However, recently she came to Sirba 5 months ago where she could stay with a business woman having no blood relation. Unfortunately, history repeated itself and she got pregnant from a young man working in a flower farm who deceived her

by promising that he would marry her. When he realizes that she was pregnant, he denied his relation with her. She took the case to the kebele administration, which advised her to proceed to wereda court. Two months after her delivery she took the case to court and got a decision that he should give her 400 birr monthly to raise the baby.

However, she is depressed due to her difficult situation and because of her being kept in isolation by relatives who could have at least offered emotional support. She said she has no idea what to do next and where her life might be heading. Being a housemaid is an option that she is considering to raise her baby.

Case 2 - She is 21, she is the first child for the family, but her parents divorced after a while putting the burden of child upbringing on her mother who started buying *rake* from Bishoftu town to sell in the village. She dropped out of school when she was seriously sick and never returned back. She started working as domestic servant for a while; then she began to work in the nearby flower farm which she found tiresome with very little payment. She again decided to leave this job and got married. From this marriage she got one child and divorced rapidly, though the reason is not mentioned. Now she is working in a private poultry farm by staying with the chicken for 24 hours. Though the payment is relatively better, she is annoyed by the shouting and disturbance of the mass of chicken at nights any moment they hear sounds of dogs, cats or any wild animal. Currently, she is saving money from her salary aiming to migrate to one of the Arab countries.

Case 3 - She is 25, married and she got her second baby recently. She dropped out of school at 5th grade when she found out that she was pregnant from her boyfriend. Initially she was confused and decided to hide it for a while, but her friend advised her to tell at least to her mom and start ANC. Accordingly she started follow up and her boyfriend's parents convinced him to live with her. They gave them land where they have built a house and their livelihood was supported by the income her husband got from driving a horse cart, and renting-in land where they grow garlic. However, recently her husband decided to sell the horse with the cart and used the money to get a driver's license through which he got a driving job at Dukem town.

He is sending money and visits her monthly or so, but they are planning to live in any of the three towns he drives through (Mojo, Dukem or Bishoftu), where she hopes to start some small business rather than just depending only on her husband's salary. The respondent has good personal relations with different older members of her family. Specifically she has good relation with her father, her grandparents and her husband's parents. Sometimes she visits all her relatives when convenient.

Young men

Case 1 - He is 23, he categorized himself as poor because he has no land and he is working in the quarry cooperative which he says requires hard labour exposing him to health risks, and his wife produces and sells *Tella* at home to support the family and raise the two kids they have. He dropped out of school at 6th grade when he got married, and never had a chance to re-join. Whenever the quarry activity is dormant, he also works as a farm labourer for farmers in the area mainly during harvesting and threshing. When he is idle, he helps his wife in selling *Tella* at home, and sometimes relaxes with his friends while drinking *Tella* and *areqe* and listening to music. He doesn't follow his religion strictly, and he is not interested in politics and arts.

He finds life being very difficult in his situation; being landlessness, earning little income from very hard labour and taking responsibility of upbringing children is tough for him. He is worried about what alternative jobs he might get to enable him to provide for his family needs and raise the children properly. He has a glimmer of hope to engage in some sort of small scale business in the future. He believes that the government support is inadequate, and youth are suffering from lack of opportunities and poor access to land.

Case 2 - He is 19; has completed 10th grade and was unable to pursue to private college due to funding, also he said he is less interested in education. He got married two years ago and they have a baby. However, due to their pressing economic condition, the newly married couple decided that she better migrate to Beirut after she gave birth. He is living with his parents by assisting them in their farming and other activities though he sometimes works in flower farms and also as daily labourer. He is not happy about any of the jobs he is taking temporarily and works only when he is seriously in need of money. His wife also sends money for him sometimes but he feels bad as he is dependent on his family and his wife. The government promised to provide credit to jobless young people, but he believes that it was false promise and only a few having relatives in the administration benefited from the program. He is ready to migrate anywhere if he learns about a better opportunity to change his life. If he has to leave the community, he considers Addis Ababa as one of his 'number one' destinations. Unemployment, poverty, landlessness etc are some of the challenges including lesser interest for education in the community, which he said which requires government attention.

Case 3 - He is 26, he has training in hotel management 12+1 but he stopped working as hotel manager after a while because he wished to have his own business. In order to realize his goal, he got short term skill training in electronics maintenance though he couldn't get a chance to start establishing a maintenance centre yet. He married 6 years ago when he was 20 and has got two kids who are currently growing with his parents in laws after he sent his wife to Beirut. He has small land which he says is inadequate to feed the family and forced him to decide separating with his wife. She sends money for him and for parents on both sides (her and his parents).

He tried to look for opportunities in Hawassa and Addis Ababa for a few years with his friends, and finally decided to return back since the chances there are not life-changing. Currently, he is working as a broker, daily labourer, and sometimes maintaining mobile phones for farmers.

He is interested a lot in filming and casting so that he is trying to learn the skills by himself hoping that he might join the sector in the future. He likes music, dancing, football and reads books when he is at home. Sometimes he relaxes with his friends while having one or two beers in bars, and he also like drinking beer at home. He is orthodox Christian, but goes to church rarely and politically he believes that he is neutral. He mentioned that many people love him in the community, the weather is good, there is rapid urbanization in the area and he thinks worth staying, otherwise if he has to leave the area, his destination will be Bishoftu town.

Young people from mid wealth families

Young women

Case 1 - She is 18 years old, and living with a small family of 4, including her younger sister who is only 7 and her father. Their main livelihood depends on farming using their 1.5 hectares of land by producing teff, wheat and chickpea. In addition her mother is living abroad and sends money to the family. They are mid-wealth family in comparison. Even though they have hired a farm worker, she helps in weeding as well as other house chores. She also said that she regularly assists her grandmother by taking care of her. Regarding her education, once she was sick and had to drop out of school for a year, but now she is attending grade 8. She has enough time to study because her mother brought a relative to live with them who is taking care of most of the house chores. With the remittance she sent, her father built the house which they are currently living in.

Regarding her future plans, she is thinking about either being business woman from her experience gained while assisting her three aunts and her father in the past, or becoming a police officer since she likes the job from what she watches on TV. She believes that early sexual activity and marriage halts one's dream so she prefers to abstain until she establishes an independent livelihood. Her friend married too early and her experiences were bad due to that. She also knows other teen age

girls who had to drop out of school due to premarital sex and pregnancy. Two of her friends married early, others migrated to Arab countries by dropping out of school.

Case 2 - She is 24, she is living with her mother and siblings, and her father died last year due to cancer. His chronic illness for three years and finally his death affected the household's wellbeing drastically. His relatives have been supporting the family in the past three years while he was in bed.

Five years ago she completed 10+2 college study in cooking skills that helped her to be hired as a cook at a hotel in the nearby town; however, the salary was very low to continue. She took flower farm employment in Sirba as an alternative though her father encouraged her to leave it to start poultry in their compound. Disease became a challenge to her poultry farming, but she found it profitable to continue in the future.

She is the first child that makes her responsible to take care of her two younger siblings and her widowed mother, which is competing with her poultry farm that also requires attention. She never married and her younger sister is also attending private college studies at a college called Rift Valley University at Bishoftu. She has very good interaction with her family and relatives. She respects the unreserved support that her relatives provided to her family and for her sick father for years.

In 2017, she joined a cooperative having 3 female and 2 male members. They have got a container shop and start-up loan to start a small restaurant on the main road side where they sell bottled water and soft drinks too. The members are all from one neighbourhood which created better harmony, and they share responsibilities like cooking for women and purchase of inputs from towns for men members of the cooperative. She said that their group is successful and even started paying back their debts by monthly instalments.

Case 3 - She is 30, divorced and she has a 15 years old son attending grade 9. She started school herself when she was 12 when her father took her to Addis Ababa where he lives after her parents' divorce. However, she didn't push further due to her deep interest in business from the observation of her mother's trading experience in her childhood. So that she dropped out of school at 6th grade and she returned back to Bishoftu town where her mother started to live. She believes that it is her destiny decided by God to stop her education early.

The respondent migrated more than one time. First she went to Beirut. She returned after two years. The problem she faced was after she returned to Ethiopia. Due to lack of opportunity and the living conditions back home, she believed that it is difficult for returnee girls to survive, so she tried to migrate to the gulf through Sudan illegally by crossing at Metema the border Ethiopian town. The Sudanese sent her back to the border several times, but she managed to get in to the inner city after a month and a half. She had to stay there for two years as house maid, and another two years by selling tea on the streets of Sudan where police have been chasing her, though her Arabic language skills from Beirut helped her to communicate easily in Sudan.

Her family told her that the government started a program to help youth to create jobs by giving loan recently, so that she decided to come back to get that opportunity since her stay out there in Sudan was not pleasant for her. Because she suffered a lot by police officers that were asking her bribe every day to allow her to sell tea on the streets. Sometimes they even confiscated her utensils.

Upon her return, she joined a cooperative, obtained container shop but couldn't get a loan after waiting 6 months. The municipality said, they didn't get the second round of fund from the wereda, so that the group started selling spices in the shop by contributing money from the group members themselves.

Young men

Case 1 - He is 20 from mid wealth farmer family, currently he is attending 10th grade while living with his parents who are committed to help and encourage him to pursue his education further. However, due to disagreement and conflict with them, he dropped out of school when he was

attending grade 8, and left to Bishoftu town where he worked on different income earning activities for survival. After a year, he was able to settle the conflict with his parent and returned back to join school. He has special girlfriend in school, never married, and also has other friends with whom he relaxes when he get free time. He likes sport mainly football, and listening to music and watching TV is some of his leisure time activities.

He volunteers to an NGO called RATSON to assist their various activities related to children's support. He also fetches water, goes for shopping and assists his parents in many other ways. He mentioned that he is active in politics, but he didn't mention how, and his political point of view.

Case 2 - He is 17, he is attending school in grade 9 at Ude secondary school and he never dropped out. He helps his parents in farming activities like harvesting and threshing as well as in other house chores. He has huge involvement in voluntary activities for RATSON, where he works as community mobiliser, community radio journalist and other activities as needed by the organization. He also got orientation on media and communication; he is allowed access to the organisation's TV room where they can entertain by watching movies. He likes watching TV mainly Kana TV, and also he loves sports. Regarding religion, he said he moderately religious, and he doesn't like politics at all.

Rich Young people or from better off families

Young women

Case 1 - She is 19; she married her boyfriend in school when they both completed 10th grade. She said that many young men asked her for marriage, but she preferred her current husband. His family also accepted her very well. Now he has a Bajaj, she got her small shop on the main road side and also she is a member of a cooperative known as 'Ermias and his Friends' PLC working on trading of animal feed. This cooperative obtained 300,000 birr from the youth revolving fund and is currently running the business in a rented room which requires 1000 birr monthly payment. They asked the municipality for space, but they didn't get one yet.

Her husband earns 200 birr a day from his Bajaj transport service, and she is also working privately and in group to earn income. During market days she earns 100 birr only by charging phones. They are saving money in a bank in order to invest in better business in future.

Case 2 - The respondent is 23, she is the youngest child in the family, and now the only single child still living with the family. She completed grade 10 but she didn't get support from her parents or siblings living elsewhere to join private college. She decided to open a small shop where she sells soft drink and alcohol at the backyard. Her parents allowed her the space with little start-up capital.

She succeeded and was able to buy land with 50,000 birr and spent 70,000 birr to build a house on the main road hoping that she would expand her business there. Until then, she rents it out for 250 birr per month.

She has no interaction with the kebele officials and never heard about youth revolving fund when the information was disseminated to other young people in the area.

Young men

Case 1 - He is 30, from better of family who were able to build a house and assist him engage in business. He dropped out of school in grade 8 since his parents encouraged him to leave it, get married and engage in business. There was no economic cause for him to drop out but he preferred investing his time and energy in business. He got married 6 years ago and he has two children. The moment he got married his father built a house for him and assisted him to open a small shop. Gradually his father opened a hotel having butchery with it and gave him to run it. His business is progressing and becoming successful though he slightly regrets discontinuing his education. He mentioned that he did not get any credit or government support to assist his effort in the businesses.

Regarding entertainment, sometimes he enjoys beer with his friends in Bishoftu town, he watches movies at home and listens to music, and however, he is busy with the business mainly during market days. He is not interested in any kind of sport; he only goes to Orthodox Church during holidays, politically he didn't mention his level of participation but he expressed his discontent on the current government system in the country (interview done before the new PM took office).

He wishes to stay in the community because the town is growing faster which will bring more opportunities.

Case 2-He is 18 years old. He is a grade 10 student and lives with his parents who depend on farming and non-farming activities for their living. His family has a house in Bishoftu, has enough land to farm but also renting other people's land to produce more. He has good support from his parents to pursue his education; in fact his father is very strict about it and quite opposed to dropping out of school. He has a brother studying in a university and his wish is to follow his footsteps. His parents adequately provide for his clothes, textbooks, food and other expenses including pocket money for tea and coffee as well as transportation. Because of the priority given to education his parents have let him fully free to concentrate on his education. During his free time he may listen to music and play football with friends. He likes sporting specially football. Like his parents, he is follower of the Ethiopian Orthodox Christianity and occasionally goes to church when not busy.

He is happy but does not want to live here forever; he wants to experience living in different places, including living abroad. He wants to do this not because he has problem with the community but it is rather his interest. He has very strong and lovely relationship with his parents and older siblings, a relationship which he highly values. He stated that currently the relationship between the young and the old generation is not like what it used to be as their parents were telling them. He also enjoys good relationship with their neighbours and the community in general. He respects all his elders as his parents but mentioned this has been on the decrease at the level of the community. Though very young, thinking of marriage he said that finding a wife might be easy but the problem is how to lead life after that.