

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

COMMUNITY SITUATION 2010

YETMEN, AMHARA REGION

STAGE 1 FINAL REPORT EVIDENCE BASE 1 – VOLUME 6



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

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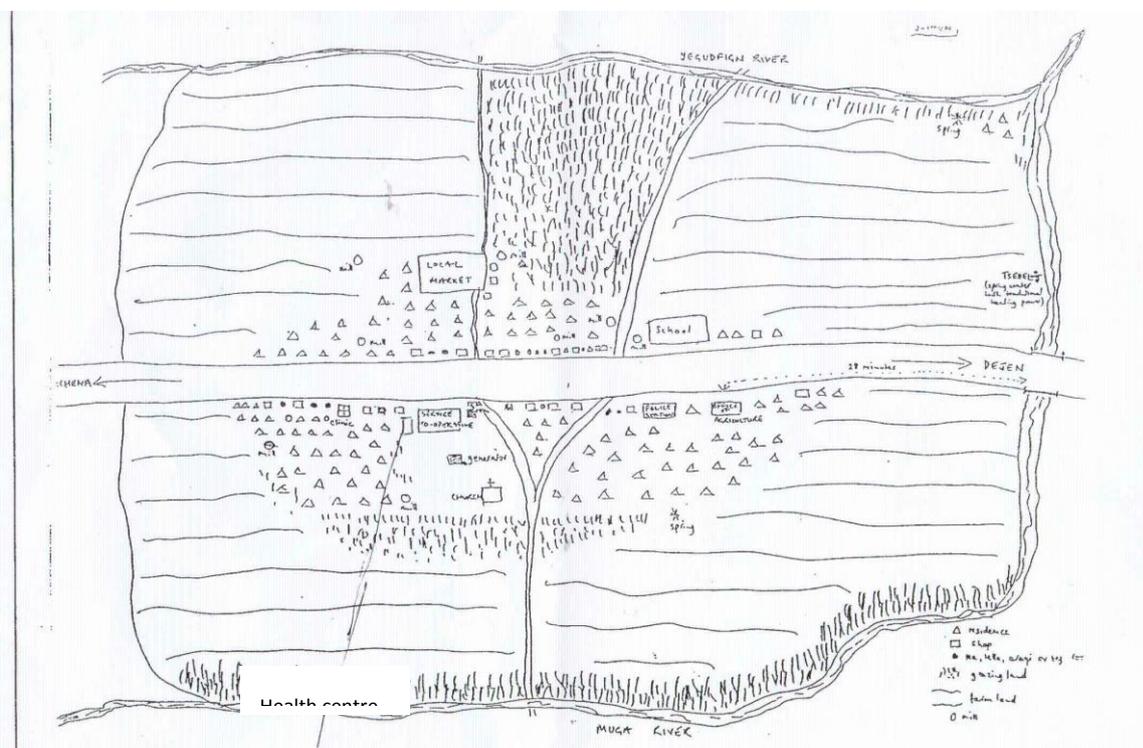
Community as a whole in 2010

Community parts

Rural Yetmen is now one of three gots in Felege Selam Kebele, which is one of 27 kebeles found in Enemay wereda. Urban Yetmen has its own kebele administration. The town was founded in the late 1960s when an elementary school was built with Swedish funding. All the rural residents are Amhara and Orthodox Christians; the town has some immigrants from other areas. Yetmen is about 17 km from the wereda capital of Bichena and there is easy transport access: buses (round trip 10 birr) and ISUZU pickups are used to transport people and goods. There is an all-weather road connecting Yetmen to Debre Markos and Dejen then Addis Ababa. Since 2003 the only noticeable change has been the building of the Health Centre.

There was villagisation during the Derg period. Map 1 shows that the houses are clustered around the town encircled by the farm land and grazing land.

Map 1: Yetmen – rural and urban



There are two rivers surrounding the kebele: the Muga is perennial while the Yegudfin exists only in the wet season. The availability of land in Yetmen is small compared with other kebeles in the wereda; there are many landless couples though this is common to the rural kebeles of the wereda. Yetmen is one of the surplus-producing kebeles specialising in tef much of which is exported to Addis Ababa but also growing wheat, chickpeas, vetch and maize, keeping livestock and increasingly growing vegetables using irrigation. It has flat fertile farm land, abundant ground water, all year river water and good grazing land. People are engaged in grain trading as an important means of income. There are better employment opportunities during harvesting and weeding periods than elsewhere,

though unlike in other kebeles many people in Yetmen are not willing to engage in daily labour and non-farm activities considering them low status. The involvement of many people in the area in irrigation has boosted incomes and improved nutrition as people have access to a variety of vegetables. Yetmen has done worse than other kebeles in terms of access to micro-credit – only ACSI is available.

Urban Yetmen has electricity and piped water. There is a borehole located in rural Yetmen. A few residents of rural Yetmen were able to take an electricity line from the urban part and use the piped water. People in rural Yetmen use their own hand-dug wells and communal water points. Yetmen has a new Telecommunications building and there is good use of the mobile network because there are many merchants living there, and some farmers bought a mobile too. Urban Yetmen has many female-headed households and 'prostitutes' (these are women living by selling tea, local alcoholic drinks and food and while they may have multiple sex partners they do not work as commercial sex worker). The kebele has better access to health services although there are problems in making good achievements via the health extension programme. There is a health centre near the town (though located on rural land) and rural Yetmen kebele used to have a clinic at Zebch, which is now a health post (with a nurse). There is a private clinic in the town, which has been there for a long time. There is an elementary school (Grades 1-8) and another in another gott (Zebch) and a secondary school is to be built.

Wereda officials reported security problems sporadically caused by Shifta (highway robbers who stops vehicles at gun point), as well as thieves who steal harvested field crops at night. Yetmen has been selected as a model to implement community policing. The civil service package/BPR and the package for democratic participation of the people were reported to have promising potential for achieving good governance

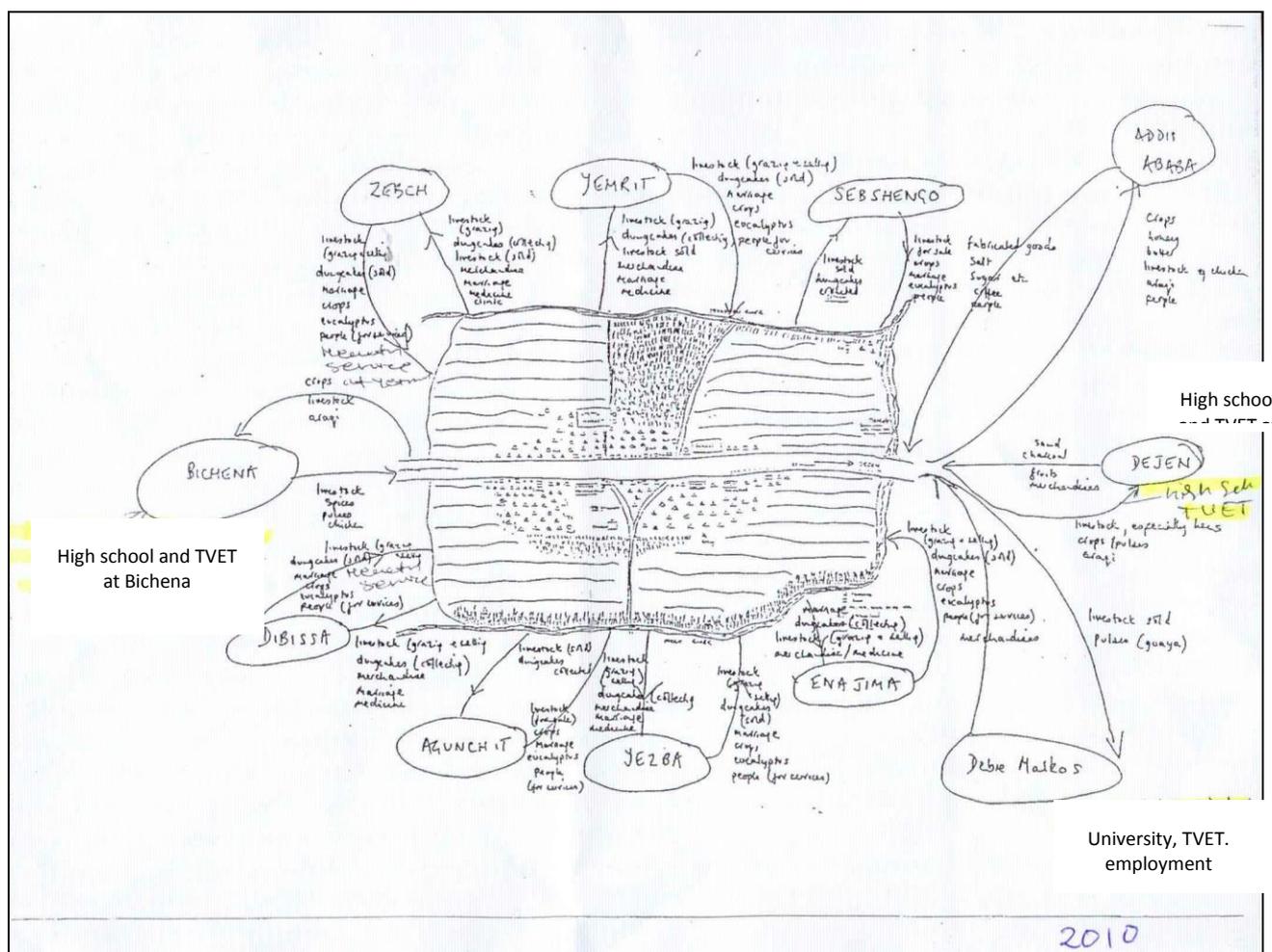
Wereda officials said that the main potentials for future livelihood development were more production through irrigation, trade (related to grain/vegetables), cattle fattening and dairy development. Major employment opportunities come from increased demand for labour from farmers, increased demand for transporting grain, the construction of the high school, and the organisation of youths into co-operatives for self-employment/micro-enterprise projects. There is good education provision including a new TVET for the wereda – although the TVET faces many start-up problems. Development challenges in the wereda are lack of credit service, presence of pests and frosts in some cases, lack of rain in some places. There are places in the wereda which lack bridges. There are floods in highland areas due to the absence of bridges.

Community in context

Wereda officials reported that Enemay is wealthier than surrounding weredas due to its black fertile soil. Most kebeles are on road sides with better access to transportation and markets and are showing a tendency to grow as urban. There is also better potential for irrigation than in other weredas. NGOs are not so involved in the wereda since they focus on weredas which are worse in terms of food insecurity and infrastructure. HIV prevalence is higher than in other weredas since there are more semi-urban areas and urban growth.

Residents of Yetmen have easy access to the wereda town of Bichena and to Dejen, so long as they can afford the transport costs. The allweather roads also lead to Bahadar, Debre Markos and Addis Ababa. As Map 2 shows there are networks of marriage and economic relationships with people in nearby kebeles.

Map 2: Yetmen rural and urban linkages



Key sub-systems: households in 2010

Household structures

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

Among the Amhara of Yetmen ideal-type household development cycle begins with the establishment of a new household by a young couple (new household), has a period where the first children are born and dependent (young nuclear family), moves into a period where children provide household labour (mature nuclear family), followed by period when the older children set up their own households with more or less assistance from the parents (emptying nest), ending with a period of dependency by the old parents and the handing over of the remainder of the property (dependent old household). Children usually start contributing to the household domestic and productive economies from about the age of six. As they grow up they start to work more and more for themselves until they leave the household, usually for marriage and to set up their own

households.

Figure 1: Ideal-type household cycle – Amhara

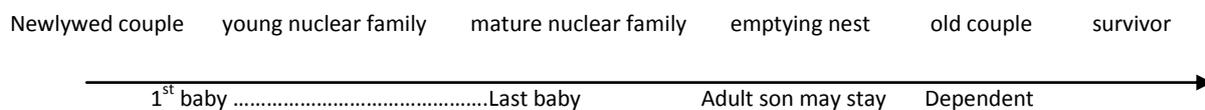


Table 1 shows that as time passes households change and that some ‘fall off’ the ideal trajectory for shorter or longer periods with particular consequences for their livelihood options and wealth statuses. In 2004 a WeDE survey suggested that around 36% of households were off the ideal track in some way or other. 23% of households are female-headed.

Table 1: Yetmen Household Types 2004

	% of households	No of households in sample
Young couple (under 30) no kids	2.4%	6
Young nuclear family (oldest child under 13)	19.6%	49
Mature nuclear family (oldest child 13 or more)	28.0%	70
Nuclear family with old parent	2.8%	7
Emptying nest	2.8%	7
Mature/old couples living alone or with non-children	3.6%	9
Couple heading three generational household	4.4%	11
Old couple alone or with others	2.4%	6
Widows/divorced/separate women with (grand) children and maybe others	18.8%	47
Widowers/divorced/separated men with (grand) children and maybe others	2.0%	5
Stepfamily	4.8%	12
Siblings (+)	3.6%	9
Female alone	2.4%	6
Male alone	2.4%	6
Total	100.0%	250

Source: RANS 2004

Examples of households

A rich household

The head of household, AD is in his early fifties and is one of the elite and among the richest. He was a representative of the opposition party during the 2005 elections. A number of his older children have left home and he now lives with his wife and four children who are under 16. The youngest is a daughter of 5 months. His wife MU said she used contraceptives for three years but then wanted a baby so stopped. Though all her other daughters were circumcised when 7 days old the youngest one was not. She said *‘Female circumcision was important in the past but now the government is telling us to avoid it because it is harmful so we are avoiding it’*.

One of their sons who was 15 and in Grade 7 died four years ago; health workers told AD he died of intestinal TB. When some people suggested it could be AIDS he asked the hospital to test his son and he did not have AIDS. Another of their sons failed Grade 10 a few years ago. As he was unable to undertake TVET (there was no TVET provision in the area at the time) and could not find a job, he

permanently migrated to Somali Region.

His son's departure harmed the family putting them in consistent worries and fears about his safety, because they used to hear the region is dangerous for Christians due to the presence of Shiftas. He insisted that he freed his son from any active involvement in agricultural activities so to enable him fully attend his education, but this harmed him finally because when he failed to get any job, he couldn't tolerate/manage farming due to lack of experience. He regretted that he couldn't either provide him money to start some own business there around. He said he never sent anything to them, and rather he suspects his son was not in a position to support even himself.

AD farms his own land and also sharecrops and leases some from others though this is becoming harder as the price of land has risen. He did not take a land certificate as he failed to provide the photos. He said that the government have already taken most of his land on the ground he was a Derg 'bureaucrat' and suspects that the registration is designed to increase taxes. He buys fertilisers from the market and usually gets improved seeds from the market or other farmers' homes. The DAs gave him some improved seeds but there was not much benefit due to too much rain; he wasted his money and fertiliser. In 2007, due to the high prices, he began selling much of the tef and chickpeas he produced. He has not started irrigation as he does not own irrigable land and the lease price is more than 1300 birr compared with 700 birr for non-irrigable land.

He used to be involved in the dairy co-operative but has stopped selling milk because there is a shortage of animal feed and the price through the co-operative became unattractive. He said that the cooperative couldn't get land in Bichena town for the construction of milk distributing shops, and suggested they have to distribute their milk in the towns around in order to get good profit. He says the veterinary services at the government clinic are very good, especially since the current one was assigned. Recently he produced a mule from his mare and he plans to produce more as they can be sold for up to 5000 birr. His wife, MU, is engaged in poultry and bees and sells eggs and honey in the market.

AD has hypertension and has had costly private treatment. The Government clinic has no medicine and you have to buy it from the private clinic. He gets treatment from Bichena or Dejen towns. MU's eye was injured during a quarrel between the kids but treatment from the Government health centre (16 birr) and the private clinic (55 birr) had no effect. She said the health centre has no medicine. Health Extension Workers came and gave them information on improved ovens, latrines, antenatal care and vaccination. Vaccination helped her to have a healthy child. 'The others she has not practised them'. Her husband said the health education was good but he could not apply it due to lack of labour. They did take malaria bednets and they are protecting them from mosquitoes and other insects. There has been some change in their diet. They now eat vegetables like carrot, beetroot, cabbage and cauli and have started to use foreign chickpeas (introduced by the agricultural extension workers) and factory-made oil. 'Use of vegetables for food keeps health and prevents disease. Eating only one kind of food does not keep people healthy.'

MU has become busier as she goes to the farm to take lunch to her husband; previously her children were doing this but now the daughters are at school. Her daughters are doing harder domestic work as they are older. 'One of her daughter does not want to work when she is ordered to work a lot of tasks. The girls became busy and do not have time to study. Whenever they are so busy they employ someone else to work for them.' AD believes it is very important for his children to go to school but he thinks only a few of the school's students can pass to high school and he heard that only few of those who completed were able to get a job. MU said

She got the service first 16 years ago when she send her first son to the school. The school is near which is good. In the past she did not know the importance of education now she knows the importance. When she sends her son to school it was because she saw others sending their children to school now she knows the benefit. Now the school

has a good fence. The teachers are better now whenever there is problem they discuss with parents. Parents are told to advise their children.

Four years ago they were able to extend electricity to their house but after 2 years they stopped because the light has become so dim. They make telephone calls using the Tele centre and other people's mobiles. They have a hand dug well and there have been no changes in the house or house assets in the last six years. One change is that they are using more soap to wash their bodies, clothes, dishes and cooking utensils. This is because the children have been taught hygiene at school and people in urban Yetmen use a lot of soap. They have started using eucalyptus wood for fuel and for the last two years have been also buying coal in the market. The use of coal prevents eye problems caused by smoke.

The household regularly co-operates with other households in terms of mutual labour for harvesting, sharing animals for threshing. They provide and receive assistance from close relatives when necessary. AD is a member of a mehaber, 2 iddirs and a Desh. When their son died members of the iddir and Desh helped them during the mourning. He said:

Iddir is good in terms of providing assistance in money or food in time of both death and wedding ceremonies, but Desh is the most important because in addition to dealing with death mourns/funerals through labour, food, and grain contribution, it can prevent members from doing wrong to force them to stop any bad behaviours they exhibit by imposing isolation that would be strictly applied not only by same Desh members but also by the other neighbouring Deshs.

AD pays 12 birr a year church fee and his wife attends at weekends and saints' days.

AD said the DA used to teach them about the benefits of terracing and tree planting and he was involved in community work in gully treatment activities. They pay 10 birr for militia to watch the field crops at night until all was harvested. They also harvest the crops of the militia in return. AD has been assigned in one of the Got development teams; otherwise he has no involvement with the kebele or wereda. He appreciated the end of compulsory labour and meeting attendance though he said that the introduction of good governance had encouraged some individuals to break the law since all thieves caught are released. 'Anyone who has an official relative in the wereda or above could be freed when found committing crime/violating the law.' He said he didn't feel the kebele security was ensured after government disarmed the kebele militia. He noted that the police and militia couldn't reach to resolve/prevent violent inter personal conflicts. Land tax has been increasing double for the last two or three years; used to pay 5 birr for Red Cross, 2 birr for ADA, 5 for sport, 13 for community security post guard, and 12 birr church fee.

He believed the government has given more rights in relation to women and argued for example that his wife would be more favoured by the law if they entered in to dispute over property and take the case to the court.

The household gets information about development from the radio, government meetings, officials and experts, and his son when he goes to urban Yetmen and other places.

An average wealth household

KH is in his mid-forties, married to ZY, and has 6 children, four of them daughters. They had arranged a marriage for his oldest daughter when she was a child 'on condition that the small girl and the boy remain with their respective parents until they matured to form their own home.' She married this year; before she left she was involved in animal keeping, threshing, field preparation and housework.

He said his wealth has not improved since 2004 due to a critical shortage of farm labour as he has no grown-up male children. In 2006 he started employing daily labourers to harvest his crops which cost him up to 150 birr for 1 timad of field crops. This year the cost had risen to 200 birr. Four or five

years ago he used to harvest crops through *Debo* (labour co-operation)

but nowadays, all farmers have become busy with own farm activities at the same time so that they could not help one another; they had to use daily labour in order to avoid crop damage by the rain. He used Wenfel (reciprocal labour) for threshing and daily labour for harvesting crops.

He has been receiving good education from the DAs regarding the advantages of government development plans but did not apply them according to their advice.

He insisted that model farmers were not involved in teaching their experiences to the community, but at meetings the DAs or officials used to mention them as exemplary of development. He argued the community would not accept them, even if they try to teach, because some of the models were selected by reporting exaggerated cash/giving false information about what they have.

He regularly uses fertilisers and has been using improved tef seeds obtained from other farmers.

He insisted that its productivity is lower than the local, and the only advantage it gives is the higher price it brings due to its clear white colour.

He used to sell grain to the Service Co-operative and sometimes bought fertiliser on credit. He has been receiving dividend payments. After credit was stopped he bought fertiliser from traders because there was no price difference and they were nearer to his home.

He said that the removal of fertilizer credit was harmful especially to poor people, because they have to borrow money from lenders with high interests and others like him were forced to use very small amount of fertilizer as much as they could afford to buy.

He planted maize in his backyard with compost. He didn't use it for field crops as he heard those who used it complaining it caused much weed growth. Agricultural problems he has recently faced include the eating of his chickpeas by worms and frost-damage to his tef crop. His wife is involved in weeding and carrying harvested crops from farm to home; since her children are going to school she has to do much more work. He used to fatten and sell cattle but stopped due to lack of animal feed.

His land has been measured and registered with pictures of husband and wife; he believes the purpose is so that the government could impose and collect as much tax as possible. He couldn't use irrigation due to lack of irrigable land and capital to buy a pump.

He used to have electric light taken from one of his neighbours but 'the town people and the electric power workers cut it off after they all used it about 2 years only.'

With regard to health prevention ZY said

Health extension workers give teachings and the household got information on latrine construction, and malaria. The household members also got medicine to prevent them from trachoma. The household did not dig latrine but they have hanged the bed net but there is no benefit that the household get. With regard to trachoma there is no change in their health but some of the family members felt some kind of pain on their stomach soon after they took the medicine.

He said that since 2007 HEWS have been teaching them about latrines, separating animals from humans, using improved stoves, digging dirt pits, cleaning stagnant water to prevent malaria and also about HIV/AIDS and how to prevent it. ZY said there was no malaria in Yetmen. They also knew from health workers and the DAs that eating different kinds of food was good for health but they couldn't practice it as they were accustomed to eating injera and there was a shortage of other crops.

She has enough children though her husband would like more. He said that they didn't discuss and

decide to stop childbirth but his wife didn't become pregnant in the last five years; 'he was not sure if she took contraceptive secretly'.

She seems confused about female circumcision.

The government said that female children should not be circumcised. The respondent does not accept what the government says. She prefers the traditional way. She supports female circumcision but her four years old daughter is not circumcised because she did not get someone to circumcise her daughter. She said that people tell her to circumcise her daughter but it does not cause her any problem or pressure. She said that she does not understand the benefit of avoiding circumcision. She said that they cannot make sexual intercourse when those girls who are not circumcised grow up.

Two daughters and a son attend primary school. One eight-year old son stays at home and keeps the cattle. Two daughters went to secondary school in Bichena; her parents made one of them drop out for marriage. The second one is in Grade 9 and has hopes to continue further.

What the woman does is still the same. What her daughters do got harder because their age has increased. Now the girls are baking injera, baking yetela kita for brewing tella. Now they can prepare food for their own. Now they are taking gesho and malt to grinding mill. Their age increased it means they grew older they have to do what others of their level do. People are taking everything to grinding mill; when somebody started it others follow. Taking things to grinding mill decrease work load of the girls and the respondent.

Speaking of co-operation among households KH said

there has been cooperation but only mutual cooperation in terms of sharing labour, farm implements, animals and seeds exchanging and others. He argued that let alone with neighbours, cooperation with close relatives takes place between those who think they would help each other; he insisted people don't cooperate with any one whom they think would not repay/help them in one way or another. In the old days, neighbours were the most important people who provided any assistance first in time of crisis, but nowadays such assistance was given in view of receiving similar help when facing same crisis, Neg benie (tomorrow would be on me).

His wife has regular cooperation with other households in sharing materials, doing domestic activities when one became busy for holydays or other times.

KH said the relation with the government was not good since the conflict over the school land; he believed they were favouring the town's people against the rural. He is suspicious of government motives. For example he thought that if land was given to youth the government would soon take it from them and give it to investors accusing the youth group of being less productive. The time to take cases to the wereda has been shortened. Security-watching is almost non-existent, since the police killed a child and disarmed the militia. He complained about the doubling of tax. He also said our wives have more rights over us'.

A 'poor' household

MB is almost 50 and lives with his wife, two daughters (17 and 14) and a son (11). In 2007 he became seriously ill with TB and had to stop work and take 8 months treatment going to Bichena. His wife supported the family by making and selling areke. Before he was ill he share-cropped his land out and was involved in grain buying and selling.

In 1997 he was secretary of the land distribution committee and participated in the confiscation of the Derg Bureaucrat farmers' land (see previous household story). This led him into serious conflict with those who lost land and they took revenge by stealing his crops at night. He was disarmed and

removed from office in 2000 and gave his land to sharecroppers as he couldn't protect the field crops. When his health recovered he bought a sewing machine and he has been earning income by sewing and repairing clothes; his wife helps him by ironing clothes.

MB's wife is very appreciative of the government health service

Her husband took TB treatment for about six months. He took the treatment at Bichena. He was bringing the drug that can be used for a month. He was making follow up at Zebch clinic. She was preparing better food for her husband because she was told that the drug is strong and it needs better food. The role of government health service was great. He got treated with the help of Bichena health centre and Zebch clinic which are all government health service providers. When her husband was sick he faced a lot of problems. He was having problem to travel to Zebch for follow up and to Bichena to bring the drugs. Now it is already improved, a health centre is here and there is treatment in nearby.

She has four children and has stopped having more using the contraceptive injection. None of her daughters are circumcised because she feared they might die. There is no problem in the community: those who prefer to circumcise they circumcise those who do not want they do not circumcise. She believes that circumcision will be avoided completely in her grand-daughters' time. Her oldest child is married but the other three are in school.

MB said that for the last 4 years, World Vision has been helping his grade 6 daughter by covering her educational costs. He pointed out that the community fears it will try to infiltrate its religion and himself is closely following so to refuse their assistance if they tend to influence his daughter; he believed that World Vision has been helping about 400 orphans/poor parented children in both the town and rural community.

Another poor household

BE is another ex-Derg Bureaucrat farmer who rents out what little land he has left. Since his land was confiscated he has been trying to get additional income by working as an assistant carpenter or mud plasterer for which he can get 30 birr or more per day. He has also six times borrowed 2000 birr from ACSI for buying bulls for fattening and sale.

In 2007 his third son and his 15-year old daughter were married at the same time to the daughter and son of another household in a marriage known as a *Wused Liwused* (you take, I take) arrangement. The following year his son became mentally ill and his in-laws took away their daughter and his daughter returned home. His son used to be kept in an iron lock but now he is sometimes free in their compound. He has not been taken to the government clinic; he has been to holy water. His wife said:

she stopped doing farm activities at farm. Her daughter started to help her father in some simple farm activities. The respondent was forced to stay at home and not doing farm activities because her son became mentally ill and she has to keep him at home. The respondent's daughter started to work at farm by replacing her brother, her brother became mentally ill and she started to support her father. The child could not go back to school. Some gaps are created since the woman cannot go and work on the farm.

They have had a lot of support in looking after their ill son. The neighbours help if he gets violent and in farm work when BE takes him to holy water. Some relatives gave him money for transport to holy water and costs of staying there.

He used to get electric light between 2006 and 2009 'but the town people cut it off'. One of his sons has a mobile which he can use. He was a member of the Service Co-operative but he didn't use it because it couldn't give a better price for his grain and its fertiliser prices were no lower than the traders. Both he and his wife have long-term illnesses and receive treatment and drugs from the

clinic.

A female-headed household

MN is in her 70s and lives alone in her house. She considers her wealth to be about average in the community. Her son, who ploughs her land, lives near and sometimes they eat together. Currently she does household chores, collects cow dung and looks after her grandchild. She broke her arm last year and is now no longer able to do the harder activities she used to do like selling onions, potatoes and cow dung in the market and farming activities in her backyard. Also her older brother, who used to look after her financially and materially died last year. However, her son's income has improved as he has got involved in irrigation and her daughter also supports her.

She does not cooperate with neighbours because she does not have close neighbours they are far apart. She lives at the periphery of Yetmen and she does not have many close neighbours there is only one close neighbour and they borrow fire from one another but they do not drink coffee together. The respondent said that drinking coffee together is seen as indicator of closeness for relationship in a neighbourhood.

She does not benefit directly from many government interventions. She took the trachoma medicine but it gave her diarrhoea and vomiting so she refused to take it the next time they came. She took a bednet and uses it. She believes in the existence of malaria: she was sick once and her son's ex-wife died of it.

Another female-headed household

PN is in her fifties and lives with her son who is almost twenty. She gets some income from her land.

She said people stay in the same situation if there is land, they do not get poorer and also they cannot be richer if they do not do additional means of income.

Her main activity is managing the household and doing household chores. She used to get some support from her daughter who is a petty trader but she recently married. PN considers her wealth now to be about average in the community. This was the case before her daughter married but when this happened she gave her some land which reduced PN's wealth. Her son AD went to secondary school in Bichena to do Grades 9 and 10 and did not get enough score to 'do the preparatory' so now he has returned and is working and her income has improved.

The reason for improvement in the household is that it gained access to more income after buying a donkey with a price of 1000 birr. She bought the donkey from what she saved and her son started trading using the donkey. Donkey is important in transporting grains from cheaper areas in to the place someone wants to sell. Her son became a tef trader and he is successful. Her son's contribution for the household improvement is a lot, he is covering a lot of expenditure for the house. She contributed in buying the donkey for trading. The household did not take any loan.

She gets information about everything from the radio. 'She listens about health and agriculture on Amharic programme Ethiopia radio. She also heard about the Ethiopian Airlines plane crash.'

Dependent adults

Adults who are not household heads or wives are regarded as dependent adults. A few dependent adults have never left home, some have returned to the parental home, while others have moved in with other relatives. We were particularly interested in the extent to which dependent adults of different ages had access to development interventions.

A young woman (25) who divorced as a result of poverty

RB is 25 and now lives with her parents. In 2007 she married and went to live in a place called Debet.

The place she went was not comfortable. Life was not easy because the couple did not have means of income though the family she went were happy because of the marriage. In 2002 the respondent came to Yetmen with her husband and started to live with her parents. The respondent's parents were not happy about their coming to the household because the house was not enough to accommodate her with her husband. Shortage of food also came.

As a result, although they had good relations, the couple divorced and RB stayed with her parents who were not happy about her divorce. She said 'the comfort of life is better when living with parents but the name/status is better when someone is married. When living with parents she is happy there is nothing that she worry about.' RB was pregnant when she got divorced but she delivered before time and the infant soon died.

She faced that because she went to farm field carrying pot. She is so sad about it. Her parents are also so sad about it; they were also so eager to have a child in their house.

She has made use of the health centre while pregnant as she had lost her appetite and had stomach pains 'but there is no drug or any other solution'. She has benefited from contraception 'because it made her to stay three years without having a child.' The family did not have the necessary resources or materials to construct an improved oven or a latrine but she was more aware about hygiene and sanitation. She benefited from the bednet and the trachoma medicine which helped to heal the intestinal parasites in her stomach. 'She felt pain in her stomach for two three days after taking the medicine but later she felt better than before. She said that the medicine did not have any effect in relation to her eye.' However her eye problem was treated at Bichena. 'Hair was growing into her eye and it was extracted.'

For the future the respondent wants to start her own business. She also wishes to marry again and have children. If government makes price of fertiliser cheaper it would be good as the status of her household will be improved and she can start the business she planned to start.

A woman (35) with illegitimate children

GR is living with her aunt with whom she has a good relationship. She has land which is registered and for which she pays tax but she does not have a certificate. Starting In 2006 she worked for one year as a daily labourer during the construction of the Yetmen health centre.

It was 7 birr per day. That time labour was cheap now it is expensive. That time the price of grain was much cheaper than today and it helped her to buy clothes, jerry can and dishes. Her working as a daily labourer made her to lose her strength. She also bought clothes for the household head because she is like a mother to the household head.

In 2000 she started selling onions and green peppers in the market which helped her to get money to buy coffee, sugar, and to cover the cost of grinding grains and other small food items.

GR has two children.

The respondent gave birth to a baby boy after she was forced to have sex with someone who is her neighbour. She said that he raped her after knowing there is no one at home. The man is married and she is not getting any kind of support now. He even tells her to go somewhere else; he insults her. Since they are sharing the same border he insults her at any possible reason. She said that she had also another child from the same person. She is not happy about giving birth; she said it is because he forced/raped her. She said that if she was prepared she would have taken contraceptive to prevent pregnancy. Bringing up a child became a burden to her. The household head (her aunt) is not happy with her giving child but there is no other consequence on her aunt.

Her daughter has been attending the primary school since 2006. Her son was born in 2007 and she went to the health centre for pregnancy follow-up, vaccination and delivery. She said that the service at the health centre was good.

She has recently participated in two equb though currently she is not a member of one. She is not a member of an iddir but joined the Dersh about 15 years ago. She goes to church to pray. 'She does not enter in to the building she prays and bows on the fence. There is no much change on the church; there is one big hall which is under construction.'

She 'would like to build corrugated iron house and would like to improve her life by strengthening the business of vegetable selling. She said that what the government is doing in giving equal right for men and women is good.'

A poor woman (30) who never married and has an 'illness on her head'

NA lives with her mother with whom she has a good relation. In 2006 she started working on the construction of the health centre getting a daily payment of 7 birr which helped her to be involved in an equb. She bought clothes and food for herself and the household head. Once this work ended she started to collect cow dung from near the Muga River and sell it at Yetmen market.

She started this activity because she lacked money for coffee and kerosene. Before that she was doing labour activities during the construction of the health centre. Selling cow dung is important and it helped her to buy coffee and kerosene as she hoped. The income she gets from selling cow dung is also important for the household head; they use what she buys together.

She does not mention marriage or children. She has recently developed an 'illness on her head'

She does not know the reason for her sickness. The sickness makes her to reduce number of days she spends on collecting and selling cow dung. As a result the income she gets for herself and her mother decreases.

She owns two sheep and two years ago when they were sick got treatment from the veterinarian by paying three birr. The service was good and cured the sickness of the sheep. She does not have a good opinion of the Health Extension Workers

The health extension workers teach about latrine and stove. She said that she did not do that because what the health extension workers do is to earn their salary not because it is important to the community.

However, she did benefit from the bednet as it protected them from mosquitoes, flies and other insects.

She started to go to church last year. 'She is going to church because it is a tradition; as a Christian she is expected to go.' She hopes that she will get cured from the health problem she is facing in her head; if she does she will continue to work on collecting and selling cow dung.

She mainly wishes to be healthy. If the health centre is improved she will go there and get treated. She did not go so far because people say that they do not have good medicine. If government brings enough drugs to the health centre she can be cured from her illness.

A long-divorced and very poor woman (55) who lives with her son

BK has been generating income for some years by producing and selling malt, selling spices and spinning cotton for sale. She got divorced during the Derg regime.

The respondent got her eye sick in 1998. The problem was caused when she cried a lot during death of her parents and her children. Her eye sickness made her to get difficulties to work in smoke. As a result of her sickness her son suffered and wasted his

time and money to by her eye droplets.

She said that she has not had enough food to eat for many years. She does not have land; her husband did not share with her when she got divorced during the Derg regime. She has a good relationship with her son. 'He cares for her whenever she gets sick and she also cares for him.'

She has little involvement with development interventions. Her son brought eye droplets from the health centre but she did not go there. Health Extension Workers did not visit her; 'they do not come but may be because I go to market'. She benefited from the bednet given to get rid of bugs and flies and also received trachoma prevention medicine; 'she wished if they can give her the medicine frequently.' She appreciated the building of the bridge to Zebch as now she can cross with no problem. Though she is near to the urban area and could have extended electricity from others she and her son cannot afford the cost.

She goes to church regularly.

She goes to church to pray; she said that she prays to God so that her death is not in a bad way, she prays for the wellbeing of her children, she prays for the continuity of her eye sight. She prays because he listens to her.

Her hope is if price of grains decreases so that she will be able to get enough food and to buy clothes. She said "there is nothing much that I beg from God it is just to give me my daily clothes and my daily food". She said that it is good if a government can make some kind of intervention to lower the price of grains.

A poor blind woman (66) who lives with her grandson

MZ has been blind and 'unable to do anything' for five years. In 2005 she moved in with her grandson 'because her house was collapsed' and her grandson was living alone as her son had died. In addition to her blindness she now is not able to walk.

She does not know the cause for the disability to walk. She said that the problem did not start at once but it was step by step. As a result of her inability to walk she is not able to walk and do certain things at home. Previously even she was blind sometimes she was helping by keeping her grandson's animals from entering to the backyard by moving carefully. Now she cannot do that any more because she cannot walk.

She said that she was contented living with her grandson until last year; now she is not happy living with him and he is sick of her living with him. Previously he was giving her money including for her coffee but now he keeps saying "I do not know, I have not". She has another son 'who is begging to take her' but she would feel bad to leave her grandson alone.

She is registered for land ownership and appreciated paying tax because it 'makes her to own the land'. She has been a member of the Service Co-operative for over 30 years; every year there is a dividend share which is given to her grandson. She belongs to an iddir and has been a member of the local Desh for more than 20 years. She said that the health extension worker had not visited her with regard to sanitation measures but she had taken the trachoma medicine and there had been a little bit of improvement in her vision. She did not use a bednet as there was only one which was used by her grandson. She had decided not to go for curative health services. When asked about her aspirations for the future she said she 'is not eager to live the future; she longs to die because she is blind and she is not able to walk'.

A divorced woman (78) who lives with her mentally ill daughter

EM divorced a long time ago and has been living with her daughter for some while. Her son died last year after he was sick for months.

She said that some people say that he died of HIV/AIDS but as far as she and her son

know it was TB. She was so sad with the death of her son he was buying her clothes and invites her to his house. She missed all these things after his death. The household head was also sad about the death of the respondent's son. The respondent's daughter became mentally ill.

Recently EM started spinning cotton as a participant in the women's spinning co-operative but she had to stop when her daughter became mentally ill as she is disturbed by the spinning. 'The respondent was earning money by spinning cotton, that money is stopped when she stopped spinning cotton.' The only income that she has now is the income from her daughter's land. Her son used to buy her clothes and invite her to his house for festive occasions. Last year her grandson gave her 400 birr and a blanket and this year he gave her 500 birr.

She became idle at home as she has lack of interest in doing things because of her daughter's sickness. The researcher observed:

The mentally ill woman was in the compound and she was locked with iron lock on her leg. She was begging the guide who was with me to set her free. She was asking for some kind of medicine to cure her illness.

EM has joined two iddir contributing 2 birr for each. 'She stayed this long because if she want to leave the iddir she has to pay what the iddir paid her relatives.' When she first joined the monthly contribution was 0.25 cents and the payment for members during death commemoration was 20 birr; now it is 200 birr.

The only development intervention she mentioned apart from the cotton spinning co-operative was the trachoma medicine 'it was good for her stomach'. Asked about her aims and hopes she said she

prays for her daughter to be healthy again and to live like before. The respondent said, "I do not want much for myself, I beg God to take me(to die). I only wish health for my daughter".

Asked how government interventions might be better designed she said that her daughter 'will be well if the medicine she is taking is good.'

A divorced young man (24) who lives with his mother and siblings

From childhood WK worked for another household, farming and herding as a young *kurti* (worker paid in grain). In 2006 he married and formed his own household in his parents' compound. He was able to save the grain he received in payment and was able to buy an ox when he formed his own household. In the same year his father went to visit his brother in Metema seeking financial help and died of malaria. His mother's living condition decreased after his father died. The following year this brother came from Metema seriously sick and died. When WK returned from his uncle's funeral he found his ox broken in the back unable to rise up; he bought it at 2500 birr for fattening. Later, neighbours and friends contributed 2000 birr and slaughtered the disabled ox and divided the meat.

His wife gave birth to a baby boy but he died after 4 days.

He indicated that his relationship with the new wife was good for some time, but he was dissatisfied with her clumsy behaviour and low calibre for household management and finally sent her away and joined his mother's household. He insisted he has very good interaction/relationship with mother where she used to be tender and caring to him and he used to help the family not only ploughing her land but providing from own grain when the household faced food shortage.

The household's land is registered. Last year the land tax was 85 birr – this year it has doubled. He is not a member of the Service Co-operative but gets services through his mother's membership, though now they no longer give credit for fertiliser and improved seeds people do not need to go to the co-op any more. He uses fertiliser but not according to the DAs recommendation to use DAP and urea together; he only uses urea – the cheaper one. He has been involved in bull fattening since

2006 and has been able to buy and sell many bulls after using them for ploughing. He doesn't believe model farmers have any influence on the community; they have changed their lives but done nothing for others as they are not involved in teaching the community.

He is a member of a youth co-operative formed by 10 land seeking young men in which he was serving as chairman. He explained the group was like an Iqub or iddir having the objective of starting some business after obtaining farmland or urban working place. For this they have been paying 1 birr monthly contribution fee each so that they have about 300 birr collected as contribution and through fines.

He mentioned the existence of a government plan to help unemployed youth by providing land and credit but expressed his and other rural young people's fear that this might exclude them because since the rural youth used to work on parents' farms or on sharecrop land so that the government would not consider them as unemployed.

He said that the kebele Youth Association was weak; members were not paying membership fees and did not attend meetings. He said the women's association was better in that they were involved in spinning and crop production to generate income.

His siblings go to primary school and one his brothers is attending Grade 10 in Bichena. HEWs came door-to-door and he had started digging a latrine; it is incomplete due to lack of time and labour but he intends to finish and use it in the near future. The family has been using bednets to prevent malaria and destroy house insects. His wife received vaccinations when pregnant. He said many people, both rich and poor, understand the benefits of contraception mainly due to increasing shortages of land to give children. He didn't want his wife to use any, nor will he until he has at least two children.

He joined the Desh last year and has joined a mehaber. He occasionally goes to church and has been paying 12 birr Ye-sebeka gubae (church fee) since last year.

He said cases taken to the wereda were quickly resolved; 'he mentioned his own divorce case in which the court immediately approved the dissolution of their marriage.' But the relationship between the government and the community was spoiled after the dispute over school land resulted in the death of a child; he accused the town's people for this. He also believed that people's participation in government called meetings and development activities have declined very much since the good governance was introduced.

He also thought that the security problem, especially crop theft, had been increasing following the introduction of good governance. He believed women's rights were practically secured by law so that their appeals to wereda officials and their court cases were quickly resolved in their favour; he argued formerly they couldn't get divorced when they needed, but now they have the right to dissolve the marriage whether husbands like it or not.

He said conspicuous feast preparation was taking place as before; 'he said he knew it was harmful, but the community still considered it necessary and failing to prepare commemorative feasts was being despised causing humiliating insults. He reported early marriage and circumcision were practised secretly.'

Asked about aspirations for the future he noted that he wished and planned to marry the one who could fit to his status and establish own household once again. He argued that the government policy about the youth was good, it was not being implemented effectively

Another divorced young man (24) who lives with his mother and siblings

BN was married in June 2008 and divorced in March 2009. Prior to his marriage he worked on his mother's land. During his marriage he share-cropped land for his own household but after his divorce returned to work on a share-cropping arrangement on his mother's farm. When he married

his brother gave him a house to live in inside his compound. But he divorced his wife as they could not live together 'due to her laziness'. He has good relationships with his mother and siblings.

His mother's land is registered. He became a member of the Service Co-operative last year but now the fertiliser credit has stopped he thinks it will no longer give them any benefit. He has heard many important things from DAs about development and always uses fertiliser; it helps to produce far more than they produced without it. Model farmers are selected for being rich and bring no benefit to the community other than changing their lives. They have received good services from the animal health clinic, especially drugs for fattening sheep and cattle. He had heard that the government would provide credit and land to help the youth run group development activities.

He said he and other young people didn't even like taking land in group, which he thought would be difficult to manage collectively. He noted that if the land could be given individually even the community would be voluntary to provide from the grazing land.

His sister attends Grade 7. He has half dug an incomplete latrine for his mother's household. They have bednets to prevent malaria but the nets are more effective in destroying bugs, fleas and flies. He said he heard from DAs/health workers that eating different types of food will help to prevent/cure diseases, but they couldn't afford since this requires them to produce different crops. His mother regularly goes to the health clinic and gets good treatment.

Kebele development teams are not calling meetings for community work. He participated in community pond digging co-ordinated by the DA Natural Resources. The community is not on good terms with the wereda since the police killed a child and imprisoned and fined the leaders following the dispute over school land. Government models of development are taught to the people by experts through called meetings and during church ceremonies. The police don't come to their got. There was no crop theft this year.

He has participated in an equb. His mother is a member of the Desh so he need not join it.

Gender laws have protected women's right to get land when there are distributions and when they divorce. He believed the practices of early marriage, rape, abduction and circumcision were abandoned due to fear of fines and imprisonment. But he insisted extravagant feast preparation was common

His main objective is to get his own land, form his household and have children.

A religious divorced man (40) who lives with his mother and siblings

He was involved in religious education from before 2004 (the year we went back to in the fieldwork) and this year. Now he is a priest. During these years he lived most of the time in Dembecha but in some years came to stay for two or three months in Yetmen when he was involved in agricultural activities on his mother's farm. Currently he serves the church as an unpaid assistant religious teacher and works on his mother's farm. In 2006 he married but went back to Dembecha planning to leave his wife at home alone. She refused and went back to her parents. When he returned this year after completing his education she refused to live with him so he abandoned his home and moved in with his mother. 'He said he was very happy for successfully completing his education withstanding many problems.' He is sad about the separation from his wife.

He has good relationships and works in co-operation with two brothers and a sister as well as with his mother.

Since completing his education he has applied for the post of Merigeta (religious teacher)

But the church administration couldn't provide him the post; as he suspected the existing old Merigata rejected his employment fearing to lose the job as he receives 1000 birr/year. He indicated that he decided to serve free as an assistant teacher to the

old Merigata; he said the old man is already too old so that he would be able to take the post when he retires.

He has land which has been measured but he does not yet have a certificate. His chickpeas grown by a share-cropper, from whose sale he could have obtained good income, were eaten by pests known as Jibe (a sort of hyena). His mother is a member of the Service Co-operative. He has learned many things from agricultural experts and benefited from using fertilisers; he doesn't use the rest of it due to lack of ox, land and money. Model farmers have no effect; they have many pairs of oxen 'could plough much land and produce as much as possible for themselves'. He said he didn't want to take government/ACSI credits because he feared he might get bankrupt/in debt.

His younger sister has been attending school. He dug a latrine for the household. His mother has a long-term illness and regularly gets treatment at the clinic. The household uses bednets and he took trachoma treatment.

He reported that his wife didn't take contraceptives but didn't have any child since they lived separately for many years. He said he found it now it was good not to have had children and asked: "what would I do with them in this state of poverty"

He said that there has been electricity at his mother's house but it was cut off after they entered into conflict with the town's people.

He is a member of the Desh and church-based mehaber. The kebele is now fully secured

in that when there was inter personal fight, theft, or other problem they were quick in arresting the perpetrators. He mentioned the story of a notorious thief of crops who was sentenced to 2 years prison term.

He believes that the law favours women in their disputes with men; 'they could take land equally divided with husbands if they divorce, when they take their divorce or property cases to the court it would be decided quickly for them.'

Asked about expensive commemorative ceremonies he said

that traditionally it was necessary to prepare huge feasts inviting almost all the priests from the parish church and outside as well as neighbours and friends as far as from many other kebeles; he noted that when father/mother dies it was common for people to slaughter oxen for commemorative feast ceremonies and were unable to raise the children well. But he said the feast size has been decreasing

His aspiration is to obtain the church's teaching post and live serving the church on salary. He said he wants to create a good relationship with the church Merigeta and convince him to hand the job over to him finally. He wishes to live fulfilling his religious duties and wants to remain working for the church even giving free service if they decide not to pay him salary

A divorced ex-priest (42) who lives with his father and siblings

RC got divorced in 2003 and went to Metema where his brother had a sesame and cotton farm. The brother gave him some land to grow sesame for himself and he saved some money which he used to buy some sheep when he returned to Yetmen to live with his father. He came back due to intermittent malaria illness. Since he returned in 2006 he has been involved in agricultural activities on his father's farm and his own farm as well as herding animals.

Because RC was a priest he strongly fought his wife's request for a divorce.

After 3 years of married life, his wife left him and requested for formal divorce. But he refused divorce to prevent losing his priesthood title; he appealed to both Wereda court and church to stop his wife from destroying his priesthood by divorcing, but neither could help him other than sending the case to Zemed Dagnav (kin judges) who rather

decided for divorce and to equally divide property. After two years of separation and court dispute, he was forced to accept and formally divorced. He remained single and has no children.

The court decided to divide his property equally with his wife;

He reported his divorce case to be the case he took to Wereda court; he pointed out that the court's decision to equally divide his property with his wife was unfair that caused him poverty, especially because half of his small land (1 Timad) was taken by the wife.

He said now his land was so small he could not afford to remarry and form a family.

Mentioning his own divorce case, he argued women's right has been practically protected by the law; he insisted the court was always give decisions against men and in favour of women so that women simply get married and leave dividing and taking land when they want.

His land tax has risen from 30 birr to 67 birr last year and 101 birr this year.

He has suffered a series of misfortunes. He has a physical deformation 'at his shoulder and thigh' since childhood which causes him permanent difficulties of movement and restricts his ability to work. He had a serious eye illness this year that lasted for a week; he was treated at the clinic that referred him to a private drug shop. Sheep he had bought at a cost of 400 birr died due to *ganiel beshita* (demons' attack). Also recently one of his brothers who had been helping his parents came sick from Addis Ababa and died at the parents' home.

He has bad relations with his father and siblings.

He insisted that he didn't have any good relationship/interaction with father and siblings in the house and indicated to have been usually entering into disagreements with them when they face each other as they were coming in and going out. He said they all tried to isolate/discriminate him; he complained that they didn't give any respect to him as their eldest brother/son.

He heard about the benefits of fertilisers, improved seeds, irrigation and producing twice with rain but only regularly used fertilisers. He has a land certificate which he said would help him avoid border pushing and related problems. He keeps sheep in order to sell them to buy fertiliser; currently he has three.

He claimed that in response to the instruction of the HEWs he and his siblings dug a common latrine and they all used it regularly. He said there is now no malaria in Yetmen

He argued malaria existed where there was swampy/stagnant water and there hasn't been any problem since such places were treated 3 or 4 years. He said bed nets were thus used rather to prevent fleas and bugs

He said that the community no longer participated in government meetings and work campaigns since applying fines was removed. There were considerable delays in deciding over cases 'referring them to here and there or putting conditions to do this or that before seeing them'. Night theft against field harvests used to be a common problem but he had not heard of any incidence this year. The social court is not as powerful as it was in passing judgments; cases taken to it are now sent to mediators for resolution.

He is a member of an iddir paying 1 birr a month and of a church mehaber which prepares feast celebrations in the church yard to provide alms to the needy poor. He has been actively serving the church since attending religious education as a youth. He regularly participates in church prayer ceremonies performed at night or day.

With regard to 'harmful traditional practices' he noted that generally extravagant feast preparation

has continued, pushed through “Keman anshie” (meaning I am not less worthy than anybody). He believed early marriage and female circumcision were abandoned.

Asked about his aspirations he said ‘*he always wished to serve the church and stay around until he dies*’.

Structures of inequality in 2010

Genderage

Two key ‘biological’ features which affect every person’s status and experience are gender and age **taken together**. While there are some aspects of the maturing and ageing process common to males and females others are specific to the sexes. Table 2 provides an estimate of the demographic structure of Yetmen in 2004. Over half of the population were under 20, equally divided between the sexes.

Table 2: Yetmen Demographic Structure Estimate 2004

Yetmen Demographic Structure Estimate 2004				
Birth era	Age	M (%)	F (%)	All (%)
2003/4	< 1	0.7	0.3	1.0
2002/3	1-2	1.7	1.8	3.5
1999/2001	3-5	4.0	3.7	7.7
Under 6		6.4	5.8	12.2
1992-1998	6-12	10.5	11.8	22.3
1988-1991	13-16	5.7	6.3	11.9
1985-1987	17-19	3.4	2.9	6.3
Working Youth		19.6	21.0	40.6
Under 20s		26.0	26.8	52.8
1975-1984	20-29	7.9	8.5	16.4
1965-1974	30-39	5.3	5.0	10.3
1955-1964	40-49	3.0	3.9	6.9
1945-1954	50-59	2.9	3.6	6.5
Adults		19.1	21.0	40.1
1935-1944	60s	2.7	1.8	4.5
1900s-1934	70s	1.1	1.5	2.6
Ageing		3.8	3.3	7.1
		M	F	
Total		48.8	51.2	100%

Source RANS 2004

Growing up male in Yetmen

We have estimated that around a quarter of the Yetmen population are males under the age of twenty.

Boys are circumcised when they are 7 days old. In relation to upbringing evidence elsewhere in this document reveals that there are quite high levels of violent inter-personal conflicts and group conflict in rural Yetmen. Men are expected to protect their families and are raised to fight. Research in 2005 (WeDEthiopia – DEEP) revealed that male knee children (2-3 years old) are given a stick and taught how to handle and use it. Parents will say ‘please beat him/her’. Between 3 and 6 years old

boys are taught to engage in male activity such as herding, to defend themselves against their peers, to protect their sisters from those who want to beat them, and it is expected that they will use bad words and be a little bit aggressive. Boys aged 7 – 12 should work on their father's activities and follow the cattle or watch and keep the crop in the field and in their spare time to go to the field and play with friends. Poor boys face risks of lack of basic needs such as food and clothes, lack of educational opportunities and exploitation of labour if they work for others outside their parents' home.

An adolescent boy is expected to behave aggressively, be a confronter and defend his rights. This can lead to fights and clashes. Boys are expected to do men's work such as farming, building fences with stones and caring for cattle. Risks faced by boys of this age include STDs and HIV/AIDS, taking to gambling or drink and stealing. Young adult males today are not able to form their own households easily as there is no good access to land; mostly the richer ones are kept in their parents' shelter until some opportunity comes. Youth of this age work for their families and are also expected to work for themselves.

Growing up female in Yetmen

Another quarter of the population in rural Yetmen are females under the age 20. In the past all girls were circumcised at the age of 7 days but since **female circumcision** has been made illegal and the law has started to be enforced not all girl babies are circumcised. Wereda officials said that the 'achievement is not much' despite much teaching in the wereda community and that while people have the knowledge they do not practice it'. One of the religious leaders said he had not circumcised his four month old daughter and she would not be circumcised in future. Kebele officials claimed they did not know if there were cases of girls not circumcised. The general consensus from a range of respondents seemed to be that there are parents who do not circumcise their female children and people who do.

Girls aged 3 – 6 are given minor tasks such as pouring water for people to wash their hands and collecting firewood. They are not expected to be seen naked and should be submissive and not talk too much or use bad words. **Child marriage** has been a feature of Yetmen culture. This is arranged when both sets of parents want to make a long-term relationship. Around the age of 4 or 5 a feastlike wedding is prepared. The children consider themselves as siblings until they reach the age of maturity.

Girls aged 7 – 12 should engage in housework and fetch water and wood. They should be humble and submissive, not talk too much, not use bad words nor be aggressive and rude. They should be obedient to boys at home and not go to the field for playing with others but must stay within the neighbourhood. Like poor boys poor girls face risks of lack of basic needs such as food and clothes, lack of educational opportunities and exploitation of labour if they work for others outside their parents' home.

Adolescent girls should be cool, tolerant and not aggressive or a confronter. They should do what women do: baking injera, making wat, fetching water, weeding and transporting the cut teff. Adolescent girls face the risks of unwanted pregnancy, STDs and HIV/AIDS, falling into prostitution and quarrelling. Young adult women have parallel difficulties in getting married and setting up independent households as their male counterparts. While at home they are expected to do housework but also to work for themselves.

Implementing the law against **early marriage** (under 18) has proved difficult. Officials said that the wereda has introduced interventions to stop underage marriage including education through meetings and pamphlets and giving training to concerned bodies and influential people. The success is small compared with the endeavours made though some kebeles have become good examples. Before marriage girls are sent to Bichena health centre where an estimate of their age is made. Recently they have been asked to take pictures when their age is assessed at Bichena as some

parents were sending older daughters to take the place of the under-age girl to be married. The kebele used to punish people involved in early marriage; now it is the wereda and the punishment has become eight months. There is still a problem in rural Yetmen though there has been some improvement.

Two linked reasons for this were said to be that establishing a household and leading an independent life is becoming difficult due to lack of land and children are going to school and continuing to higher levels. The youths who got married recently got involved in trading. There are still cases where girls are forced to stop their education and marry; this is more likely to happen in richer households which can provide sufficient resources for children to establish their own households.

Compared to the past the chance of **choosing a marriage partner** is increasing. Educated girls are more likely to be able to choose. Most girls' marriages are initiated by parents but depend on the consent of the children and there is a tendency to get to know each other before the wedding. There are still some girls who are married to a man they have never met.

Being a man in Yetmen

Male livelihood activities in rural Yetmen include rainfed and irrigated farming, livestock-rearing, including bull fattening, milk production, and bee-keeping, trading, daily labour, herding, farm servant, well-digging, wood-chopping, house-building, and various government-related jobs. Political leadership and organisation is overwhelmingly male. Every household has a backyard where they grow crops for use until the main harvest comes. Male experiences vary to a degree by age and wealth.

Most farmers spend time in urban Yetmen whenever they are not busy on the farm, especially after harvesting. Leisure activities include watching TV, drinking alcohol and for some, mostly young men, visiting prostitutes. Some men drink too much and get into fights. There is no change in the community's attitude to drinking and no government or NGO interventions to try to reduce it.

Being a woman in Yetmen

What kind of woman?

Females of different ages and wealth have some common and some different experiences. The 2004 WeDE household survey results suggested that almost a quarter of households in Yetmen were female-headed (23%). It is misleading to generalise about female-headed households as there are a number of types dependent on wealth, stage in the life cycle, and external linkages. Some are more long-lasting than others.

There are two kinds of marriage: *semanya* (with a legal agreement) and *ehed* (ready to go). Those married with a legal agreement share property equally. Women in *ehed* relations are like housemaids but they also have sexual relations with the man who employs them. When they go they take no property share, though if she bears a child their relationship becomes legal.

Livelihoods

Wives and daughters are engaged in farm activities: weeding, carrying harvested crops to the threshing place and digging. In the past owning land provided a full livelihood but now newly-formed households do not have enough land to support their expenditures. As a result women are looking for off-farm activities such as trading and employment. They can be employed as daily labourers on other people's farms being paid 15-25 birr per day depending on their capacity (males are paid better for the same work). Working on irrigation is also an emerging activity. Some women buy from wholesalers and sell in smaller amounts to others; there are also women who bring grain and other agricultural products from other places to sell.

The temporary Development Agent (Crops) is a (young) woman as are the Health Extension Workers

Preparation of areke is an important source of income for women of lower economic status; they produce it mainly in the rainy season because it warms people up and sell it in the market. A few women iron clothes in the market. Some women worked as daily labourers when the health centre was being constructed. Poor women collect dung to make dungcakes for sale in the market.

There are many prostitutes in urban Yetmen who come from different places. They sell tea, tella and areke. Their number is increasing. They have an association for spinning cotton and the NGOs have targeted a small proportion of them by giving 10 people start-up capital to start other income-generating activities. The urban police work with them in relation to good governance and crime prevention; they meet once a month and are given advice and as most people who break the law go to prostitutes they help in passing information to the police.

Re/productive work

Women have become busier as they are more involved in income-generating activities and those with daughters at school get less help. This has been partly compensated by access to improved technologies such as grinding mills and the availability of new products such as factory-produced oils. Currently most women use cow dung and wood as a source of **fuel** though some buy coal in Yetmen town. Many women have water wells in their own compound. Grain is taken to commercial **grinding mills**. Materials used by women in households are mostly **metal and plastic**. The materials made of clay have been replaced. Women now use **jerry can** and clay pots to carry water. Female children go to school and do **household chores** and other work in their free time. There is use of **home-made shelf** like material which is made from clay to put dishes, pots and other materials on. Many people use **factory made oils**. Some have electricity and piped water extended from the town.

Extra-marital pregnancy is not that common but it has been increasing among those aged 15 - 20. Young women may get pregnant while attending secondary school outside Yetmen and the numbers doing this have increased. Girls who are pregnant are not accepted for marriage. There have been cases where aborted infants were found but the mothers could not be traced. The modern health service will provide abortions but girls usually use traditional herbs. There have been a very few cases where girls have died trying to abort.

Political involvement

In 2005 a Women's Affairs department was added to the wereda with the aim of bringing women into power in order to increase their participation in development. There was affirmative action to increase the number of women employed in government offices. However the predominant view from the community is that it is not common for women to participate in meetings and other issues; issues of politics and administration are the concern of men. The Women Affairs representative in the Kebele Cabinet raises women's issues and there are women on the Wereda Council but many believed that while women were empowered in terms of associations only a few of them were involved as cadres and leaders. As described below there is a Women's Association but it is not very active.

Women's rights

The legal position is that land re-distribution was made once in the EPRDF regime and those who were married couples at that time got land and they have equal rights to share it during divorce. Those who came to marriage with land from parents share land based on their agreement. Married couples share properties that they accumulated together equally. When divorces were made with elders favours were made to the man and nowadays women go to the wereda to get an equal share.

The **land registration process to include wives in certification** began in 2008. Wereda officials reported delays as some men were unwilling and did not submit photos; also some photos submitted to kebeles disappeared before being sent to the wereda. Those who tried to exclude their wives changed their minds when they were told that their land would not be registered at all unless

wives were included.

When asked men usually complained that women had more rights, for example some said they could get married to a man just to take land when **divorced** (even if they didn't have a child) and they could insist on divorce even if the husband did not want it. One poor man said husbands forced to give half their farmland to divorcing wives face critical shortage of land. On the other hand ensuring women's land rights will help men to marry women with land. Young men seemed more in favour of the law while a rich man and a poor woman pointed out that women had these rights during Derg times although now they are being fully implemented.

Women usually said that the registration had made no difference to their lives; some were grateful for the guarantee and thought it would increase respect between married couples.

The motekeda land distribution (from dead people deemed to have no heirs – see below) included the daughters of the bureaucrat farmers equally with the sons.

Widows keep their dead husband's property to give to their children if they have them. If her husband has children from others she is expected to share half the total property with all the children he has including hers.

While wereda officials said that awareness training with regard to the **new family law** was poorly attended by women a rich woman who heads a household and hires in male labour rather than giving her land for cropshare said that while teachings are usually for those who go to meetings or other activities through time people like her learn what is said about women.

Teachers and other officials including Women's Affairs tell parents to send their female and male children to school equally and to send female students to school rather than making them marry. Some girls whose parents are trying to force them to marry have told the teachers who try to stop it. In most cases when a girl marries she ends her **education** although the young women's focus group argued it was having children that mattered rather than marriage. The number of girls going to secondary school and post-secondary institutions is increasing though a group of men said that poor female students were more likely to quite their education to marry.

Dormitories for 22 poor female students were constructed in Bichena. There is positive discrimination in access to **post-secondary education**; at the TVET centres female students are accepted with lower points than male students.

Male violence

There is no abduction in Yetmen but there have been a few cases of **rape** though no recent ones; it sometimes happens when girls go to collect dung cakes, and has involved youths of 15. Many people said that the law has become tight and rape was not a problem at all. One case described above suggests that poor women may not report incidents.

It was indicated that **wife beating** has been practised, but its frequency has very much decreased and only occurs rarely nowadays. While most couples have peaceful relationships there are some who frequently quarrel with their wives and harm them physically and verbally.

Policies and programmes for the youth

Informants said that currently there are a huge number of youths who are not employed because there is shortage of land and those who completed tenth grade do not have jobs. Most youths are landless except those who get a small plot from their parents and those who received *mote-keda* land.

Distribution of mote-keda land. The local government law restricted land rights only to dependents living in the household at the time of the head's death and children with their own households had no right to inherit. The land of heads who died with no dependent in the house was confiscated by kebeles as *mote-keda* land. Kebele officials involved said that wereda officials approved and

participated in the distribution of such land but did not help to solve the disputes that arose during implementation. In 2004 *mote-keda* land was distributed to 60 young people, children of Derg 'bureaucrat' farmers whose landholdings had been reduced during the 1997 re-distribution. Each received 1 *Gezm* (50x50m).

Got leaders were responsible for selecting candidates through the casting of lots and distributing the land. Some of them were fined by the court for illegally allocating land that was formally inherited by a man from his dead father and many others were accused of related favouritism and corruption. Many children and other relatives of the dead landowners took their cases to court claiming the land was theirs by inheritance. In some cases they won the case leading to conflicts; for example AG (62) was violently attacked while ploughing his father's land after regaining it through a court decision. There is a fear that the disputes between the two sides will continue because later a new law came in entitling all prospective inheritors including independent children and other relatives through wills or other ways.

In their FGD the young men said that young men having own land given by parents can save good money by producing and selling grain from their own land while living with their parents enabling them to buy animals and rent additional land. They gave an example of a youth who was able to save enough to start buying grain from farmers and selling to wholesale traders and then to become a wholesale grain trader himself.

Youth policy and development packages were introduced in the wereda in 2006 to deal with the economic, social and political problems of youth. The packages include athletics projects, group organisation for agricultural development projects, and credit to engage in micro-enterprise activities. The rule is that youths can only receive land as groups and on a contract basis to work collectively.

Wereda officials said 474 young men and women had organised, received unused land and started group agricultural production through pump and canal irrigation. In 2007 kebele leaders and DAs in Yetmen announced that landless young people could get land for collective agricultural production if they formed group associations consisting of 10 or more members. By the time of the research there were 13 land-seeking youth group associations in the kebele, 4 of them being in Yetmen got. The chair of one of these groups with 10 members explained that they operate like an *iqub* or *iddir* with the objective of setting up a business after obtaining farmland or an urban working place, though he expressed doubts about trying to manage it collectively. They have been paying 1 birr per month and accumulated 300 birr. However the community ('our fathers') has refused to give any communal land to the youth groups and many youth have refused to organise in groups saying the land should be given individually. There is also concern that youth who share crop or work on parents' land will not be considered landless or jobless. The bureaucrats have argued that communal land should only be given to their children. One man suspected that it was a ruse to give communal land to investors suggesting the youth would use it inefficiently giving the wereda an excuse to take it away.

Many unemployed youth have been involved in small businesses with credit. About 2 million birr was reportedly given to micro-enterprises but much of this has not been repaid as expected. Common problems are low repayment rates and using loans for quick profit-making rather than the agreed development oriented activities. Urban Yetmen was reported as doing much worse than other kebeles. Five micro-enterprise groups were set up involved in cafeteria/food preparation, metal work, poultry, fattening activities, but all have disappeared due to mismanagement and disagreements among members. Only one of the food preparation business survived – the responsible wereda office allowed one of the group members to run a private hotel, using all the resources left and gradually paying the group loan.

Elderly people

Most of the elderly have land so they do not become totally dependent on others though there are

some who give their land to their children and become totally dependent on them. Many old people who do become dependent reportedly do not get good access to food, clothing and health care. There are no community institutions for looking after old people; everybody takes care of his/her elderly parents or in rare cases other relatives.

Inter-generational relations

Some youths are reported as respecting adults and the elderly and caring for them though there is a view that most youth do not respect the elderly believing that they know everything 'Keep quiet I will speak'. There are quarrels with siblings and parents over land inheritance.

Wealth and poverty

Household poverty incidence

Table 3: Yetmen Household Wealth Distribution 2004

Yetmen Household Wealth Distribution 2004		
<i>Wealth</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Cum %</i>
Very rich	2.8	100
Rich	12.0	97.2
Upper Middle	18.8	85.2
Lower Middle	24.8	66.4
Poor	18.4	41.6
Very poor	18.4	23.2
Destitute	4.8	4.8

Source: RANS 2004 – wealth measure based on productive assets

Table 3 provides an estimate of the productive wealth distribution in Yetmen in 2004. Just over 40% of the households in the sample were poor with an estimated 15% rich or very rich. The survey was done before the increase in irrigation opportunities and other livelihood changes described below. The wealthiest households in the community are headed by strong farmers with large amounts of livestock and grain in store, grain traders or educated people employed by government. They usually live in houses with corrugated iron roofs which are well-furnished and are able to send children to towns for education beyond Grade 8. For example there are some parents sending their children to nursing school in Debre Markos at a cost of 13,000 birr. Destitute people have no land or livestock and may not have a house or if they do it is a poorly constructed one. Their clothing is poor and they mostly live a life that is hand to mouth doing daily labour, serving the rich, chopping wood, or begging.

Children living in poor households are at a disadvantage although due to the long-term nature of childhood the issue of childhood poverty is complex. Depending on the socio-economic context, the proportion of households where children are poor throughout their childhood varies but in many contexts children are not poor all the time experiencing one or more patches of poverty whose consequences for their life trajectories may be negligible or constitute a turning point. In some cases children are instrumental in helping their household out of poverty by working to provide household income.

Inequality within households

Some children within households get better education opportunities than others depending on labour needs in the household, birth order and interest in learning. Stepchildren are often said to be discriminated against. Old dependent people may not be well looked after.

Problems poor people face

A few examples from the data of particular problems which people who are poor face:

- Poor children may suffer **educationally** if they are sent to work in other people's farms or house; if there is not enough money for exercise books and pens; if parents are unable to cover living costs in towns for secondary and post-secondary education or for private post-secondary education if the child fails to get on a TVET course.
- **Agriculture** – poorer farmers don't use enough fertiliser; this is exacerbated now they can no longer get credit
- Poor women may not be able to afford to buy **contraceptives** if they are not available from the government clinic leading to unwanted pregnancies
- Poor people can't afford **health care**
- Big rises in **taxes** – poor households are paying by selling their limited grain or animals
- Commemoration ceremonies (**teskar**) – one respondent mentioned that some poor people might sell their land for the ceremony (though this may have been an exaggeration)

Pro-poor interventions

There were said to be no programmes for getting government services to poor and vulnerable people. However, there were a few examples:

- Micro-enterprise credit – only landless youth or very poor people are entitled to get it
- Dormitories had been built in Bichena for 22 poor female students
- World Vision provided 6 breed cows and 10 sheep for poor people and covered education costs of children from poor families.
- Many poor farmers bought thin oxen with ACSI loans and sold them fattened after ploughing

Ethnicity and religion

All the residents of rural Yetmen are from the Amhara ethnic group and Orthodox Christians, though there are Muslims living in urban Yetmen. They reportedly do not allow Protestants to live in their community. There is suspicion that the NGO World Vision, which has provided a few livestock and educational materials to poor families, is intent on converting recipients to Protestantism.

Occupational castes

There are three social groups in the community based on their backgrounds in the past: landlords, 'slaves' and craftsmen, who make pots, tan leather and prepare metal tools. All are from the Amhara ethnic group, there is a smooth relationship, and they participate in social activities together, including iddir. During the Haile Selassie regime only the landlords had access to land but this was changed during the Derg regime. The landlords still believe they are superior and inter-marriage is not permitted.

Fields of action /domains of power in 2010

Livelihoods

Generally Yetmen has fertile land with the potential for producing a variety of crops. The kebele specialises in tef production and also grows wheat, chickpeas, vetch and maize and farmers also keep livestock – cattle (ploughing, fattening, and milk), sheep (meat), donkeys (transport) horses and mules, and bees. Many kebele residents are engaged in grain trading. Yetmen has two rivers increasingly being used for irrigation and livestock rearing and is rich in underground water resources allowing people to dig water wells in their compounds to use to grow vegetables.

High tef price increases two years ago led to increased incomes and incentives. Farmers sold most of

their teff using a little tef mixed with maize and sorghum to make injera. Recently grain prices have fallen (teff from 900 birr to 600 birr and wheat from 400 to 270 birr) and wereda officials are concerned this will lead to a decrease in production. Some residents suspect the government is holding prices down to attract the urban vote in the upcoming election.

Wereda officials reported 'a **problem of awareness**' among the community making it difficult to implement various technologies and methods that would lead to improvement. They resist government interventions, especially any to do with land. However, farmers are making changes to their cropping patterns following advice from the agriculture office to produce twice from the main rains using the moisture that is left after harvesting teff to grow chickpeas or vetch. Wereda officials also said that people are now highly engaged in **irrigation** activities with pump irrigation increasingly practised since 2006.

Farmers co-operate with other households in terms of mutual labour assistance in harvesting, animals and labour for threshing, lending of farm implements and animals and seeds exchange etc. People only co-operate with those they think will reciprocate.

Farmers are increasingly employing daily labourers from the lowlands during the harvesting season and the burgeoning grain trade provides **employment opportunities** for daily labourers (loading and unloading). Also the high school to be constructed will provide employment opportunities. There are many unemployed youths who have completed tenth grade and want to work in government offices rather than doing farm work. Some get involved in grain trading. Providing transportation services during market days is a new business. The educated youth have a negative attitude to daily labour while the micro-credit programme for youth to set up small businesses has been problematic as the youths have shared out the money and taken it with them to other areas assuming 'as if taking the money was their right'.

There is considerable pressure on **land** in Yetmen as result of population growth. Since over half of the population is under twenty the pressure is going to increase. There are a lot of land-leasing, renting and equal share-cropping interactions in the community. Young men said this was the main way in which they could get access to land. The main land leasers are women household heads, old people with a labour shortage, and some 'lazy to deal with farming'. Farmers with oxen and money are the main lessees. Some farmers lease land for irrigation using the land for only one harvest time while the owners plant it with crops during the rainy season (cost 700 – 1200 birr depending on size and fertility). The lease price of irrigable land is almost twice that of rainfed land. There were reports of land sales under the guise of formal lease contracts and of disputes in other kebeles when the seller discarded the informal agreement and reclaimed the land after the 3 year contract was ended.

There have been a number of land-related interventions in recent years: land from dead people was re-distributed (see above) ; land-registration/certification; the implementation of women's land rights (see above); and attempts to take communal land for youth co-operatives (see above) and for the building of a high school near/in Yetmen town.

Kebele officials said they were harmed by the **land registration** process due to the time taken away from their farms and the bad relations which arose with people during implementation. Many people haven't received certificates from the wereda who said there was a problem with missing and lost photographs. People see the advantages of the certificates as ensuring ownership rights, preventing boundary conflicts, easy proof in court cases, and ensuring compensation if the government takes their land for investment. Young men said they would establish their inheritance rights while young women said they would establish their rights in case of divorce. They are worried that they will be used by government to easily impose tax and contributions based on the registered land size.

Wereda officials and the Yetmen town community selected a high school building site on **communal grazing land** in rural Yetmen adjacent to the town land. Hearing of this the rural community

mobilised itself (through the Dese) and gathered to demonstrate. They entered into fights with the police during which a child was shot dead and the mother seriously wounded. Finally the community agreed to allocate 4 hectares of land for the school from 6 individual farmers promising to give those whose land was taken more productive land near the river land from communal grazing land shared by the rural and urban communities. The replacement land had not been given at the time of the research and one of those involved said he suspected the wereda was about to start construction which he would resist until he got the replacement land. Youth in the older FGD predicted another community conflict as they had heard that the town community were not willing to give up any of the joint grazing land to the farmers.

The growing of crops under **irrigation** in the wereda has increased; in early 2010 there were 142 pumps in the wereda and Yetmen had 25. The wereda has a proposal that farmers should use ground water and pumps. Wereda officials and the DAs helped by providing pumps on credit and training, while the wereda has helped with the repair of pumps. Ambasel Business Company, ACSI and World Vision have also been involved in facilitating individual/group access to pumps. There is a need for more training to repair simple faults so that farmers do not have to take them to Bichena leaving their vegetable to die due to lack of water. The growth of irrigation farming is providing landless people with daily labour opportunities at high rates of pay and kebele officials predicted life will improve as more people engage in irrigation. They were in favour of irrigable land from communal land being distributed to people who have no land along the river.

Households producing vegetables using irrigation have become richer through selling the vegetables and investing in other activities such as breed cows and renting more irrigable land. Young people reported being able to buy school materials and have better clothes as one benefit. The income is also used to support children at secondary school in towns. Young women and men whose parents have irrigated land work on it, digging, watering plants and protecting the fields from animals and potential thieves. Wives have quit their previous non-farm income-generating activities to be involved in weeding and tending vegetables. Watering plants is tiresome and protecting the fields boring so there is potential for conflict between parents and children and sometimes quarrels and fights among siblings over who should do the work. The older male FGD agreed that the introduction of irrigation has greatly motivated people, especially the young, to work hard and produce twice in a year. Some young men produce their own crops using land from parents and their pumps enabling them to save money. There are daily labour opportunities (20 birr per day) for young people whose parents do not have irrigable land.

The crops grown under irrigation include tomatoes, potatoes, green peppers, onions, caulis, beetroots and other vegetables leading to improvement in the diets of some households which was appreciated particularly by the two female YFGDs.

The wereda **watershed management** programme for producing household water reservoirs and pond digging was not successful. The wereda provided tools and facilitated purchase of plastic sheeting but only one man dug a household reservoir which he used to grow chillies, garlic and cabbage for household consumption and for their bees. Three ponds for cattle were dug using community labour and many used the one that still had water in it at the time of the research. Kebele officials thought the cattle ponds should be dug deeper and wider and there should be more of them. Informants were not keen on household water reservoirs as they require much labour and money, reduce land for growing, and may be a source for malaria. Others said they also pose a drowning risk for children and animals.

Children going to school has led to a **farm labour shortage** and with farmers producing twice a year with rainwater demand for farm labour has gone up. There was a very high use of seasonal immigrant labour (25 birr with food or 35-40 birr without food) for tef harvesting and there was no labour-sharing as used to be practised due to household labour shortage in the face of rain threat.

The official policy is to replace artificial fertilisers with **compost** and other bio fertilisers because of

their negative impact on the soil. A woman said that the compost is prepared using cow dung and waste material after cleaning the house. There is a programme of training which began in 2004 but compost use in Yetmen was less than average; even those who did produce it didn't use it all or only on garden plots. The DA taught farmers by comparing the price difference with artificial fertilisers. One farmer said this was because it produced a lot of weeds. The DA suggested this was because it wasn't being made properly.

Enemay wereda is said to be much better than surrounding weredas in terms of high **fertiliser** use and the number of farmers involved, mainly for tef and maize production, and Yetmen was reported as among the better gots in terms of regular application but even so farmers don't use enough. This was confirmed by a number of farmer respondents who said they used much less fertiliser than was recommended because of the cost though there were also some who said they followed the DA advice on fertilisers. Wereda officials said that this should be remedied through education and the provision of credit especially for poorer farmers. The Service Co-operative stopped providing fertiliser on credit in 2008/9.

One of the DAs said that the number of farmers responding to **agricultural extension programmes**, many of which have been in existence for some years, has been greatly increasing especially the use of irrigation, producing twice during the rainy season using the Broad Bed Maker plough, bull fattening and market-oriented crop production. He said all farmers are given equal access to extension services but there is a need to increase their voluntary participation. Our farmer respondents all said that they appreciated the DAs' advice which included planting maize in a line, planting animal fodder in the compound like a fence, making compost, applying fertiliser, improved seeds, although it was not clear how many of them applied which advice. Advice to dig household reservoirs was not appreciated and there were criticisms of improved seeds of wheat and chickpeas which failed to grow due to lack of information about how they should be grown.

The young people said DAs gave their parents saspania plant to be used as a fence and fodder and kontir plant to be used as a fence and fuel. They also gathered poles to give advice about how to sow in straight lines. They said the overall effect of the agricultural extension workers is to increase the amount of household production, particularly the use of compost, fertiliser and sowing in lines. The older girls said sowing seeds in line is more time-consuming than scattering them and this adds to their workload and is tiresome. However it helps to boost production as crops sown in lines can withstand wind and rain so give better outcomes. Suggestions from the female youth groups for improvements in the extension service were to bring seeds or seedlings of mango, orange, banana, coffee and lemon which grow in other places and to have a place to demonstrate their new interventions rather than asking farmers to do it without showing them the benefits. Both male youth groups agreed that extension workers had helped the people very much in terms of giving advice about development and facilitating the purchase of pumps and use of fertilisers and improved seeds 'which helped many people to get richer'.

Last year DAs, wereda officials and kebele leaders were helpful in making the BBM plough available for farmers and educating them about what to do in **the two-crops-per-year programme** to plant chickpeas immediately after harvesting barley on 30 has of land. The farmers got more cash, especially from the chickpeas, and kebele officials expect most farmers will do this in future.

There is a **co-operative** union formed by shareholding service co-ops from several kebeles and covering three weredas, including Enemay, and the kebele Service Co-operative benefits. The union is involved in bulk purchases and then supplies consumer goods and agricultural inputs and technologies to the primary co-ops, markets farmers' grain collected by the service co-ops and allocates dividends. Wereda officials reported that currently there were problems of shortage of capital, input price increases and grain price decreases so the Union was forced to keep members' grain stored for a long time. They said the union still keeps many quintals of *tef* in its store from previous years due to price decline.

One of the DAs said that the kebele Service Co-operative is considered one of the most important instruments of the implementation of extension packages, especially of market-oriented production and agricultural inputs. He believed that the community will be able to improve the market prices of their crops and animals and animal by-products by using co-operatives and it would also help them deal with consumer goods price inflation problems. The SC has employed a manager since 2005. Kebele officials said that currently there are 2747 SC members participating in buying inputs and consumer goods from and selling grain through the SC; many of them have been receiving good dividends based on their participation. Due to reluctance to repay input credit it was stopped in 2008 and both members and non-members pay in cash with non-members getting no dividend. The SC manager said that now poor farmers were forced to grow without fertilisers, to take loans with high interest rates from moneylender, or to buy and use small amounts of fertiliser below the recommendation.

Last year there was a new sale of shares to increase capital. The co-operative still faces shortage of capital to buy as much grain as possible when there is a good harvest even though they have taken loans from the union and from the commercial bank in Bichena.

The male youth Focus Groups both said the SC was good in that it helped them buy commodities and fertilisers and seeds at a fair price, sell their grain at a better price and benefit from dividends. However three of the older respondents interviewed in depth said that they did not use the SC. One said 'now they no longer give credit for fertiliser and improved seeds people do not need to go to the co-op any more'. The others said that the prices of inputs and outputs were no better than could be obtained from the market. The SC manager said the main problems faced were grain and consumer price fluctuations and lack of access to bulk purchases of sugar and coffee for their shop; the union was not licensed to buy it in bulk so the co-operative was forced to buy from wholesale traders. They also would benefit from having their own trucks for grain transportation.

The **dairy co-operative** that was established in 2004 is left with only 12 active members. The main reasons given are that many members stopped producing milk due to shortage of feed and that milk was bought at a low price due to weak management. The co-operative could not get land in Bichena for the construction of milk distributing shops; one ex-member suggested they should distribute their milk in the towns around to get a good profit. A women's spinning co-operative has been established very recently; at the beginning it was only for young women then adult women also joined. They contribute 3 birr a month each. The benefit is small so far: the kebele gave them an office, women have spun cotton and sold it and produced 55 kg of teff from a small plot of land given by the kebele. The leader said that people have been taking and destroying what they plant. The leader said that if the government gives them irrigable land and a motor pump the co-operative will benefit. A member said if they get land it will change their life.

As described earlier a number of **youth co-operatives** have been formed by land-seeking youth but none are currently operational.

Livestock and other extension workers, World Vision, ACSI and wereda officials participated in educating and training farmers and providing them with credit and free Artificial Insemination. Kebele officials said that more than 70 farmers have one or more breeds mostly produced through bull insemination by renting (5 birr) or borrowing someone else's bull. From the community it was reported that more than 70% of the farmers with cows now have hybrids obtained by using their own or other farmers' bulls. Breeds easily die of disease and require more food. World Vision gave 6 breed cows to poor farmers. If a local cow produces 1 – 1½ litres of milk a foreign cow produces 6 – 7 litres. The milk production of hybrids is somewhere between the two. The female YFGDs said that the presence of **foreign and hybrid cattle** is allowing them to drink more milk (which tastes the same) and there are benefits from the increase in income. Foreign cows also produce more meat. The price of hybrid oxen is double that of local oxen; they plough far more strongly. The young male FG claimed that the majority of people were not benefiting from fattening and improved breeds due

to shortage of grazing land and forage; the older group said most farmers had been involved in fattening at least once or twice and many sold such a bull for up to 6000 birr.

Wereda officials said that high numbers of farmers in the wereda are increasingly involved in **animal fattening** and Yetmen participation is above average. The wereda is encouraging the use of indoor feeding but shortage of forage and water to keep them strictly indoors fed was a common problem. As described above in Yetmen efforts have been made to encourage farmers to engage in forage development by providing them with saspania plants. Richer farmers buy thinner bulls with their own money, plough with them for some time and sell them at a higher price. Many poor farmers have bought thin oxen with ACSI loans. Kebele officials think fattening could be very important for increasing wealth and that producing animal feed through irrigation could help.

In the wereda there are 6 **animal health clinics** providing vaccination for cattle, sheep and donkeys and treatment services and farmers' interest is high at wereda level. Rod II, anthrax, sheep pox and parasites are common animal diseases. Wereda officials said that Yetmen has a public animal clinic and private animal drug shops but there were problems of shortages of trained technicians, medicines and fridges. From Yetmen it was reported that most of the farmers regularly take animals to the clinic for treatment and vaccination and farmer respondents regularly expressed satisfaction with the work of the veterinarian. Sheep are sprayed to protect them from insects at the cost of 2 birr per sheep. Farmers say they regularly take *madeberia* (animal fertiliser) for curing thinning animals. The vet called it anti-internal parasite medicine.

One of the YFGDs said that **modern beehives** are given. 'The government brought it and farmers were made to buy it'. Many people don't produce honey and bees are not easily found.

There is a **Farmer's Training Centre** which is currently not operational because there are no trained crop and animal DAs. It was poorly constructed by community labour in 2007 and is about to fall down. 2.5 hectares of demonstration/trial land was allocated so that the **3 Development Agents** could provide training for farmers with Grade 4-8 education in animal production, crop development and natural resource management which has been leased out for 16,400 birr. In addition to the absence of DAs and the collapsing status of the building they have no training materials or equipment. Some model farmers and a few others are interested in the demonstrative aspect of the FTC but the majority of farmers were described as 'indifferent to use it.'

The two DAs are both women but the crops DA is not trained. Before 2007 each DA was only expected to provide their specialised service. Since then each of them needs to be multi-purpose capable of carrying out all activities related to crops, livestock and NR in the specific Gots to which they are assigned. Each DA is required to replace the others when they are absent.

The **stand-in Crops DA** is from Yetmen; she completed 10th grade at Bichena. She was selected from 3000 people who applied for 12 DA positions. She is paid 500 birr per month. In early 2010 she had been in the post for eight months and had one day training on spraying sheep. She has also had 5 days gender training. She is working as DA and has a leadership role in the Women's Association. She is mainly assigned to work in Yetmen spending 4 days a week there. She usually works 6 hours a day 7 days a week. There is monitoring but it is not practised much as the DAs live in different sub-kebeles. The respondent decided to live in Zebch where the professional DA lives and where the office is located. She works with model farmers, especially those in leadership positions. People do not come when invited to meetings even when experts from the wereda office come. She said that farmers do not accept new things easily; they wait for others to succeed or fail. She gives information on new things and registers information about what is going on for different farmers – the amount and type of their production. She gives advice on irrigation, animal fattening and training on natural resources.

While she is satisfied with her job it is not comfortable; she does not have enough time for her family and other social responsibilities. 'For women who have a husband and children agricultural

extension work makes life difficult and causes separation or divorce.’ She would like to have an office in Yetmen and said that the ‘meetings are too much. Many people in the leadership are bored with meetings. She said that there is no development made from meetings but just with work’. She wants to get diploma level training in teaching or accounting; she does not want to work in agriculture.

The **DA Natural Resources** attended a 3 year course after completing Grade 10. She has had watershed development training (8 days), skills training on improved stoves (3 days) and political orientation for one month. She left her previous job because they wouldn’t transfer her to Enemay wereda where her husband lives (Bichena – with their daughters). She said she couldn’t bear living separated from her husband any longer so she abandoned the job after 3 years. She said she was not transferred because her husband was not a party/cabinet member; she said she wouldn’t even have had to stay a year if her husband was a member or one of the wereda officials. She stayed with her husband for 9 months without any work but applied for this job when it was advertised. She has been in the post for 8 months. She complained that now she can’t be with her husband and children even on weekends as she has to participate in the regular Kebele cabinet meetings on Sundays.

She said that people’s participation in development activities and acceptance of expert advice was very good in her previous job. But she said that people in Felege Selam know a lot about agriculture so don’t take expert advice seriously and resist the implementation of any policies they don’t want. Since the crop and livestock DAs left she has been responsible for all three sector’s activities helping the untrained temporary crops DA and the veterinarian.

She said there wasn’t much work done in relation to NR though some gully check dam activities were carried out last year and party members had planted some trees for the Ethiopian millennium, though almost all had disappeared due to lack of proper tending. The natural resources packages include watershed development, terracing/gully treatment, seedling preparation and distribution, and reforestation through garden/field tree planting. Wildlife protection is not relevant as there are none. For this year they have planned 300 ha of terracing/gully treatment to be carried out through 45 days community work involving all males and females over 18. All necessary equipment (spades, hoes etc) have been made available and training conducted. She said that the community was not willing to participate in terracing since the land is flat with few erosion problems; but they have willingly participated in gully check dam work. She said that community mobilisation through party cells and development teams had declined since the chairman was imprisoned in October 2009.

She is absolutely dissatisfied with her work: the payment is too low compared with the responsibility; access to education is restricted and all transfer opportunities suspended. She recommended that DAs should only deal with activities in their respective areas of training; there should be transfer regulations that facilitate the reunion of spouses and children and a better salary. She will leave the job as soon as she gets a better opportunity.

The **veterinarian** received a veterinary diploma in 2006; before that he worked as DA for 6 years. He was assigned to this kebele as a veterinarian in 2006. When he worked as a DA he faced community resistance and low co-operation but his work as a veterinarian is good in that farmers are well aware of the importance of animal health services and he can see the immediate results of his activities. He uses model farmers to be the first to vaccinate their animals when new vaccination programmes are introduced or there is an animal disease outbreak. He has been able to meet his targets every year. This year 15,989 animals are to be vaccinated in the kebele.

He said that many animal health problems are related to poor nutrition making them vulnerable to disease but farmers haven’t accepted the advice to produce animal forage to overcome the problem of animal feed shortage. Also there was a misperception among farmers that a vaccination against one disease could protect them from many others and that it would serve for a lifetime. The second concern he raised is that while farmers have a high demand for vet services government gives them little attention compared with extension activities in other sectors. Lack of a refrigerator for live

vaccines and shortage of drugs are the main problems. There are many beekeepers using traditional hives but few farmers using modern and transitional hives. Sometimes little or no honey is produced due to absence of bee forages when high pesticides are applied.

He is satisfied with his achievements in the job, being especially successful in his surgery practices for cow's birth delivery and open castration of bulls. He is dissatisfied with the low salary compared with the workload and health risks from dealing with animal diseases, no per diem for field treatment, no transport allowance and restricted transfer and promotion opportunities. He wants to upgrade his education to BA and get a better job.

The selection of **model farmers** started after the 2005 election. There are about 52 models, all of them party cell members and kebele leaders who must volunteer to first try any newly introduced packages and technologies. Only rarely do ordinary farmers become models by working with DAs and applying technologies.

A male model farmer said he was becoming richer by applying all extension packages especially increasing his cash through irrigation. A woman heading a household said she was chosen because she did not give her land for share cropping, rather employing someone to assist in farm activities and is a hard worker. The recognition made her work harder. She said 'it is like that of prize given for clever students, when the clever students get prize it encourages the lazy students to work hard. It makes the farmer to be more productive and have better life.' Another woman said that her household had become a model by the production of crops, irrigation and honey. Those who work hard become models and it benefits them to make them work harder. They get materials that they did not have before, vegetable seedlings and technical support from the DAs. But many others said things like 'people with money are elected as models and we are not are encouraged to work like them. They are benefiting themselves but its benefit for others is not much'. The older male Focus Group all agreed that model farmers 'didn't give any benefit to other people except for themselves.' Another informant said they don't teach their experiences to the community but during meetings DAs mention them as good examples. He said the community wouldn't listen to them even if they did try to teach because some of them were selected by giving false information about what they have. Another said that those who were rich in the past were selected: Lalew Yichemerletal (to him who hath it shall be given).

With regard to non-farm activities many farmers are involved in the **grain trade**. Some buy tef and chickpeas from remote rural markets and sell them retail in the open market or to grain store owner at wholesale in Yetmen town. A few buy in bulk and send to Addis. Many wives of non-irrigation users are getting involved in the vegetable retail trade; they buy from irrigators and sell the vegetables in the market. Wereda officials said that the trade and industry and small and micro-enterprise sections provides capital which is organised at wereda level, though there were not matching reports from kebele officials or community members.

Amhara Credit and Savings Institution (ACSI) is the main source of credit for farmers to use for fattening, grain/vegetable trade, buying irrigation pumps etc. The older male youth in the focus group discussion said that although it is identified as a private institution it is party-affiliated. This group agreed that they did not know of any people whose lives had been changed through borrowing money and there were some people who had been harmed by falling into debt as a result of animal death or using the loan for food. The wereda micro-enterprise office has been facilitating government and NGO **loans to group beneficiaries** who must be landless rural or urban youth or very poor. Like in other sectors the wereda office has assigned one expert at kebele level (posted in any one of the kebele towns) to monitor and follow up the groups' activities from registration/recruiting of group members to loans repayment. About 2 million birr has reportedly been given to micro-enterprises though much of this has not been repaid as expected.

The **Farmers' Savings and Credit Association** is said to be an important means of accumulating savings and taking loans. It started in 2001 support from DAs and the kebele co-operative expert

who helped the 12 establishing members get organised, formally registered and operate. The following year membership reached 56 and currently stands at 172. The wereda is facilitating for the association to buy shares in a co-operative bank once it is established. Currently there are 172 members regularly putting in monthly savings and taking loans as they need. Repayment is not a problem as members take loans of the same amounts as their savings without a guarantor. If they fail to pay savings for three consecutive months they are expelled. The original rule was that members should save a minimum level of 10 birr and a maximum of 30 birr per month but in 2005 they increased the maximum to 50 birr. At the moment most of their savings are lying idle as members borrow only a small proportion. They think they could have increased their savings if they were permitted to invest in other activities or receive interest through a bank. They have an iron-roofed house with two separate rooms: one they use as an office and the other they rent to a grain trader as a store.

There are **non-farm opportunities** in urban Yetmen for young boys to work as driver's assistants to drivers of ISUZU trucks transporting grain. There are also loading and unloading opportunities.

Young men who fail to get on TVET courses and are not interested in farming may **migrate** looking for work elsewhere. The son of one of our respondent households went to look for work and has permanently migrated to Gode town in Somali Region. He has sent greetings to the family through other people but do not know how he is making a living and suspect he is not in a position to support himself. There are linkages with Metema in the lowlands of North Gondar Amhara Region: some migrants have used land there to produce sesame (see above). There are people who live in Addis Ababa, Bahir Dar and Debre Markos who send **remittances** (clothes and cash) to their families living in Yetmen. Most are engaged in trading while the others are educated and have jobs. Most migrated a long time ago.

Human re/production

The most common **housing** type has a corrugated iron roof and more than one room. Houses have low fences some made of stones while others are hedges. Most houses have simple gates made of wood; neither the fences nor the gates prevent people from entering the houses. The gates keep animals in or out. Many houses have **water wells in** their own compounds. Some of the wells dry and crumble when it is hot and dry. One respondent said the HEW taught them to use jerry cans as drinking water containers as they have narrow mouths.

For light many people use battery run electric bulbs and some use a rectangular torch like an electric bulb hanging it from the ceiling and connecting a switch to it with an electric wire. Until 2007 people in urban Yetmen shared electric power with rural residents living near the urban area but in that year they stopped this.

Most women have regular co-operation with women in other households, sharing household tools and materials and doing **domestic activities** together for holidays or other times.

Illnesses found in Yetmen include TB, typhus (or typhoid?), STDs, diarrhoea, intestinal parasites, trachoma, arthritis, pneumonia, skin problems and anthrax Elephantiasis and leprosy have also been mentioned.

There is some disagreement about whether **malaria** is prevalent in Yetmen. For example a HEW said there is no malaria in Yetmen though there is in a neighbouring kebele. A Health Promoter said it is a problem and many people died three years ago. At that time many ponds were made dry. Kebele officials reported that they had co-ordinated with health centre workers and HEWs for the cleaning of water-containing places and the distribution of bednets. Wereda officials reported poor participation in the cleaning while 'in those places which are prone to malaria the campaigns were done effectively'. There were cases of malaria in Yetmen for the first time in 2005 while we were conducting DEEP research and a poor respondent pointed out that malaria has not been a problem

since 3 or 4 years ago thinking this might be due to the cleaning of stagnant water or the bednets. A health centre worker said that malaria was not a health problem for Yetmen because there are no swamp areas: there are a few sporadic cases but the majority are from other places.

Community members were keen to take bednets though many did not use them in the conventional fashion since the majority of the community do not seem to believe that there is malaria in Yetmen. Some people put the net under where they sleep to protect themselves from bedbugs and fleas. These were keen that the bednet be soaked in chemicals frequently. Others use the nets to tie their hair or their waists, as a curtain or as a rope, or to protect infants from things that may fall from the roof. A man who contracted malaria two years ago said that the health clinic service was not good due to a critical shortage of drugs and because health workers lack experience in examining and identifying the causes of illness. He prefers to go to Dejen or Debre Markos for treatment. He was sick at home with a recurrence of malaria when interviewed and said the clinic couldn't help him and he was about to leave for Debre Marcos.

HIV/AIDS is prevalent in urban Yetmen and some people living with HIV/AIDS have organised themselves in an association. They revealed themselves to the community and get support from the wereda in the form of oil and flour. They have also been given irrigation land. Most respondents said that HIV is not a big problem in rural Yetmen although the Health Promoter said that HIV is a big issue now; many people, mostly young, have died of HIV/AIDS but it is not openly told and 'people do not accept the lessons given to them'. A woman said she knew four couples who had died leaving orphans.

There have been awareness-raising activities in both urban and rural parts of Yetmen for some time and there is education by radio. Kebele officials said that HEWs give health education in rural Yetmen and lessons on HIV/AIDS are given in school and that community awareness is increasing. Lessons are given on the importance of abstinence, avoiding sharing sharp instruments, on caring for people living with HIV/AIDS and the importance of taking the HIV test. The Women's Affairs representative said that there are some farmers who go to prostitutes in urban Yetmen and education about HIV/AIDS is not given continuously.

The wereda launched a Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission of HIV programme in 2006. About half of pregnant women were given an HIV test and those who were positive got service to prevent transmission of HIV to their new-borns. There were a number of problems: shortage of manpower and high turnover; resistance from women to have the test; shortage of test kits; absence of prophylaxis for the PMTCT service.

The **health extension programme** was launched in the wereda in 2006 and in Yetmen in the following year. It started with 11 packages but now there are 16. There are two HEWs and a number of Health Promoters. The health post in Zebch used to be a clinic. The programme includes **separation of animal and human rooms**, the **construction of latrines**, and the use of **improved ovens** which prevents direct exposure to smoke and fire. Wereda officials said that they did not achieve what they aimed due to 'awareness problems' and the cost of making the changes.

The **sanitation package** was implemented first on kebele officials with the idea that this would lead to acceptance by the rest of the community. They claimed that they had benefited but said no more than a quarter of community members in Yetmen had made and used the things proposed by the HEWs. People were not willing to expend their labour and materials; officials said that previously slabs were given for latrine construction and there was a ready-made mould for the oven and it would be good if the government provided these until the community understands the benefit and makes things on their own. One of the HEWs said that 290 households have graduated so far after learning all the packages and implementing them; the households have been given certificates. A health promoter said that graduates have dug latrines, prepared solid and liquid waste disposal systems, constructed improved ovens, and made a shelf; many people have not followed the advice. A health package adopter said she had been given a very big dish as a prize.

Wereda officials said that people resist digging **latrines** even when they have the materials for construction. The youth in the Focus Groups approved of the use of latrines saying they prevented communicable diseases. 'If there is no latrine people defecate everywhere and its smell makes us cough and flies which cause disease reproduce there.' (Younger Female FG) While the older female FG also approved of latrines for the same reason they said that many of those who have latrines never use them preferring the open fields saying the latrines would cause bad smells. The young male FG said people use them at night if they are used at all and suggested that people only dug latrines to show to the HEWs. The older male FG agreed that most people didn't understand the benefit of latrines and one discussant expressed sympathy saying it took them time to adapt to using the latrine at school. A few households do use the latrines. A rich elderly man said all his family members regularly use it and it has helped them to avoid the difficulties of going to the fields in the rain and on slippery mud at night and in the morning, especially in the rainy season, though he believed that the majority of those who dug latrines don't use them. A man of similar age said most people dug it only for fear of fines and some had demolished it after showing it to the HEWs. He thinks latrines will be good when their village becomes a town.

The female wereda councillor fell out with one of the HEWs who refused to inject people sent for contraceptive injections including herself because they had not dug latrines. As a result she had an unplanned pregnancy. She informed the wereda what the HEW was doing and it has now been resolved. Asked what she did not like about her job the HEW said she does not feel happy when people construct ovens or latrines and demolish them the next day. A Health Centre worker said that though latrines are dug when the rain comes they are filled with water 'and then it becomes meaningless'

The health centre and school do not set good examples. The head of the health centre in urban Yetmen said that the latrine in the Health Centre is 'no good' and needs improving. A shower and latrine were constructed in the primary school (up to Grade 8) last year but they have not yet started to function.

Wereda officials said there are also economic problems when people are told to separate their rooms from those of their animals.

Most people use cow dung and wood for fuel though some households have made some changes. People have planted eucalyptus trees in their compounds and once they are old enough use them for fuel and some have copied people in urban Yetmen who use coal which is easily available in the market. The **improved stoves** encouraged as one of the health extension packages do not work well with cow dung as there is no way to clean the ashes easily and they build up quickly. People also have to stand to use it so women not able or willing to stand for a long time do not like it. A Health Promoter said that stones are required to build the improved stoves; since they are not easily available people have to buy them which is not easy. The use of coal as fuel prevents eye problems and the stove can be moved anywhere when preparing coffee and cooking wat while if it is cow dung or wood it has to stay in the kitchen.

HEWs also mobilise people for vaccinations, although some people resist saying they will cause miscarriages. This year HEWS have started teaching about transmission of HIV to infants. A health promoter said she is making people take HIV tests. She does not have enough notebooks and pens to write reports on the number of births, pregnant women and follow-ups of family planning. HEWs also give education in meetings to stop female circumcision and the extraction of milk teeth. Health education is also given at the Health Centre and some people go to Bichena for 2-3 day lessons. Extraction of milk teeth is common and they do not boil the tools they use. A HEW told the kebele chairman to 'tell the man who practices milk teeth extraction to stop and do something else for a living.'

Wereda officials said that what community members expect from health posts are curative services whereas the health extension workers work primarily on preventing illnesses. Since it is difficult to

convince them to build new things they are at least told to keep their houses clean and make some adjustments to their existing house. People have been taught to make shelves to keep things clean, and how to dispose of solid and liquid waste. One woman who said she had followed all the teachings of the HEW because they helped us to be healthy then said 'though actually there was not disease even before that'. Another woman who had not followed any of the HEW's instructions said that the family was using more soap to wash their bodies and clothes; each member of the family has their own soap. They also buy Ajax for washing up. 'The children and the family are becoming clean; it looks and feels good when using soap for washing'. She said that her children had learned about hygiene at school and insisted they start using soap.

The interviewed HEW is from urban Yetmen. She attended a 10+1 health extension training programme in Bichena and has had an 18-day refresher training, 3 days training on PMTCT and 1 day training on fistula. She works all days of the week 8 hours a day and sometime overnight when there is a delivery. She allocates 1 day a week for Yetmen. She gives health education by going door to door, assists farmers in the building of ovens, gives delivery service during the night, gives monthly vaccinations and does HIV testing. She is paid 572 birr per month. She complained that there is no water or electricity at the health post and they do not have annual leave like other civil servants. She thinks health promoters could be given more responsibility. She said that people do not accept and do what they teach. They want treatment not prevention of diseases from the beginning.

The interviewed Health Promoter came to Yetmen to marry her husband. She was taught up to Grade 10 during the Derg regime. She worked for 8 years as a family planning adviser before becoming an HP. She works voluntarily though she said it would be good if they were paid. She has been trained on the health extension programme. She attends monthly meetings; every 5th day of the month she makes door-to-door visits to inform people to go for vaccinations. She advises about contraceptive use. They assist the HEWs when there are immunisation campaigns and medicine to be given to the community, e.g. for trachoma. She makes reports on a monthly basis.

It was reported that most people use the **modern health service** for physical illnesses, although we have found in past research that people are reluctant to talk about traditional practices with modern-looking researchers.

Respondents did say that problems related to bones are treated by people who traditionally fix bones and they are massaged to relieve pains. For **mental illness** and possession of evil spirits they use holy water. Two of our interviewees have relatives who have recently become mentally ill; they are both kept locked with leg irons. A woman respondent said that since last year mental illness is becoming common; youth are the ones most affected. The causes are thought to be the evil eye, Satan, demons, or bewitching. 'Recently people who go to holy water being healthy are becoming ill. I do not know what has come to us.' One theory was that demons that used to live in the forests had nowhere to live since all the trees were cut down.

A **new health centre** was built in Yetmen in 2007. It has five sections with responsible people: OPD, EPI/family planning, under-fives and ante-natal, laboratory, and pharmacy. There is a shortage of human power. There is no health officer at the moment. There is an integrated disease surveillance response (IDSR) which needs specific reports on polio, measles, and neo-natal tetanus. There is a delivery service but no assigned health workers as everyone works there. The head of the centre said there is a strong relationship with the wereda health office: they supply drugs, vaccination, and family planning contraceptives, although currently there is a shortage of drugs. Health workers from the wereda come to give technical support and visit quarterly for supervision.

The health extension workers in three health posts are under the health centre and the centre gives them technical support by visiting the health posts and holding monthly meetings with the HEWs. There used to be a supervisor of the health posts in the health centre but the position is vacant. Health centre workers were critical of the HEWS. One said they manage the health post carelessly, for example they could have improved EPI coverage. There is a health post for the Kebele which

includes Yetmen, but it is a bit far from Yetmen. The health centre is nearer to them yet still some people go to the health post, which has a nurse, because service is free there.

The head of the health centre started to work there as a clinical nurse more than two years ago and he is now also working as head. The vacancy was posted three times and he was the only applicant; he was given an exam which he passed and he was appointed. He grew up in Bichena and before coming to the health centre he was engaged in his own private business. He has received additional training in VCT and basic obstetrics and newborn care. He works five weekdays and four weekend days by shift with other health workers and he does 7 nights a week of night duty.

Wereda officials said that compared with other kebeles Yetmen has had better access to health services from the beginning. After the health centre was opened in Yetmen the clinic at Zebch was demoted to a health post but because people complained a nurse has been assigned to the health post. They are aware that there is a lack of certain equipment and of drugs and are trying to solve the problem in collaboration with NGOs. The head of the health centre said the main issues of concern were **shortage of drugs** due to insufficient budget from the wereda and an **inadequate number of health workers**.

Many of the respondents complained about the lack of drugs at the health centre, and being sent to buy medicine from the private clinic and some suggested the personnel lacked experience. Significant numbers of people use the private clinic in Yetmen town in preference because it has good drugs. There is no treatment given for eyes and people complain. However, there were appreciative responses from some respondents – an elderly woman, a chronically sick man, and a mother of a child who was sick. Youth Focus Group respondents appreciated the presence of the health centre as they can easily get treatment in their area so that their work is not affected and it has a good effect on their health. They agreed that the service for children and pregnant women was good. It was said that people prefer to go to the health centre for treatment for headaches, back pain and problems related to pregnancy and delivery. The health centre gives delivery service at any time. Traditional birth attendants also have an important role assisting deliveries in the community.

Contraceptives are widely used in pill or injection form. Since the health centre was built access became better. Women use them when they decide to stop or delay birth. Some stop taking them due to side effects and sometimes the supplies in the health centre run out. In some cases men suggest it; some men do not know if their wives are using them. Kebele officials said that women choose the injection when they want to hide it from their husbands. The older male FGD said using pills was bad as many women forget to take them. HEWs give training usually targeted at women; girls are advised to use contraceptives when they are first married in case it does not work out. Having children is getting more expensive and most men want to use contraceptives after having the number of children they want, though there are also some against using them. A group of men said that if a disapproving man finds his wife has had an injection he goes to ask for one as there is a belief that if a man gets a contraceptive injection the same day as the woman the contraceptive does not work. Some women refuse to use contraceptives even if their husbands want no more children or to space birth. Many respondents said contraception was particularly important for poor households and the young. Religious leaders questioned approved of it.

It was estimated that around half of **pregnant mothers** go for monthly checks to the clinic. There is no payment for pregnancy follow-up but there is payment for drugs; people with money go regularly while poor women only go if they get sick. The clinic at Zebch which has closed had better drugs than the new health centre. The wereda provided iodine supplement for pregnant women, breast-feeding mothers and children 6-23 months old. The number of pregnant women targeted was less than planned because there were fewer pregnant mothers than projected.

Wereda officials said that better **delivery service** had started in a number of places, including Yetmen, with the addition of better equipment, though full delivery materials are not available. Yetmen's service is above average: there is access to electricity and it is on a main road. Many

mothers deliver at home with the help of Traditional Birth Attendants though some said that their use was declining as many mothers give birth in the clinic. Sometimes women with complications are referred to Bichena. The 15-19 female FG members said there were not enough delivery materials and not enough human power when there are complications during delivery.

There is monthly **vaccination** for newborn infants and reports from all kinds of respondents suggest that small children are regularly taken for vaccination.

In relation to **education** Yetmen has had an elementary school since the 1960s. Many students go to Bichena and Dejen for 9th – 12th grades. Those who complete Grade 10 with scores too low for the next grades can join TVETs in Bichena, Dejen, Debre Markos or Addis Ababa. Parents are advised to send their children to elementary school; beyond this the continuity of education depends on the parents' economic situation and commitment to education. Only those who can cover the costs of living in towns can get education beyond Grade 8, although the wereda has constructed dormitories for 22 poor female students in Bichena. Commitment to education is growing as a result of landlessness and the need for other sources of income. People have seen that those who have reached a higher level of education are supporting their parents; there is no need to have land to lead life and education is a means to income. There are also those who send their children to secondary school because others are and they do not want to lag.

There are no government **pre-school** initiatives in the wereda although World Vision is supporting a Kindergarten in urban Yetmen. Alternative Basic Education started in 2004 though not in Yetmen. Wereda officials said it was not so effective as the formal education.

Wereda officials said that people in Yetmen are sending their children to school and kebele officials said that there only ten children who are not enrolled; kebele officials and teachers go door-to-door. There are real cases where parents do not want to send their children, usually because they are poor and have sent their children to work in other households as herders or because they have no money to buy exercise books and pens. One official said that they should fine parents who do not want to send their children to school as they would prefer that to paying cash. The head teacher said there were **more female than male students** in the school. The school is better than average; the student/teacher ratio is 1:60 compared with 1:80-120 in many other kebeles. There are two shifts: 1st to 4th and 5th to 8th. The shifts change: one group comes for the morning shift for a while and then in the afternoon. There was construction of five extra classrooms at the **primary school** in 2006 involving community contributions of cash, materials and labour; wereda officials said there were some problems getting enough contribution from the community, although the school staff said the community contribution was good. Satellite schools (Grades 1-4) were upgraded into schools that teach up to Grade 8 reducing the pressure on Grades 5-8 in Yetmen. A library and staffroom were added in 2008

English became the medium of instruction in Grades 7 and 8 except for geography, Amharic, sports and civic education; this was welcomed by the FGD young people who said that those who learned in Amharic to the end of Grade 8 were not successful in Grades 9 and 10 due to their poor knowledge of English. Grade 5 – 8 English teaching changed in 2007 from British style (accuracy-based) to American style (fluency-based). The head teacher said that the American style was introduced by USAID. A library service was started although the older female FG said it did not have enough books and dictionaries. The younger male FG said education was being given very nicely and more good teachers have come though there was still a shortage of chairs. The older male FG said that previously 6-10 students had to share 1 book; now it was 1 for each student. A teacher said there were not enough sport materials like balls and poles and not enough materials for the school laboratory.

The **self-contained system** (teaching students in Grades 1-4 with only 1 teacher) started in 2005. There were children who did not like the teaching system as some teachers did not have a good knowledge of some of the courses and **parents raised the issue**. Students were not getting a good

basis in the lower grades and some parents were making their children repeat classes by not sending them to school during exams. In 2007 the self-contained system was no longer mandatory but a possible option for school to use or not as they wished. A teacher said that after evaluating the results the system was stopped for Grades 2-4. She said students were performing better as a result of the changes.

Automatic promotion. Before 2007 children in Grades 1 – 4 were being promoted from class to class too easily and then faced a problem in higher classes. This was changed at **the request of the community**. A parent said it has improved now students have to take an exam.

It was said that **absenteeism** is more common among those in Grades 1-4 because they do not know the benefits of going to school; when parents ask them to stay away to work at home or in the field they accept. Those in the higher grades resist such requests. The head teacher said that many boys are absent during harvest times while girls whose mothers give birth with no other support may be absent for two months; teachers go door-to-door to try to bring them back to the school. There is a problem with **drop-outs**. Out of the students who started education in September, 80 have quit. Of these there is a probability that 50 will come back; the others have moved to other school or will not come for various reasons. Teachers are expected to bring these 50 students and make them ready for exams but it is difficult to teach them alongside those who have been attending school continuously. 'The role of teachers must be only teaching to those students who come to school'.

In 2006 Grade 1 – 8 textbooks were changed to make the teaching learning process student-centred rather than teacher-led. Both the head teacher and teacher interviewed said a big current issue was the **quality of education**. The teacher said that the focus is only on the quantity of drop-out students. Teachers have to go and bring students from their homes. 'Teachers do not accept this but this is what a teacher is expected to do'. When she was teaching Grade 7- 8 students she found that they did not know what they were expected to know at that level.

A **Parent-Teacher Association** was introduced in 2007. It participates in the income and expenditure of the school and the overall activities of the school in general. There is a **women's union** in the school which encourages female students and gathers mothers and discusses the importance of sending girls to school. It has plans to provide basic education for illiterate people. There is an **anti-AIDS club** which manages a 'community conversation'.

The head teacher is from Bichena. He came to the school as a teacher and then became head when the previous head was demoted and the teaching staff were asked to propose a replacement. He is paid 1851 birr per month. He has had 15 days training on being a school director. He works all school days, sometimes not having time to have lunch. He writes reports at the weekend. He writes reports of the school activities, directs and supervises the vice's work, leads departments, leads education curriculum committee, leads the PTA and generally leads on teaching issues. He said he had strengthened the relations between the school and the kebele administration.

The construction of a **secondary school** in Yetmen was planned but it was delayed due to conflict over land (discussed below); it will be financed with community contributions and from the wereda budget. Currently most children who attend secondary school go to Bichena high school which has recently expanded. A father of middle wealth with a son and a daughter attending Grade 10 at the school said that the family had the burden of food preparation and taking it to them on foot or the bus and had to cover the cost of house rent and transportation.

TVET started in Bichena in 2009 to provide training in masonry, carpentry, joinery, electrical household appliances, industrial electrical machines and drive technology. Those in the wereda involved in getting it off the ground said that there were start-up problems. They don't have their own building, there has been poor quality teaching (teachers with gaps in their knowledge or trained in a different profession) and a high turnover of teachers, and there is a critical shortage of machines. These problems are partly there because the promised contributions have not been

made. 60% of the money is expected from the community, 20% from the Region and 20% from the wereda (which has not been committed). 'The wereda administration and education office are not committed to co-operate for the successful implementation of TVET teaching and learning'. World Vision offered to provide desks but the wereda education office said that if they did the wereda budget would be reduced accordingly. The administration has not shown commitment to collect the contribution from the though it has now been decided that it will be collected with the land tax. Another problem is that these are not popular courses. 'Surveying is the choice of many youths so they go to Debre Markos.'

Some respondents said that those who complete tenth grade do not have good access to further education as there are not many training centres. Until the recent opening of the centres in Bichena and Dejen children went to Debre Markos or Addis Ababa. The opening of these centres has reduced costs for parents which is said to have particularly benefited poorer parents, although **poor parents** may still not be able to afford the cost. A respondent confirmed that many youths do not want to learn 'carpentry and electricity' and prefer to go to Debre Markos. Children of rich parents have the most choice; for example some are sending their children to nursing school in Debre Markos at a cost of 13,000 birr. A poor respondent whose daughter has completed tenth grade said 'The rich send their children with money but the poor have no choice they keep their children with them. They cannot send them to colleges with their own money.'

Neither wereda nor kebele is involved with managing **Government universities**. Community members said that a university opened recently at Debre Markos. There are children of Yetmen residents who have graduated from universities or are currently students: among our respondents one has a son who graduated at Bahir Dar University, has a job and is supporting his parents while another has a son learning at Hawassa University. Only clever students get into universities; their families do not have to pay a lot of money like those whose children go to private colleges.

Social re/production

People in Yetmen not only invest in their livelihoods and families; they spend considerable time, material resources and energy constructing, reproducing and changing community-initiated social institutions, relationships, networks and organisations. One function of these is to provide social protection to those in need for shorter and longer periods.

Yetmen residents are also (differentially) involved in externally-initiated organisations such as schools, health centres, and kebele structures creating webs of interactions, communication and shared knowledge linking 'community' and 'government.'

The **household** is a key sub-system or organisation in Yetmen. As we saw earlier there are different types of household with varying capacities for independent living. Households are linked in more or less mutual relationships within Yetmen based on neighbourhood, friendship, family and wider kin connections.

The number and proximity of **neighbours** a household has depends on where it is located in the settlement pattern. The men, women and children in neighbouring households, who may also be related, interact with each other on a regular basis in a variety of relationships: men may borrow and lend agricultural tools and work together on some tasks, women are likely to borrow and lend fire, household assets, and food items and help each other in domestic activities at particularly busy times, and children may play and quarrel. Relationships between adults may not be good; for example one of our female respondents was raped and insulted by a neighbour. Close relationships in a neighbourhood are marked by drinking coffee together. Neighbours usually help each other in times of crisis. Most of the few households we asked said they could easily call on neighbours in a crisis, although most of them had not had such a crisis in recent years; examples given were borrowing grain or money and physical assistance when a mentally ill son became violent. All but one rich man (including his wife) said that there had been no change in neighbourly support

relations; he said that in the old days neighbours were the people who provided assistance first in a crisis but now such assistance was given in view of receiving similar help when facing the same crisis – *Neg benie* (tomorrow would be on me).

Many adult men in the community have blood relatives in the community; women come from other places to be married so most of their blood relatives live elsewhere. Women who grew up in Yetmen go for marriage to other rural kebeles and the local towns of Bichena and Dejen. In most cases people still have strong relationships with **relatives** in other places visiting each other during holidays, weddings and mourning. They travel to nearby rural areas and Bichena and Dejen. 'People even visit each other during times when they are busy.' Relatives often help households in times of crisis. One rich respondent had provided relatives with 4 *lemat* for a death commemorative feast ceremony. 1 *lemat* is food and drink to feed 25-30 people. When her husband was sick the wife in a poor household had borrowed 50 kg of grain from relatives and repaid after harvesting. A man was helped by relatives with money for transportation and labour during his absence when he took his mentally ill son to *Tsebel* (holy water). One woman said she had no close relatives, another that hers lived far from Yetmen, and a third implied her relatives would not help her.

Mehaber are religious associations associated with a particular saint usually with around 12 members. They meet monthly to celebrate the saint's day taking it in turns to prepare small feasts. When a member is sick other members do their agricultural work and when a member dies they do all their farming activities until his children grow up and are capable of ploughing.

Households celebrate births and marriages and mourn deaths providing feasts whose size depends on their wealth. The most important of these is the *Teskar* held forty days after the death. **Iddir** give support during mourning and weddings. There is a monthly cash contribution. Iddir also give credit to members with an interest payment, though this is not the main reason for the establishment of the iddir. Most iddir also provide 15 birr during a member's sickness.

The leader of an iddir that has been established for 15 years said that people who do not know each other come together and all bring in others they know to join. There are 32 members 4 of whom are women. Education is not necessary to be an iddir leader though it is required of the secretary. Women are not eligible for leadership positions and usually only join as a replacement for their late husbands, though they have one woman member who entered on her own because she is old. A poor female respondent told us she has been a member of 2 iddir since the Derg time currently contributing 2 birr a month for each. Payment during death commemoration is 200 birr. She has stayed because if she wants to leave she has to pay back what the iddir paid her relatives. Here iddir will only contribute for the wedding of one child. The iddir has written regulations; the monthly contribution is 2 birr and the payment on death of a member or someone in his house is 80 birr; 200 birr is given for *Teskar*. A person can take 200 injera and 2 pots of tella instead of the cash.

There is a 15 birr payment for illness when a member becomes sick and support of 200 birr for the wedding of one child. If a member does not have a child s/he can take the support for a relative's wedding. The iddir provides credit of up to 300 birr for up to 1 year with no interest as the aim is to support one another but not many people take it as it is difficult to return it. They resolve simple disputes between members by assigning them to three elders; if people do not make up quarrels they are fined. There are fines for not attending the monthly meeting and failing to contribute food and drink on time. The iddir provides cups and a tent but they are getting old. The iddir is facing a shortage of money as 'there are many deaths' and the contributions are too small but those who are widowed say they have economic problems and can't contribute more.

Wereda officials said that urban iddir were forming unions and that some are supporting old people and educating the community about HIV/AIDS.

Desh gives support during the death of its members. There is no monthly contribution; contributions are made when a death occurs. For each member the contribution is 1 dish of grain, 5 *injera*, and 1

pot of stew. Those who do not make a food contribution are expected to pay 15 birr. The Desh provides dishes, iron pots and a tent. Respondents said Desh was established by their forefathers probably during the Haile Selassie regime. There are four Desh in Yetmen established on the basis of the four neighbourhood names that existed before residence changes imposed during the Derg regime. Members of the Desh are expected to wrap the dead body, carry it to church, dig the grave and bury the body. They also send messages to relatives of the dead member so they can participate in the funeral ceremony. Leaders are elected, usually those who can read and write. There are 3 leadership positions: leader or secretary; treasurer; and 'control'. There are written statutes in the Desh whose head we interviewed there are about 120 members the majority male.

The Desh provides credit whenever there is money; the interest rate is 10% per month. The maximum amount available is 400 birr. Provision of credit is not common. The treasurer of one Desh told us that Desh is more important than iddir because 'it can prevent members from doing wrong to force them to stop any bad behaviours they exhibit by imposing isolation that would be strictly applied not only by same Desh members but also by the other neighbouring Deshs.' Following the introduction of the good governance package it became difficult to mobilise the community to carry out development activities based on wereda officials' recommendations and kebele leaders said they used to use Desh and iddir leaders to persuade the community to participate in development activities and against harmful practices. A Desh leader said kebele officials wanted them to use Desh bylaws and impose fines if people wouldn't participate. They were able to mobilise people for the digging of 3 community ponds for livestock co-ordinated by the DA.

However wereda officials recently stopped this saying that the Yetmen Deshs had mobilised the community for violent resistance against the school construction on communal land (see below) and that iddirs in general were being used to mobilise people against government/party policies and becoming instruments of opposition parties. Wereda officials told the researcher that in some parts of the wereda iddir and Desh were reported 'to have been secretly and openly agitating the communities against the NGO World Vision for having religious motive in disguise of assistance.' In Zebch, another got in the kebele, the Desh also led a community mobilisation against the former kebele chairman (who had tried to stop people holding lavish *Teskar* by arresting them) forcing him out of office and evicting him from the Desh. A Desh leader said that eventually he appealed to elders and priests to help him get forgiveness from the community; 'he was pardoned and re-admitted to the Desh after he repaid all the expenses the 9 imprisoned leaders paid, slaughtered sheep and offered a feast for priests leaders.' (See below for more)

There are different kinds of **equb** (rotating savings and credit associations). Some collect and disburse cash; others contribute cash and at the end get a *gabi* (cloth made from cotton). The leader we interviewed said his equb had 70 members: 29 men and 41 female. It was established in 2005 and is on its fifth round. New leaders were elected this year. There is a leader, secretary and control. 'Equb is continued after it ends if members are interested to continue and other members are also included.' Since last year there are written statutes which are given to the kebele in case someone takes his own lot and then refuses to pay; the kebele will help in getting him to provide the money he owes. There has been one case of a man sued at the kebele and he has said he will pay.

The monthly contribution is 60 birr, though some people have one and half lots (90 birr). The maximum allowed is 2 lots per persons (120 birr). The lot is drawn every two weeks; in between they 'sell the lot and get money'. There are small fines for absence and lateness at meetings. People who quarrel or 'speak unnecessarily' are fined up to 20 birr. People who take later lots are given extra money in compensation. The equb provides a credit service to members who have not taken their lot if they have money. The last case of credit was 200 birr lent to a woman at an interest rate of 8% per month.

The **Orthodox Christian church** is an important local organisation. There is a (voluntary) 12 birr fee for church service. One of the priests reported that the church was working in co-ordination with the

government to teach the people to abandon ‘harmful traditional practices’, particularly to reduce non-working holidays and extravagant commemorative feast preparations. His church had announced the mandatory and selective non-work saints days. He said that community members have tried to minimise feasts as the price of grain was soaring. ‘Many families were harmed by preparing large feasts involving the slaughtering of oxen/cows and wasting much food grain for injera and local beer.’

Community management

Wereda officials said that at their request one kebele was added to the wereda in 2005. Also in that year Women’s Affairs and Capacity-building offices were added while trade and industry, small and micro enterprises, appeal hearing and a revenue office were added in 2008 (Compare Figs 2 and 3).

Women affairs was added to the wereda structure to bring women to power so as to increase their participation in development. **Capacity building** was involved in the structure to make the capacity building of the civil servant easier and fair. **Trade and industry** is established to make services easily accessible for people engaged in different business activities. In the past merchants used to go as far as Bahir Dar to get a licence for their business. Now after the establishment of the Trade and Industry office individuals engaged in business can get a new licence or renew their licence here in the wereda. **Small and micro enterprise** is established at wereda level to organise and make people support themselves by starting from micro enterprises. It provides capital to start up for those with shortage of money. **Environmental protection and land administration office** was established to make people have land ownership and to ensure appropriate use of land, to conserve natural resources and control events that can cause environmental degradation and pollution. The **Appeal hearing office** is established to hear administrative complaints, for example in human resources about people’s change of places and the services are faster now. The **Justice office** did not exist as an office in the past and was established in 2000 to make the justice system fast and easily accessible. The **Revenue office** is established independently; in the past it was together with finance and planning and there were problems in collecting revenue. In 1995 EC the wereda revenue was less than 2.5 million but after the establishment of the office the wereda revenue has increased to 7.4million.

Figure 2: Enemay Wereda Structure 2003

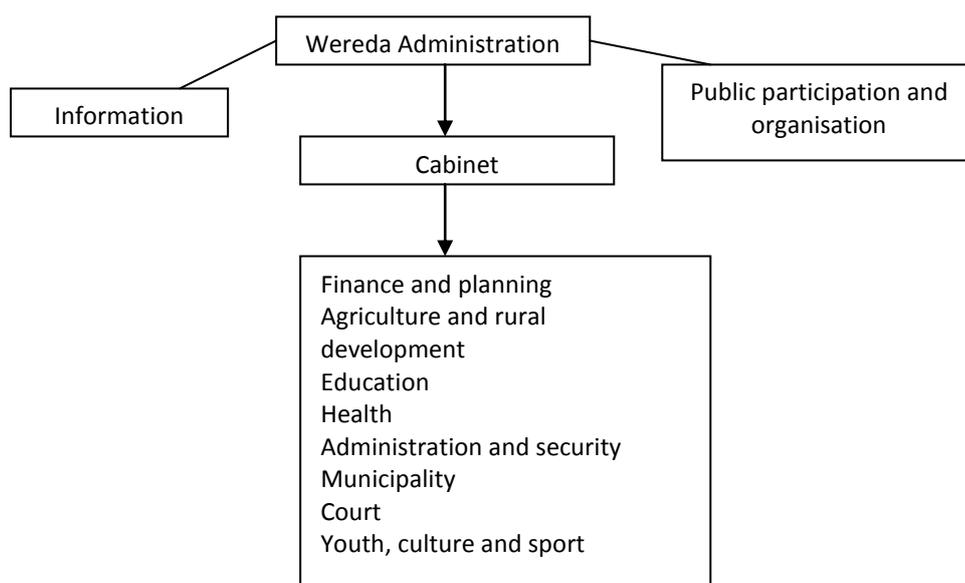
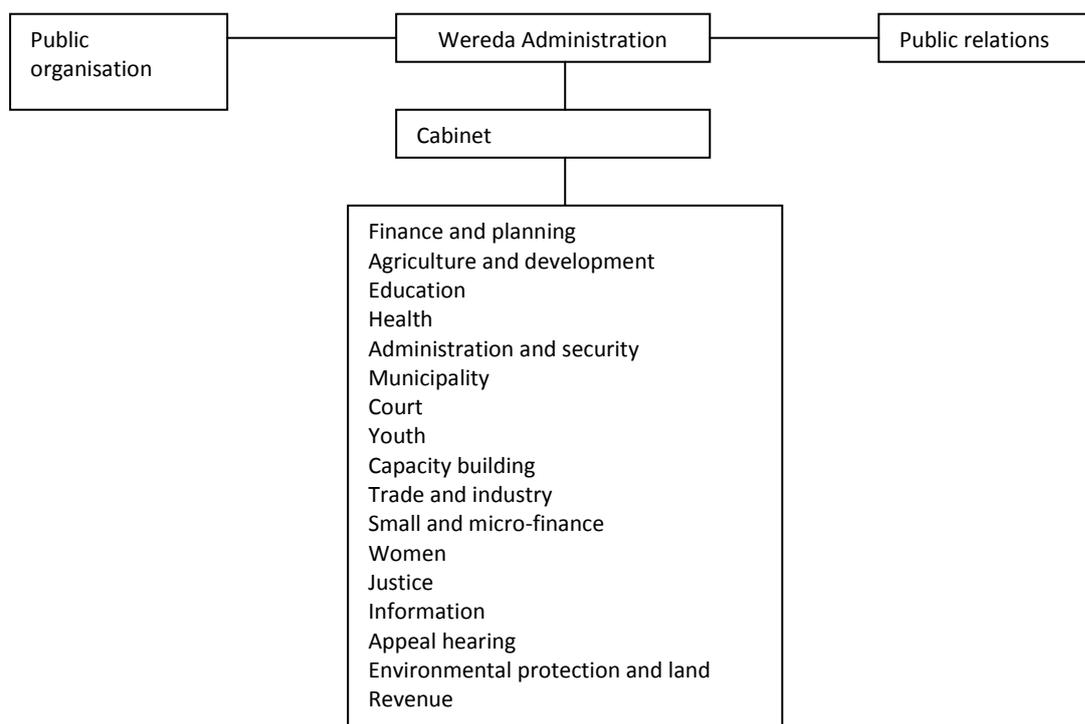


Figure 3: Enemay Wereda Structure 2010



Asked to comment on the changes the respondents said that having more offices made services faster and easily accessible and had reduced the burden on individual offices.

One of the **wereda councillors** permanently lives and works in Bichena, only came to Yetmen to register to be elected there, and is not practically involved in the kebele's day-to-day implementation efforts. There is a woman wereda councillor who dropped out of Grade 9 when she got married and has worked as a distributor of condoms and pills door-to-door since 2000; though she is not a health promoter she brings them from the wereda. She goes to the kebele whenever they call her and before the kebele chairman was imprisoned she had weekly meetings every Sunday and worked on the 25th and 29th of the month. She doesn't know whether she was elected or selected as wereda councillor. She was summoned but was giving birth so didn't go. She had 15 days of training on development in Bichena last year. She is on the school committee and goes door-to-door to bring absentee students. At the wereda she raises issues that need solution at that level. For example she informed the wereda that women had been denied contraceptives by the HEW because they had not dug latrines and the problem is now solved. However, she said the wereda does not usually give a solution to issues raised; they do not take them seriously.

Wereda officials said that the kebele administration and council were of better quality than average; 'there are people with better capacity' though in terms of governance the kebele has performed worse than average. There is much more resistance to the implementation of government policies and programmes. Yetmen is rated low in terms of participation in development activities and public meetings as well as in kebele organisations including youth and women's associations. The kebele has also fared worse in terms of peace and security: they are affected by shifta and thieves who steal harvested field crops at night.

Figure 4: Yetmen kebele structure 2003

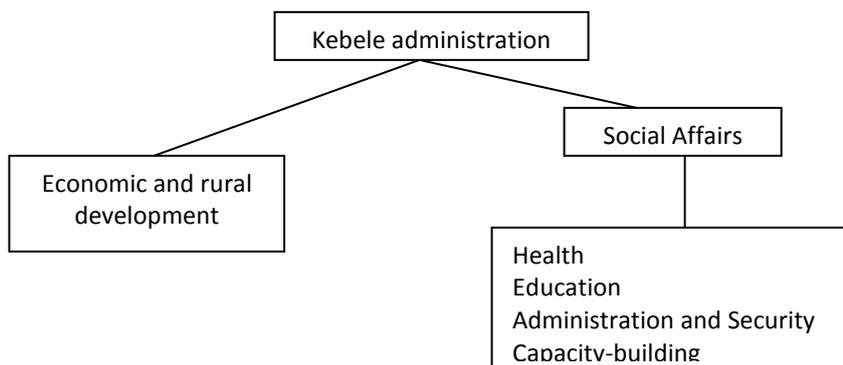
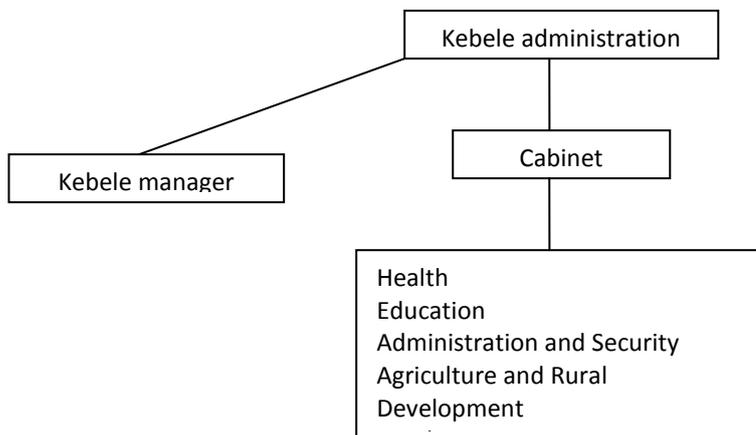


Fig 4, drawn from response by kebele officials, shows the structure in 2003 and Fig 5 how it is in 2010. The Felege Selam **kebele cabinet** now has 8 positions

- Administrator/chair
- Vice administrator/chair
- Administration and peace representative
- Women affairs representative
- Youth representative
- Health representative
- Education representative
- Agriculture representative

Figure 5: Yetmen Kebele Structure 2010



Until very recently all members of the cabinet were from the community but since last year the education, health and agriculture positions are held by the professionals. The role of **kebele manager** was added in 2008; he is a fulltime employee from outside the community and does not have a vote though he can make suggestions. He receives complaints from individuals or groups which he submits for decision to the vice chair (the chairman was in prison at the time of the fieldwork). The vice-chair either decides or he calls a cabinet meeting for a collective decision. The manager takes cabinet meeting minutes and evaluates and compiles reports on cabinet activities to send to the wereda. He collects weekly performance reports from each cabinet member and

extension worker. Each DA prepares weekly, monthly and yearly plan implementation schedules and submits them to the DA supervisor who in turn submits copies to the kebele. It is expected that the implementation be more than the planned quota. Based on the work plans the manager monitors and evaluates weekly the implementation performance comparing activities done with what they had planned to do. (One of the DAs said that the post of kebele manager is unnecessary; the community should be led by community members.)

The kebele chairman supervises and evaluates the manager's performance and availability on duty. The current kebele manager, who responded to an advertisement, trained as a teacher and only had a one-day orientation before starting the job. He is employed and paid by the wereda administration and he sends kebele monthly reports to the wereda administration office; since last year the wereda sends feedback and the Wereda cabinet's monthly evaluation result of each kebele's performance and implementation status. He thought his main achievement to date was being available in the office on a daily basis to receive people's complaints; he records them on the complaint forms provided and submits them to the weekly cabinet meetings held on Sundays. He said he had no satisfaction with the job mainly because it was not related to his training as a teacher. He has to deal with multiple activities in all sectors but is paid less (810 birr) than he could have obtained as a teacher (840 birr). He also complained of being denied further education opportunities not even being allowed to continue distance learning at his own cost and of being prevented from competing for other external or internal vacancies. The thing he most dislikes is the court orders sent for them to enforce within one or two days and report back. The wereda court could order the kebele to demolish houses and divide the iron sheets on the roof between husband and wife or give over to ACSI in compensation for failure to repay credit. He was afraid that one day this might cause him trouble from the people.

No-one is paid for being a **cabinet member**. They were selected by the wereda and introduced to the community. They have yearly plans for all activities to be carried out in each sector: health, education, agriculture and natural resource conservation. People in leadership positions are expected to implement new things in agriculture and health and become models to the community whether they accept the new thing or not. The chairman is required to prepare and submit monthly and 6-monthly reports to be evaluated in the meetings of the **Kebele Council**. There is a shortage of budget to run office work activities including stationery. On behalf of the community the Council monitor and evaluates what has and has not been carried out by the cabinet and could remove cabinet members from office if they failed to implement according to plan. Cabinet members are also members of the Council so they participate in meetings and the decision-making process.

There are three **sub-kebeles** or **gots** in Felege Selam, Yetmen being one of them. Each has sub-committees; for example for Land Use and Conservation, Education and Health. The role of the **Education Sub-Committee** is to inform and convince the community to send their children to school. There are 7 members (1 woman) of the Health Committee who select the leader. Their role is to inform community members about vaccination, and assist in the construction of latrines and improved stoves. They meet every 12th and 27th of each month; there are no minutes. People who come late to meetings are fined 1 birr and absentees 5 birr. There is a reward of a pen and a notebook for those members who work hard. The relationship with the sub-kebele administration is not strong. There are 10 **development teams** in Yetmen Got each supervised by a principal and an assistant leader. The Got militia consists of 15 arms bearers (although their guns were taken away following the confrontation over the siting of the new high school) led by a commander and 2 team leaders.

Administrators of gots supervise and monitor the activities of the extension workers. Matters discussed and raised in kebele cabinets come from the gots and their leaders. There is daily communication between Yetmen sub-kebele leaders and the kebele assisted by the presence of mobile. If something needs attention the kebele manager is informed quickly and the matter considered by the cabinet. Got leaders prepare a weekly report to give to the manager for inclusion

in the kebele general report.

EPRDF Party structures have become increasingly inter-twined with kebele structures. Before the election in 2005 mainly poor and young people who supported the EPRDF were recruited as members. After the election the party has been recruiting only those who manage their households and families well, have more than two oxen, and are richer and respected by the community. This included bureaucrat farmers whose land was confiscated and up till then had been excluded from any participation in public meetings and elections for being linked with the Derg regime.

Until 2006 there was only kebele level party organisation (Dirijit - organisation). In 2007 it was organised from kebele to got levels (Hiwas – cells). The Got cells have one chairperson and one vice-chair elected by members. The kebele Dirijit is run by 4 leaders – chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and treasurer. Before 2009 the kebele administrator and party chairman were different people; then it was decided from above that the kebele administrator/chair should be the party leader and the vice-chair of the kebele should be vice-chair of the party. The chairpersons of cells in the Gots are members of the kebele party organisation leadership. Since last year Yetmen Got has 4 party cells: one consisting of government workers (teachers, DAs, health workers, HEWs) and three of farmers. Previously cells contained mixtures of government workers and farmers. The kebele party organisation prepares reports about party activities performed, collects contributions from cell members and sends them to the wereda ANDM office. The wereda office sends them newspapers, party reaching materials and budgets for stationery.

The main activities of party members are recruiting new members, helping all cells hold regular study meetings to read newspapers and discuss party policies and development packages, and becoming exemplary in the implementation of party/government policies. Members are required to be the first users of every new technology the government introduces to the community.

Party members responding said that there is no-one who has joined the party 'due to his own devotion, but only fearing revenges from EPRDF or to get some advantages.' Common challenges faced since 2005 include absenteeism from meetings, unwillingness and failure to pay party contributions, and refusal to act as models to test new technologies. Members' wrongdoings have been dealt with through self and group evaluation/ criticism and many reluctant members have been dismissed from the party, especially in 2008/9. Asked about relations with other parties they said that there weren't any. The respondents said that party performance was not good due to loose members' participation and that leaders were 'getting tired of party work'. They suggested that the party should only recruit those who are devoted to work as members.

New information and ways of working come from the wereda. Sometimes they call people for training and other meetings and sometimes people from the administration and other sectors come to discuss issues in the kebele. Before 2009 the main relationship was conducted through reports sent to the wereda and orders transmitted in response. Now assigned Wereda Cabinet members physically monitor the kebele performance visiting them every week and wereda administration officials come without warning to evaluate and give directives.

The current **kebele chair** was imprisoned in September 2009 following the death of a man in local prison. In February he had still not been replaced. Since 2003 there have been four different kebele chairmen. One said he left after two and a half years as he was tired of the job and 'the wereda didn't want him either'. When he was in the post he was paid 200 birr per month so that he was working fulltime and effectively as he could pay daily labourers to work on his farm. He said that in his time it was possible to mobilise the community for the construction of the FTC, feeder roads, digging ponds, and terracing activities. One of the kebele officials said he would like to leave office but stayed fearing 'officials could harm him if he refused to serve'.

The kebele leaders are working without payment but one said this does not seem to be understood by community members. In trying do kebele activities there is resistance from the community; they

say it is their democratic right not to participate. They also resist advice unless it can give benefit to individuals. An official said that in the absence of fines there would be no change even though certificates and material rewards are given to those **models** who are successful in implementing advice from the extension workers.

Involvement in kebele leadership leads **to bad relationships with some community members**. For example the vice-chair said he was once guarding an area of grassland that was protected for a time with the agreement of the community when people came to take the grass. They were caught and the grass they had taken but it was dark so their identities were not established. The next day they came and destroyed maize plants belonging to the vice-chair and his friend as a form of revenge. They have problems collecting taxes and collecting of credit repayments used to be a problem that that has decreased since fertiliser credit was removed last year. The kebele manager said community members knew very well that land tax was an obligation that cannot be avoided but that most would try to delay one or more times and pay only after being threatened with imprisonment or fines.

Kebele officials were not satisfied with the way the kebele is run. One said leaders have been 'suffering being sandwiched between "two fires"'. The wereda order them to do this or that and if they don't they are suspected of other motives and the people directly confront them to resist implementation. One particular issue was that all the various wereda offices give orders to be implemented at the same time: 'wereda agriculture, the party, the administration, the land desk and other offices could tell you to gather the community or committees on the same day. Kebele officials, while not paid, are expected to be responsible for such things as documentation, information and public relations work, Got administration and tax collection. One said 'The job is not at all attractive and he has no satisfaction with the job; the only good thing was that the training he had received about leadership and development packages were beneficial for his personal life. In terms of improvement he suggested that the different sector workers could manage most of the kebele work while the manager could deal with the co-ordinating activity so that the non-paid farmer cabinet members and other leaders would not be involved in the implementation of the kebele work plan. The kebele manager said that ever since the kebele leaders don't get incentives they don't give immediate decisions on urgent issues he raises. He recommended that the leaders should either be given some incentives or allowed to leave office when they feel tired.

He said people who participate in the kebele should be paid since they are participating by neglecting their agricultural activities. They are particularly disadvantaged at harvest time. A previous kebele chair said his 200 birr salary had been a good incentive to work fulltime as he could employ daily labourers to harvest his crops. He had enjoyed working for the benefit of all the kebele people but disliked the conflicts he entered into when he tried to implement government policies. Another official said that after the introduction of good governance the majority of people believed that the government was weakened as it was not in a position to enforce the law. They don't respect/look down on the officials and directly challenge them over anything.

While there are attempts of make the youth and women organise themselves in co-operatives the **Youth Association and Women's Association** are not active and are becoming weaker and weaker. After the 2005 election the government ordered kebeles to help women and youth form associations. The kebele leadership said that they provided them with offices, a meeting hall, and stationery and the Associations help the kebele by mobilising members for development activities and attending meetings. But the associations are weak and their members don't participate in meetings and have stopped paying membership fees. The women and youth co-operative groups organised with a view to getting land are operating better than the associations.

The head of the **Women's Association** agreed it was not very strong but said it gives awareness on issues that affect women like early marriage and female circumcision. Members are sometimes invited for training at the wereda and people from the women's affairs office in the wereda come to

educate the members.

Theoretically there are 750 registered members of the **Youth Association** and the membership contribution is 3 birr per year. The head is instructed to mobilise members of development work and meetings. He said he used to be able to do this but now he can only mobilise a very small number of youth; commonly he uses members of the youth co-operative he belongs to. He sends reports to the kebele leadership and wereda youth association about all development activities carried out through members' collective labour but usually does not get any feedback. He works with teachers to prevent students from dropping out and reduce absenteeism.

The other main activity has been organising landless youth into groups of 10-16 to obtain land and start group farm activities. Nine youth groups have been formed in the kebele and one in Zebch has rented land from 2 farmers and planted field crops with irrigation, although none of the groups in Yetmen has accessed land. Youth respondents said that wereda officials were not as co-operative as they promised in helping youth groups to obtain land and credit and members' participation has been declining as a result. Two years ago attracted by the promise of land and credit sometimes 800 participants attended monthly meetings but it has been difficult to get attendance this year. At some monthly meetings only 80 people have attended, and last month they had to abandon the meeting as they did not have a quorum.

Last year the organisation of **youth league** was introduced; only party members can join. There are 42 male and 10 female members from two of the Gots, So far no benefit has been obtained but they believe it will help them to get land and credit in the future to enable organised youths to run their own irrigation, fattening and dairy businesses.

Governance interventions in the wereda include BPR, security and policing interventions, justice interventions, package for democratic participation of the people, the Good Governance Package, mobilising community labour, institutions to promulgate government development ideas and interventions and taxation.

Wereda officials said that **BPR** has a 'promising high potential in terms of achieving good governance'.

The **social courts** are independent and as such do not report or receive directives from the kebele administration, though they are in relation with it. There were **Peace Committees** of traditional dispute resolvers established formally in relation to the good governance package but they are not active at this time. The cabinet give orders to the **police** whenever there is any problem. The **militia** is also under the cabinet. One problem is that **community guards** are no longer armed.

Wereda officials described Yetmen as worse than average in terms of **security**. There are sporadic problems caused by highway robbers, thieves steal harvested crops at night and there are violent inter-personal fights. Since 2006 there have been police in each kebele (2 in some and 1 in others). Crimes in Yetmen have decreased but not significantly compared with many other kebeles. Officials said that theft, armed robbery and murder could be reduced very much through community participation in crime prevention and security maintenance. Lack of sustainable individual participation in policing activities was reported to be the main problem. Yetmen was selected as a model to implement community policing to involve all people in security watching to prevent crime and theft.

Fegere Selam kebele has an advisory council to co-ordinate the security-related activities; the members are all cabinet members, 1 religious leader, 1 elder, the school director, the Women's Affairs head and the policeman. Kebele officials said that the number of jobless young people in Yetmen town is growing and fear this will lead to increases in highway robbery and crop theft unless the community organises to prevent it.

The main duty of the community policeman is to ensure security by preventing crime through

community participation. There are night security watch groups to which all residents above 18 are assigned. There are 3 dispute mediators in each Got to prevent and arbitrate personal/household disputes and report to the community policeman (who is 21). If the disputants can't agree he tries to help them resolve their case; if the case is serious he sends them to the wereda police. He claimed that general and inter-personal fights, theft and highway robbery have decreased. Also petty crime cases are immediately handled in the community rather than going to the wereda. The policeman is paid by the wereda police commission and reports to it on weekly and monthly bases. The main problems are absenteeism of night security watchers, lack of budget and police vehicles; also one policeman cannot monitor activities in all Gots. The community had earlier laid down rules imposing a 5 birr fine and 24 hour imprisonment for one night's absence from watching but last year imprisonment was abandoned and absentees just pay 5 birr.

One respondent said that the community policeman does nothing for Yetmen Got as he lives and works in Zebch Got. The policemen assigned for Yetmen town sometimes help to deal with fights though the younger youth FG was critical of their performance; when conflicts arose they did not arrive in time or were called from drinking houses and sometimes they avoided the conflict scene.

The kebele **militia** leadership consists of a commander, deputy commander and intelligence commander. They co-ordinate the three Got level militia units. There is a commander and intelligence head for each Got. There are 27 trained kebele **militia** responsible to maintain security in the kebele and also involved in protecting crops from thieves (e.g. watching field crops in turn to prevent night thefts). Before some were disarmed 24 were armed and 3 unarmed. Yetmen Got has 15 militia men organised in two teams each co-ordinated by a team leader. Militia members choose their leaders and the kebele leadership presents them to the community for approval. The kebele militia are required to send reports to the wereda militia office every three days though actually they have been reporting weekly. The kebele administrator, the security/administration head and the militia commander hold weekly meetings on Sundays in which they evaluate performance and problems encountered during the week. Duty accomplishment is ensured by close supervision and self/collective evaluation; there are no fines. They recommended that the number of militia should be reduced and salaries should be paid so they can regularly carry out their duties.

Kebele officials said that since the conflict over the school the militia have almost stopped working because some were disarmed for taking the side of the community in the conflict and the others were unwilling to carry out their duties as before. The absence of payment is believed to have reduced their willingness to work seriously and led many to evade their turns and be absent. The community has been demanding that the wereda returns the arms and the kebele officials have recommended that the community should contribute labour or money for armed night watchers. Even so a number of respondents reported a decrease in crop theft this year; one said it was because farmers were able to transport their crops to threshing floors near their homes as soon as they had harvested it.

There are 223 kebele security guarding group leaders co-ordinating their respective group members for night security watching. There are 6 armed highway security guards paid from community contributions of 13 birr per year. They have been successful in reducing armed highway robbery.

The kebele chairman and security administration head were imprisoned due to the death of a man they put under arrest over night; he had severely offended both officials showering abuse on them. He was found outside the neighbourhood and taken to hospital where he died after two weeks.

Kebele security officials said that wereda officials don't deal seriously with crime perpetrators; when the kebele reports theft cases and arrests suspects the wereda refuses to imprison them or conduct an investigation saying there was no evidence. A rich man said that police released suspected thieves saying 'either thieves should be red-handed or there should be eye witness evidence – does a thief call for observers when he goes to steal?' One respondent said that anyone who has a wereda official relative could be freed when found violating the law. A poor man mentioned a

notorious crop thief who was sentenced to 1½ years in prison but freed 8 months later and who soon started stealing as usual. A victim of crop theft said that about 60 kg of his harvested tef was 'threshed in hand' and taken by a thief. The next market day he found the suspected thief selling the tef in the market; his relatives in the town beat the thief and then negotiated settling that he should return the cash and the remaining tef and they would not take him to the police. He said he settled it this way because the police would demand evidence and release the suspect.

Justice - as a result of the Business Process Engineering project the power of the **wereda court** was extended to investigate more serious civil and crime related cases. People will no longer have to go to the zone court. The lack of experienced law experts in the wereda is a problem. In 2008 the role of the social court was reduced to arbitration of disputes. Land disputes are now dealt with by an **independent land arbitration court** while unresolved husband-wife disputes involving divorce and property division now go to the wereda. Kebele officials believe that land disputes can now be settled quickly since the kebele land desk keeps records of the size and borders of each household's land so that the court can decide by examining the recorded data.

The main cases the **social court** now deals with are verbal abuses and insults, contract-related disputes, and borrowed money repayments. The court officials are not paid; this has affected their household wealth and they are increasingly losing interest in the work. Lack of budget from the kebele means that disputants have to cover stationery costs.

The **Peace Committee** was established two years ago; it has three members. They are elders who were organised by the wereda, kebele and police and are accountable to the wereda. The members of the committee gave different answers when asked about their role and about their relation with the kebele organisations like police and social court. For instance one said they are meant to resolve conflicts related to murder and theft but are not involved in land conflicts; a second said they resolve conflicts over land or other conflicts. This is probably because the committee is not functional, although the elders are still involved in conflict resolution in the community 'like any other elders in Yetmen'.

Wereda officials said that previously Bego Tesino (positive coercion) was the major method of mobilising the community for labour and financial contributions and forcing individuals to carry out their government obligations. The package for the democratic participation of the people (**good governance** - introduced following the 2005 election) changed this; community participation is now to be mobilised through persuasion.

To enable better persuasion households heads have been organised into *limat budin* (development teams) of 20 – 30 members and existing party cells (*hiwas*) are also involved.

They said that Yetmen resists persuasion efforts and is much worse than other kebeles in this regard. Kebele leaders said that they have been in great difficulties as on the one hand the wereda pressurises them to implement government policies by mobilising the community while on the other hand the people refuse to participate saying it is their right not to. Kebele leaders, DAs, HEWs and teachers were reported to have been in trouble for failing to fulfil their work plans but whenever wereda officials and experts came to persuade the community they also failed. Kebele officials were in favour of the re-introduction of fines and threats of imprisonment. Most community members who were interviewed were in favour of the changes because it gave them more time to deal with their own activities. However they seemed willing to participate in activities which brought them benefits.

A development team leader in Yetmen reported that there was good participation in gully treatment and pond digging but that most people didn't go to meetings called by DAs, and kebele and wereda officials nor participated in any other community work. Such work has been carried out after the harvest season so that it didn't interfere with the farmwork. He believed that the gully work has saved many people's farmland from being washed away and a farmer confirmed that the gully work

and community ponds were commonly considered to be beneficial to the community. A poor farmer said that they save their farmland from erosion and help them to avoid taking their animals long distances to drink.

The main methods of **promulgating government development ideas and interventions** and mobilising the community are through meetings, training development team leaders, calling door-to-door, through party cell study discussions based on newsletters, policy papers and newspapers sent to the cells, and using party members as first adopters of government packages. Wereda officials said that cell members are expected to volunteer for starting new technologies and practices for others to copy.

The wereda was successful in collecting **taxes** according to the yearly plan especially rural land tax and other contributions: Red Cross, sports, and for local public services construction. Yetmen performance in paying land tax is average but in terms of cash contributions to development activities such as building schools and clinics it is rated much worse than other rural communities and urban Yetmen. The town's community is exemplary in contributing for electricity, the health centre, and the new high school building.

Kebele officials said that household heads must pay land tax (the highest is 170 birr for 6 timad), plus the same amount for the Amhara Development Organisation, plus 5 birr for the Red Cross, 5 birr for sports, 13 birr for highway security watchers, and 12 birr for the church. Party members pay 8 birr and youth association members 3 birr. Kebele leaders and Got tax collectors are involved; in Yetmen Got the Got leader and two cell members divided households into three groups and each collected the taxes from one group. Leaders are always criticised by wereda officials for not collecting taxes on time while taxpayers don't pay as requested so the tax collectors have to go door-to-door repeatedly which involves considerable sacrifice of their own work time. People are aware of the need to pay land tax as a guarantee of their land rights so all pay in the end.

Some respondents said that the community did not get any benefit from the taxes they paid so far though they hope the government will build a high school for the community. They feared that poor farmers would be harmed if the tax goes on increasing every year. Another problem is that tax is collected during the main harvesting period (January/February) when grain prices are at their lowest level and farmers are forced to sell at these cheaper prices in order to pay the taxes on time. One female taxpayer said she was not told why the amount of tax has increased; she just pays whatever is required. She does not know the benefit of the Red Cross contribution. Landless people are exempted from tax.

Ideas

There are a number of **cultural repertoires** which inform the values, beliefs and knowledge of Yetmen residents.

In the **local customary repertoire** land is regarded as sacred because grain is produced from land, people are buried in it and human beings are created out of mud. Misfortune and illness are caused by sorcery, witchcraft or the evil eye. *Debtera* can control rain, make heavy falls of snow and can cause trouble to anyone who opposes them. For example they can get pieces of furniture to rise and kick each other, fill houses with horrible smells, insects and worms, and make people sicken and die. Traditional practices such as milk teeth extraction, female circumcision and early marriage are not harmful but serve good functions. Sharing and reciprocity are highly valued and individualism frowned on.

There is also a **local modern repertoire** which involves modern education, women's rights, modern technologies for agriculture, livestock, domestic work, etc, new types of houses, improved sanitation, modern health services modern consumption practices including wearing trousers, better household goods, increasing consumption of factory-made food and drink products, and changes in

diet. Individualism is acceptable.

The main religious repertoire is **Orthodox Christianity**. God created the world and every living and non-living thing and he is Omnipresent and Omnipotent. God is close to the clergy and each person has a religious father (a priest) whose orders they obey. If they feel they have committed a sin they ask him for forgiveness. They attribute all natural calamities (plant and livestock diseases, drought, heavy frost, storms etc) to God's wrath against sinners. For example if people work on holy days God will bring a calamity. Various saints protect people from trouble. People go on pilgrimages to numerous churches up to 350 km from Yetmen. In times of crisis the church organises and leads the community to solve the problem. The clergy teach the commands of God and entreat people to obey the law. They make and enforce rules for the proper regulation of the community. Excommunication from the community and the church is the final punishment of the community.

Repertoires of belonging: In 1995 people identified themselves as 'Ethiopian'.

Revolutionary democracy as practised in Yetmen has two aspects: goals and means. The overall goal for the peasantry is to develop the human resources of peasants and improve their living standards. The main activities are infrastructure development, modernising smallholder agriculture and livestock rearing including irrigation, a preventive health service to reduce diseases, primary, secondary, TVET and university education all with production-oriented curricula, and developing a modern security and justice sector. The rights of the people are important, including the rights of women; the rights of individuals are associated with inequality.

The means for achieving these development goals are a mix of authoritarian and top-down (targets, evaluations and demotion), collective (particular emphasis on co-operatives and leagues) and indoctrination (party cells).

While donors do not have a physical presence in Yetmen some of their important values have percolated into a **donor-related repertoire**. The most important idea is that of **democratic rights** which local people use to resist attending meetings and contributing community labour which they think will not benefit them or the community. The value of **individualism** chimes with the local preference for individual rather than co-operative land-holding, and people's generally reluctant attitude regarding other forms of collective activities including group credit, group enterprises/businesses (dairy, poultry, fattening projects) etc. – which they say, are deemed to fail.

The government has made a number of interventions designed to change certain customary beliefs and practices.

Wereda officials and DAs have been teaching about the disadvantages of not working on **holy days** since the Derg. In the local Orthodox Christian tradition there are a number of saints' and angels' days when people should not work: 5th, 7th, 12th, 19th, 23rd, 27th, 29th and Sundays. If they do many believe cold and frost will destroy the crops. The government has been teaching the community to reduce the number of days not worked to Sundays only. A priest said that they had been given education at church to teach people to reduce holy days but 'the priests did not dare to teach the community about that as they are not convinced themselves.' A group of men said that now 3 of the holy days are considered 'main' and there is a trend in the community to work on those days that are not main. One man observed that people who strictly observed all the holy days this year have faced crop damage because they couldn't harvest it all before the rain came.

'Unnecessary' feasts for the **commemoration of the dead (teskar)** were banned officially in 2003, although education to reduce the expenditure was started under the Derg. Rich people in rural Yetmen were accustomed to slaughtering 3-4 oxen for the feast while poor people might slaughter only a sheep. In 2004 the kebele chairman, who was from Zebch got, tried to implement the ban by making a rule that food and drink should only be prepared for those who pray in the church. Two brothers from Zebch decided to make a big feast against the rules of the kebele; first they asked the community if it is willing to eat at the ceremony and they agreed. The kebele chairman prohibited

even the priests from eating and soldiers came and tried to stop the ceremony and a big conflict started. The chairman escaped. The older son was taken to prison. The next day people from the wereda came and gathered the priests and some other people. The chairman accused them and some people got imprisoned. They went to Bahir Dar and were fined and then released. The people of Zebch Got contributed the money that the people were fined.

Afterwards the community said to the kebele chairman "we do not know you and you cannot lead us". They wrote an application to the wereda saying that they did not want to be led by the chairperson any more. The wereda insisted that the chairperson must continue leading the community but the community strongly resisted and the chairman resigned. The person was excluded from the Deseh of Zebch as the community members said that they are not going to make any kind support to him as a community member. The person asked excuse and he got accepted but they made him to pay what the community contributed to pay the fine. Since then there is no enforcement by the government officials to stop death commemorative ceremonies. It was reported that while the quantity and quality of food preparation for weddings had decreased expenditure on *teskar* continues to be extravagant even among poor families; some poor people sell their land to pay for the ceremony. One man noted that 'generally extravagant feast preparation has continued pushed through Keman anshie (am not less worthy than anybody)'. Another said that people who failed to prepare commemorative feasts were despised and subject to humiliating insults.

There have been continuous teachings to avoid **female circumcision (on the 7th day after birth)**, and **early marriage**. There are now two kinds of early marriage: the first where two families make an agreement that their small children will marry but wait until the children have reached the age the law allows (18 for girls). The second is when girls marry under the age of 18. The evidence is (see above) that some people still practice female circumcision and both kinds of early marriage while others do not. Early marriage is punished by eight months. A number of mothers said it was possible to choose whether or not to circumcise daughters and thought that the custom was dying out.

Social interactions in 2010

External relations

One of the kebele officials said that people's attitude towards development were said to have very much improved.

However, they are mostly interested in development at household level; as evidenced above their **co-operation with wereda** and kebele officials is very low and development work through community mobilisation is difficult due to the absence of enforcement measures.

Kebele members have also mobilised to reverse or **change wereda decisions**:

- They protested when the Zebch health centre was demoted to a health post so they assigned a nurse to the health post, which is not usual.
- Parents complained about the self-contained system and automatic promotion and changes were made.
- They protested against the proposed siting of the new high school on rural communal land and the place was changed.
- Deseh's and iddir have tried to mobilise people to resist interventions by NGOs.
- The decision to put the high school on rural communal land

Wereda officials are frustrated by the lack of co-operation from Yetmen residents, while a number of Yetmen respondents said that they do not have good relations with the wereda after the incident over the school land protest when a child was killed. Also they believe they were favouring the town people when they selected the school site on rural kebele grazing land.

Relations between **rural Yetmen and urban Yetmen** are not good. 'The violent conflict involving

death/gunshot wounds between Yetmen Got community on the one hand and wereda police and the Yetmen town kebele community on the other' followed 'the successful counter-mobilisation of the rural community against attempts to construct a high school on communal grazing land'. Due to this conflict there is 'mutual social distance' and 'constrained relationships and interaction' between the rural Got and town kebele communities.

A number of respondents said that wereda officials favour the town people and rural people have been denied access to electricity and piped water. Only about 10 farmers in the rural area have access to the electricity. The borehole is located in Yetmen Got but rural residents only have access to two water points, while there are 5 water points in the town. Also the workers assigned to manage water points are from the town and they rarely open water for the rural population.

Wereda officials said FINIDA and World Vision Ethiopia were the active **NGOs** in the wereda. Only World Vision is active in Yetmen distributing sheep and cow breeds to poor people and covering the educational expenses of some poor children and orphans. One recipient thought they had helped about 400 children in both the town and rural community. He said that the community fears it will try to infiltrate its religion and he is prepared to refuse their assistance if they try to influence his daughter.

Intra-community relations

There is a history of conflict between the **Derg bureaucrats** and those who supported and worked for the EPRDF in the 1990s. In the 1997 land distribution the landholdings of bureaucrats was limited to 4 Gezm. When mote-keda land was re-distributed priority was given to the children of the bureaucrats; this was opposed by EPRDF supporters whose children were not given such land.

Even though they had less land most of the bureaucrat farmers remained richer than most in the community and many of them became model farmers, selected because they had become richer through the application of extension packages. Many of them increased wealth by using leased and crop-shared land, pump irrigation, and dairy production using improved breeds.

As described above **kebele officials** are 'sandwiched between two fires': the wereda and the community. The community resists (e.g. the *teskar* incident) or ignores many of the interventions undertaken by kebele officials and extension workers.

Key social actors

Asked who were the notable people in the community who did not hold government office respondents listed 2 priests, 4 elders who acted as mediators and community advisors, 3 rich notables and 2 young rich men.

With regard to the government presence in the community since 2003 there have been five kebele leaders; the current one is inactive as he is in prison but he has not been replaced. The DAs and teaching staff have recently been joined by a Health Centre head and staff, two HEWs, and a Kebele Manager. Apart from the teachers most of these are not satisfied with their jobs in Yetmen and long to leave for something better.