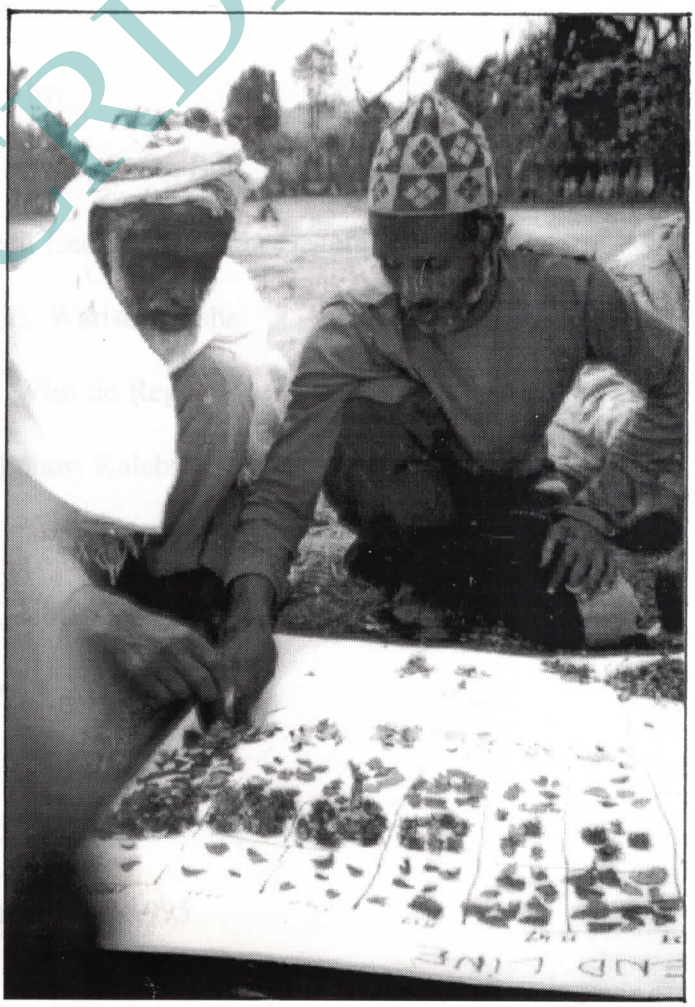
PARTICIPATORY RURAL APPRAISAL

at

Allo Abayie, Mata Arba P.A.,
Arsi Negele Wereda,
East Shewa Zone, Oromia Region

Ethiopia



CCRDA

ADAA/CRDA

February/March 1995

PARTICIPATORY

RURAL

APPRAISAL

at

Allo Abayie, Mata Arba P.A.,
Arsi Negele Wereda,
East Shewa Zone, Oromia Region

CCRDA

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February/March 1995

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Our greatest acknowledgement goes to the people of Mata Arba who gave to the PRA team all the necessary support and showed maximum cooperation.

Introduction

This is a report of a PRA "field workshop" (a workshop with fieldwork using Participatory Rural Appraisal techniques) which was held from February 8th to 19th, 1995 at Allo Abayie, Mata Arba P.A., Arsi Negele district, Eastern Shewa zone of Region 4, Ethiopia. The workshop was initiated by CRDA's Advisory Unit after a visit to the area, which is a target area for the African Development Aid Association (ADAA), an indigenous NGO member of CRDA.

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The objectives of the PRA were formulated as follows:

1. to get more information about the community and the local conditions at Allo Abayie (in the absence of a baseline study) with a view to developing suitable projects and/or a comprehensive rural development programme,
2. to improve the community's involvement in ADAA's activities, and the communities' own perception of their needs and problems,
3. to improve ADAA's capacity in participatory needs assessment and development planning.

The workshop was attended by eight participants: 4 from ADAA, 2 from the district Ministry of Agriculture, 1 from the district Ministry of Education and 1 from CRDA. Initially there was also a participant from the district Ministry of Health, who unfortunately had to leave because of other obligations. The training was facilitated by Kaleb Bassa from Addis Ababa. This report is produced by the whole team.

The whole exercise took about ten working days. The first day was reserved for travel to the project area and final preparations. The training course, including practical exercises, took three days. The fieldwork took five days, including presentation of results to the community.

Finally, the results and plans for direct action and follow-up were discussed amongst the participants on the final day, Sunday February 19, 1995.

This report, which is produced out of daily process reports made by all participants, is set up as follows:

Part One presents a detailed account of the workshop/training course which was held in and around ADAA's Allo Abayie clinic, where the participants also stayed for the nights. This part of the report consists of an introduction to PRA and its techniques and reflections on what was learnt.

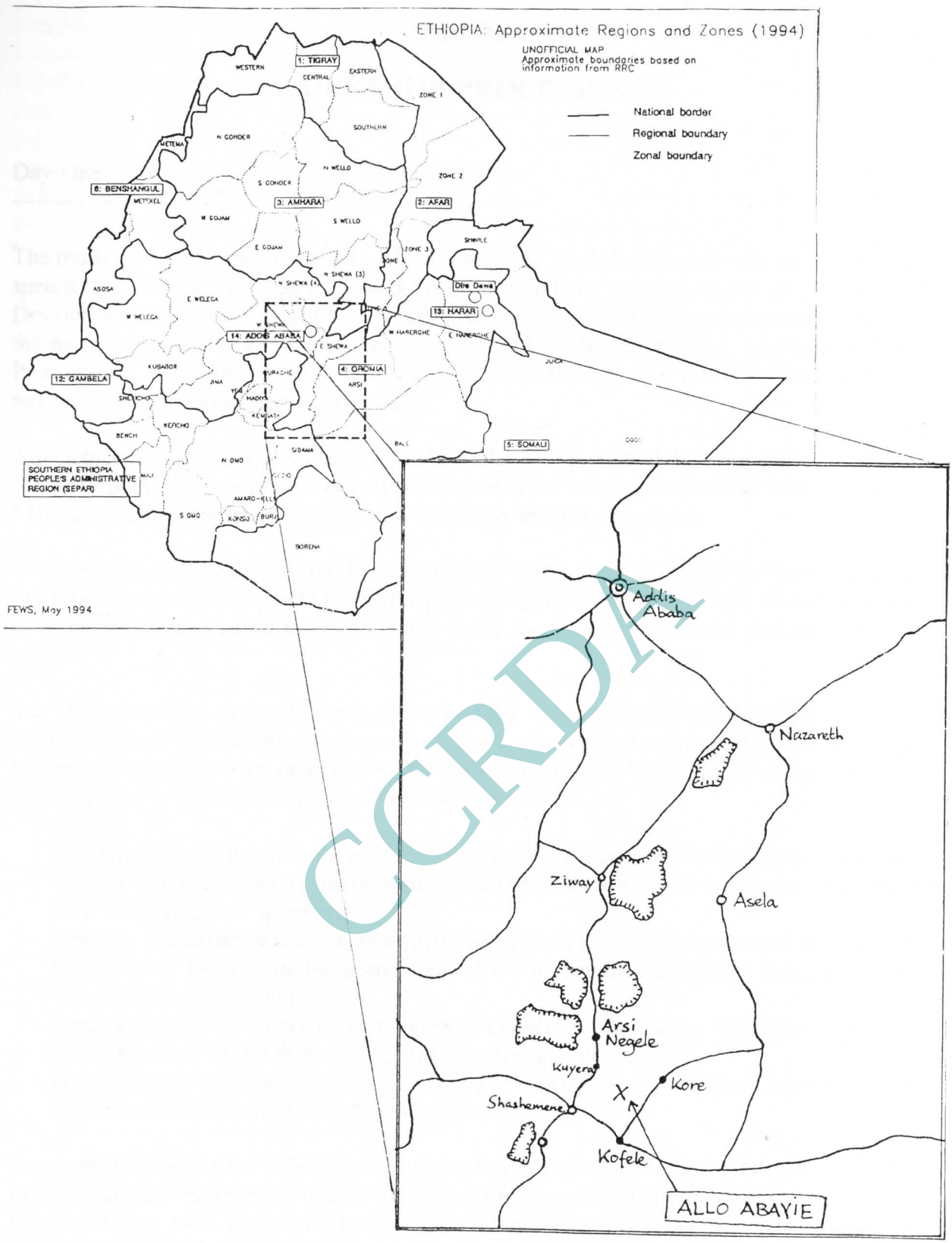
Part Two of the report presents the details of the PRA fieldwork carried out by three groups of participants. This main body of findings includes all the information obtained from the community and sketches and diagrams drawn by community members.

Part Three gives a summary and review of the main results, as analyzed and discussed by the community and later on by the PRA team members, some suggestions for follow-up, evaluation remarks by the participants, and some final conclusions.

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The PRA team, from left to right: Dawit Negassa, Kaleb Bassa, Birtukan Degefa, Desta Buli, Gebi Tuffa, Abebech Endale, Kubsa Elemo, Wariso Qarshe, Tussa (ADAA project assistant)



Location of the project area, Allo Abayie

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PRA is compatible to the needs, beliefs, culture and tradition of the area under study. The basic tenet of PRA is to trust the local people. Local people will be requested to mark local conditions on the ground or on paper, using local materials such as stones, twigs, leaves.

RRA, Rapid Rural Appraisal, is a similar concept to PRA, but in RRA the involvement of the farmer/community is limited. It is a quick method to collect information where the assumptions of the facilitator have a role in assembling the information obtained. Unlike RRA, in PRA the role of the facilitator is minimal and the farmer is the generator of ideas, problems and solutions.

What is the use of letting the farmer (local people) play a participatory role?
The workshop participants answered as follows:

1. to help the farmer build confidence in himself, in his own perceptions and suggestions
2. to make sure that the resulting development projects are regarded upon as the farmers' own projects
3. to smoothen project implementation
4. as it is cost-effective
5. to make sure that the information gathered is not regarded upon as "foreign" information, and that the development workers are not seen as "foreigners" (In fact, PRA is best carried out by development workers from the community itself).

PRA helps to identify the poorest of the poor in the community. So after very needy people of the community are identified, a micro-project intervention could follow. Such projects would not suffer sustainability problems.

There was a discussion amongst the participants as to how PRA differs from other development methods, such as the Training & Visit system of agricultural extension used by the Ministry of Agriculture. This system uses contact farmers as local participants, but these contact farmers are often "elites" within the community, whereas PRA tries to get the participation of all categories of community members. PRA is a way to learn to know the community, whereas T&V is an implementation method.

Other survey techniques, which could complement RRA/PRA techniques, were also discussed:

1) searching and using existing information (secondary information)
2) identifying and learning from key informants
3) direct observation and asking questions
4) guided interviews
5) focussed group interviews
6) areal inspection or areal photographs
7) compilation of family profiles
8) combining methods of social anthropology
9) journalism
10) working with rural people themselves as investigators

etc.

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One participant questioned whether it is still cost-effective to use PRA if it is complemented with some of the above techniques. It depends on the quality of the information you have found through PRA, whether you need more detailed data. Moreover, doing PRA is better than starting project implementation without any study of the conditions and problems of the area.

Why do we use PRA?
To avoid the problems of long and costly formal surveys, including:
- too much data collection
- irrelevant data collection (too quantitative, not qualitative)
- late and inappropriate results produced
- too little/no participation by the community

When do we use PRA?
- When exploring an area to learn of the key problems and opportunities to help plan research and development activities,
- When involving the community in research and planning
- When monitoring and evaluating development activities

Who uses PRA?
- Anyone involved in development and research can use PRA; it is best carried out by local people.

Where has PRA been used?
- mostly in rural situations
- mostly at the village level

Some points to be considered before going into villages to do PRA:
We should
1. develop our interpersonal skills,
2. have some information about the village(s),
3. optimally utilize our communication skills,
4. be able to share experiences,
5. learn about the ways of approaching communities by brainstorming,
6. understand PRA better,
7. have eagerness to know more about the community/surroundings,
8. have active listening and active observing capacity,
9. learn about designing solutions to problems.

The following points should also be considered as precautions when doing PRA:
- try to talk the language of the farmer,
- don't violate the culture and belief of the area,
- avoid fashionable and sophisticated dressing or make-up,
- don't divert the attention of the villagers, but try to have their attention,
- try to be very simple and mix as much as possible.

A participant asked what to do when the local people are not willing to cooperate. It is important to develop trust with the local people. Try to involve local people right from the

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start. Make sure you know the local people already and announce your coming. If finally the people still do not want to cooperate, it is better to leave the area.

Techniques of PRA

There are seven basic techniques which are used in most PRAs:

1. Social Mapping
2. Resource Mapping
3. Historical Trends, incl. Time Line and Trend Lines
4. Opportunities & Services
5. Rankings, incl. Preference Ranking, Pair-Wise Ranking and Wealth Ranking
6. Seasonal Analysis/Calendars
7. Venn-Diagrams

These techniques were discussed and practiced one by one during the workshop.

All these techniques are done with groups of villagers found at random when walking into the village.

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Social Mapping

In this technique a group of villagers will be requested to make a map of their own village/surroundings, including:

- all houses in the village
- burial grounds
- rivers, water sources
- gorges
- gulleys
- hills
- clinics
- schools
- grinding mills
- market places, etc.

Social mapping is done by 5-10 interviewees (villagers) with 2-3 facilitators (one interviewer, one observer and one rapporteur). A group which is less than 5 may lack the necessary information or could be too biased, while a group of more than 10 people may create confusion.

The interviewees should be between 18 and 70 years of age. If only 3-5 interviewees can be found, they have to be between 25 and 70 years of age. If possible, women should be included in the group of interviewees.

The villagers can use locally available materials to represent or draw the above-mentioned artefacts on white flipcharts or on the ground, such as stones, leaves, seeds, flowers.

The most important uses of social mapping are:
- to have good knowledge of the villages,
- as an entry point to a given community,
- to best understand the production and nutrition status of an area,
- to know the population of the village,
- to use as basis for wealth ranking.

Resource Mapping

Resource mapping is done in the same way as social mapping, but now the villagers are requested to map the (natural) resources in their village and surroundings rather than the man-made artefacts. The most common resources are:

- forestry: trees (list local and common names of all tree species found in the area, scientific names can be added later)
- other vegetation
- minerals/stones
- water sources/waterfalls
- mountains/hills
- paths/roads
- crops (list types)
- livestock (list types)
- grazing land
- land ownership, etc.

(Ask the farmer for any other resources in his/her village)

By resource mapping one can get a picture of the natural wealth of the area under study, the resources that can be used for development activities, the resources that need to be preserved, etc.

After a few minutes of discussion, the participants were requested to go out and collect some available resources in the clinic compound. Back in the training room, the participants put these resources (such as tree leaves, twigs, flowers, stones, dung) on a flipchart on the ground according to where they found them. Then the local names (in Oromifa) of the resources were listed by one of the participants.

While discussing this technique, some reservations about the reliability of the method were pointed out by some participants as it would be very difficult to include all available resources in the map. However, it was responded by the facilitator that only the most important resources should be included.

Then the facilitator explained the method of **Transect Walk**, which can be used to cross-check the mapping done by the villagers. In this method we should walk with the participating villagers through the area in an "S"-shape or "8"-shape and see if all resources found are correctly indicated.

Later that afternoon the participants were divided into two groups to do a practical exercise in social mapping: some participants had to act as farmers/interviewees and others as

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interviewers. After one hour the groups came back to the training room and reported what they had done. The first group did a sort of role play and one participant acted as a real peasant, which aroused a lot of interest and laughter.

The following points were learnt from the group exercises:

1. The interviewer didn't use the local language, which confused the farmer.
2. The interviewer could not easily come to his objective (to let the farmer draw his own map).
3. It seems there was a high expectation from the farmer's side and confusion as to why social mapping was needed.
4. The people and the interviewer kept on discussing about the need of this type of work.
5. The farmer could not easily understand what was expected of him/her.
6. The interviewer was not clear in posing questions.

This led to the following recommendations:

- Avoid too much discussion about what will be done with the results.
- Introduce yourself clearly as ADAA staff.
- Let the farmer list anything he wants without interfering.
- Ask: "Is there anything else?"; if not, you can suggest things from the checklist above.

The first day's session ended by recapping the major techniques discussed.

Day Two : Friday 10 February 1995

Historical Trends

In this set of techniques the villagers are requested to draw a picture of the history of their area. This can be done in two ways:

Trend Line, which refers to historical trends observed in rainfall, crop pattern, human population, livestock population, vegetation cover, land ownership (cultivated area per farmer), water availability, human/animal diseases, wildlife, etc. Examples were given on the variations in these conditions over the last 50-year period with 10-year intervals. The interviewees are requested to indicate with local materials the density of trees, crops, population, etc. per 10-year period.

Time Line, which refers to major events remembered by the villagers/interviewees, such as wars, drought periods, epidemic diseases, earthquakes, etc. In Ethiopia one can usually start with the Italian invasion. One can ask old people what they remember from when they were 10, 15 years old and so forth. Then one asks: "What happened after that?" It is possible to give the interviewees some hints in order to remember the events.

For both methods one has to find 3 to 5 people who are aged between 50 and 80. During the interview and the farmers' drawings one has to record all the important information they are giving. As for all PRA exercises, it can be very useful to record remarkable quotations of the farmers.

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After some discussion, the participants were grouped into three to do a practical exercise, either amongst each other or with a farmer found around the clinic. One group found a farmer who participated fully, who indicated the density of the forest using small wooden sticks. The interviewer, drawer (who drew the trend line framework and copied what the farmer showed), observer and recorder often went into discussion about how to proceed. This can be avoided once you have some experience; indicating the value of doing a practical exercise before using it in practice. It was also suggested to give the interviewer a piece of paper with remarks rather than interfering in the discussion between the farmer and the interviewer. When the interviewer is posing leading questions, the others can tap him/her on his/her shoulder.

Another lesson learnt was to try to involve all 3-5 interviewees, as when one of the interviewees dominates, some of the other interviewees will lose interest and walk away.

Another group, who did the time line, had problems because the old man whom they interviewed said continuously that he did not know anything because he is illiterate.

Opportunities & Services

Under this topic we discuss with local people about services given to the local community, such as:

- schools
- clinics/health centres/hospitals
- grinding mills
- tree nurseries
- market places
- groceries/shops
- bars
- veterinary services
- agricultural extension services
- water supply services (e.g. ponds, water points)
- traditional associations, such as "edir", "ekub", "wijjo"
- traditional healers and birth attendants
- the Peasant Association (PA)
- the Service Cooperative (SC)
- handicrafts/blacksmiths
- recreational facilities
- churches/mosques
- banks/credit services, etc.

For every service, one should determine the distance from the village, its use, its users and the condition of the service offered. This is again discussed with 5-10 interviewees between 18 and 70 years of age, or with 2-3 between 25 and 70.

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Ranking

There are three types of ranking:

1. Preference/matrix ranking
2. Pair-wise ranking
3. Wealth ranking

Preference and pair-wise ranking were discussed on Friday afternoon. These techniques are used to let the farmers make comparisons between e.g. crops, crop varieties, trees, vegetables, diseases (prevalence), staple foods, livestock species, animal diseases, etc.

As for most of the other techniques, there should be between 5 and 10 interviewees, preferably between 25 and 70 years of age. For some topics it is advisable to interview women, whereas for others it is advisable to interview men.

Preference/Matrix Ranking

The PRA workers can decide what they would like the villagers to compare, possibly in consultation with the villagers. This technique is therefore especially helpful for focussed PRAs. For agricultural studies one can ask farmers to compare e.g. maize varieties. You start asking the interviewees what are the prevalent maize varieties in the area. Then you ask the interviewees about the different criteria which are important to distinguish these varieties. Then you put them in a table as follows:

	maize varieties			
criteria	A511	Katumani	Beletech	HB140
maturity time	2	5	3	4
drought tolerance	3	1	2	5
lodging	1	5	2	4
pest resistance	4	2	3	4
taste	5	4	3	2
	--	--	--	--
Totals	15	17	13	19

The interviewees are requested to rank all the varieties per criterium, whereby 1 is the lowest and 5 the highest score. If the interviewees are not familiar with numbering, they can use local materials like stones, and put one up to five stones in each box according to their preference.

Pair-Wise Ranking

This is a technique to let villagers compare types/varieties of e.g. crops without specifying criteria. It looks as follows (see next page):

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	Sorghum	Maize	Teff	Wheat	Barley
Sorghum	XXXXXXX	maize	Teff	Wheat	Barley
Maize	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	Teff	maize	Barley
Teff	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	Teff	Teff
Wheat	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	Barley
Barley	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	XXXXXXX	XXXXXX

For each box, except the shaded ones, you ask the interviewees, "what do you prefer?". Their answers are written in the boxes, e.g. as above. The final ranking is obtained by counting the number of times each type is mentioned, e.g. Teff is 1st (4x), Barley is 2nd (3x), Maize is 3rd (2x), Wheat is 4th (1x), Sorghum is 5th and last (0x).

Around 3:00 in the afternoon the participants were divided into groups to do practical exercises. The first group did preference ranking with trees (with criteria such as use for furniture-making, firewood, house construction, medical value, erosion control, and beekeeping). The other two groups did pair-wise ranking, one of them with livestock species, whereby the participant who played the interviewed farmer selected "camel" as the most valuable animal. The exercises were discussed thoroughly. The techniques were well understood by all participants.

Day Three : Sunday 12 February 1995

Wealth Ranking

In wealth ranking the community ranks its residents based on their own criteria of what constitutes wealth or well-being. Poverty or well-being is therefore viewed and determined through the community's eyes. Some of the indicators used to determine wealth could be:

- land holding
- livestock holding
- quality of house/shelter
- housing materials
- availability of enough labour
- level of education/literacy
- access to credit services

Wealth ranking is an extremely useful technique for targeting beneficiaries of a project. In addition, it helps the community feel a responsibility for those they decide are "less fortunate".

To get a balanced picture, five (or minimum three) groups of 5-10 interviewees should be interviewed in one community. The criteria for wealth ranking can be identified by asking e.g. "What are the major assets of the person you consider the richest versus the poorest in the community?"

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There was some discussion regarding the sensitivity of wealth ranking, about the willingness of interviewees to rank all community members, as they may think it will influence the aid they are expecting. It was therefore stressed that the aim of the wealth ranking be discussed very thoroughly with the interviewees, i.e. that it is not only to identify the poorest or those in need, but also the capacity of different community members and the effect of development interventions on the wealth composition of the community.

In practice, wealth ranking is done as follows:

1. The social map is taken as the basis, with the number of houses and the names of the households.
2. Then we ask the interviewees to identify the criteria for wealth ranking as described above.
3. Similarly, we ask the interviewees to give the characteristic features of the poorest, poor, middle, rich and richest community members.
4. We write the names (and numbers) of the households on small pieces of paper.
5. Then we ask the interviewees to categorize each household in one of the five groups according to the criteria defined.

The same exercise is done by five interviewee groups per community/village. The results are combined with the following formula:

A/B x 100 = wealth scoring,
whereby A = individual category
B = total number of categories (usually five wealth categories)

e.g.	1st group	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Abebe	1/5x100 =20	2/5x100 =40	1/5x100 =20	3/5x100 =60	2/5x100 =40

Total resulting score: 20+40+20+60+40= 180 / 5 = 36

Gathering all these results, we can identify the final categories, e.g.

1. poorest - up to 30
2. poor - 30-50
3. middle - 50-70
4. rich - 70-90
5. richest - 90-100

There was a discussion about to what extent the interviewees know everything about the living standard of all the other community members. E.g. someone with a lot of cattle may be considered as rich, but may actually be very poor because he/she has many children to feed. It was concluded that usually the rural community knows these things very well.

For the group exercise, three groups were formed who discussed amongst each other the criteria and indicators for wealth ranking and classified households from their social maps accordingly. From this we learnt that it is very important to agree with the interviewees on

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criteria for wealth ranking, otherwise the categories may become blurred when categorizing the community members.

Seasonal Analysis

This technique helps development workers to have better insight in the activities performed by community members in various periods of the year, and also to know the peak periods of various activities and natural phenomena.

Examples are:
- rainfall calendar
- labour calendar (women/men)
- fuelwood collection calendar
- food availability calendar
- availability of potable water
- land preparation/harvesting calendar for various crops
- prevalence of human diseases
- crop price calendar
- livestock price calendar
- credit extension calendar
- school attendance calendar
- forage and fodder availability

Graphs/diagrams were made for some of the above examples, setting the months horizontally and the intensity vertically. E.g. for rainfall one starts by asking the interviewees for the month when there is highest and lowest rainfall, and then set out the other months by comparing with the previous ones. By combining labour calendars for e.g. ploughing, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing, one can come to know the busiest periods of the local farmers.

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Venn-Diagram

Venn-diagramming techniques help us to learn about the relationship between the community and government departments or relationships between individuals within the community, to raise awareness amongst different informants about their access to resources and the presence of social restrictions and illustrate the differing perceptions of different informants.

The following institutions/individuals could be listed according to their importance for the community by a group of interviewees:
- influential people
- religious leaders
- traditional associations, such as the "edir"
- the Peasant Association
- the Service Cooperative
- the Ministry of Agriculture
- the Ministry of Education
- the Ministry of Health
- the Woreda administration

Their differing importance can be represented by circled papers of different sizes to show their importance/acceptance according to the interviewees. The relationships between these institutions/individuals can then be represented by overlappings or distance between the circles.

This technique will enlighten the PRA workers on how decisions are made within the community, through which institutions/ individuals they could work to implement projects, and it will provide an opportunity to work on network-creating.

Some participants expressed their doubt whether the farmers would be in a position to understand this technique. The facilitator said that experience showed that most farmers will understand it. As it was already the evening of the last workshop day, it was decided to try it out during the fieldwork.

The training/workshop part ended on Sunday evening. It was decided to start fieldwork in groups the next day when some basic information about the villages was collected from the PA Chairman and after drawing up a schedule of activities.

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Part Two

FIELDWORK IN MATA ARBA

Before doing PRA in the field, some basic information about the target area (Mata Arba PA) had to be collected. The PA Chairman informed us about the different villages/zones within the Peasant Association, their proximity and population figures. There appeared to be 13 villages/zones in the PA:

zone	number of households
Buqqee	15 hhs (after PRA revised to 40, incl. Golja)
Allo	15 hhs ---------- 20
Shiro	20 hhs ---------- 44
Abayie	10 hhs ---------- 24
Chufo	10 hhs ---------- 16
Lencho	7 hhs ---------- 14
Ashu	27 hhs ---------- 49
Gode Sokora	4 hhs ---------- 6
Gode Shedama	30 hhs
Dabaso	19 hhs
Worabeeti	12 hhs
Boditi	27 hhs
Sotra	18 hhs

From these (revised) figures it can be concluded that there are 319 households in the PA, but this could go up to 400 if one assumes that there is also some underestimation in the non-surveyed zones (the PA Chairman initially gave us the number of PA-members rather than all households).

The participants were divided in three groups for field work, and each group did PRA in 2-3 villages/zones of Mata Arba PA (based on distance and population density):

Group I: Gebi, Kubsa and Wim - Buqqee, Allo and Shiro zones;
Group II: Dawit, Desta and Wariso - Ashu and Gode Sokora zones;
Group III: Abebech, Birtukan and a translator - Chufo, Abayie and Lencho zones. Kaleb spent most of the time with the last group.

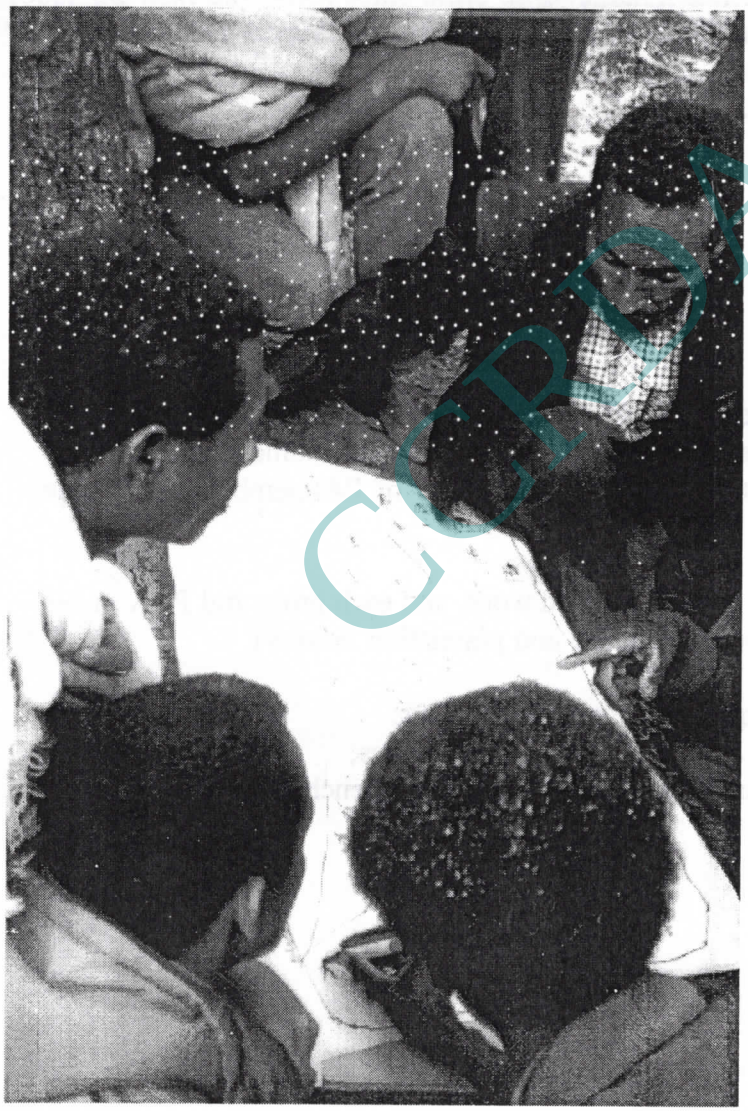
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GROUP I : BUQQEE, ALLO AND SHIRO (by Gebi, Kubsa and Wim)

1.2. Mapping

Social mapping Buqqee (see figure 1.1)

After searching for a long time for enough interviewees we found a lot of men gathered at a place where they were cutting down trees and sawing planks. Seven of them joined us to make the social map of their village. Their ages ranged from 20 to 60 (approx.). It took a long time before the men agreed on the boundaries of their zone. Apart from Buqqee, they also included a part named "Golja". During the noisy discussion some youngsters asked us for a small paper to make their own map. While they finished this, we let the rest of the group finalize their own map, and this turned out to coincide quite well with the youngsters' map.



Mapping by the farmers at Buqqee

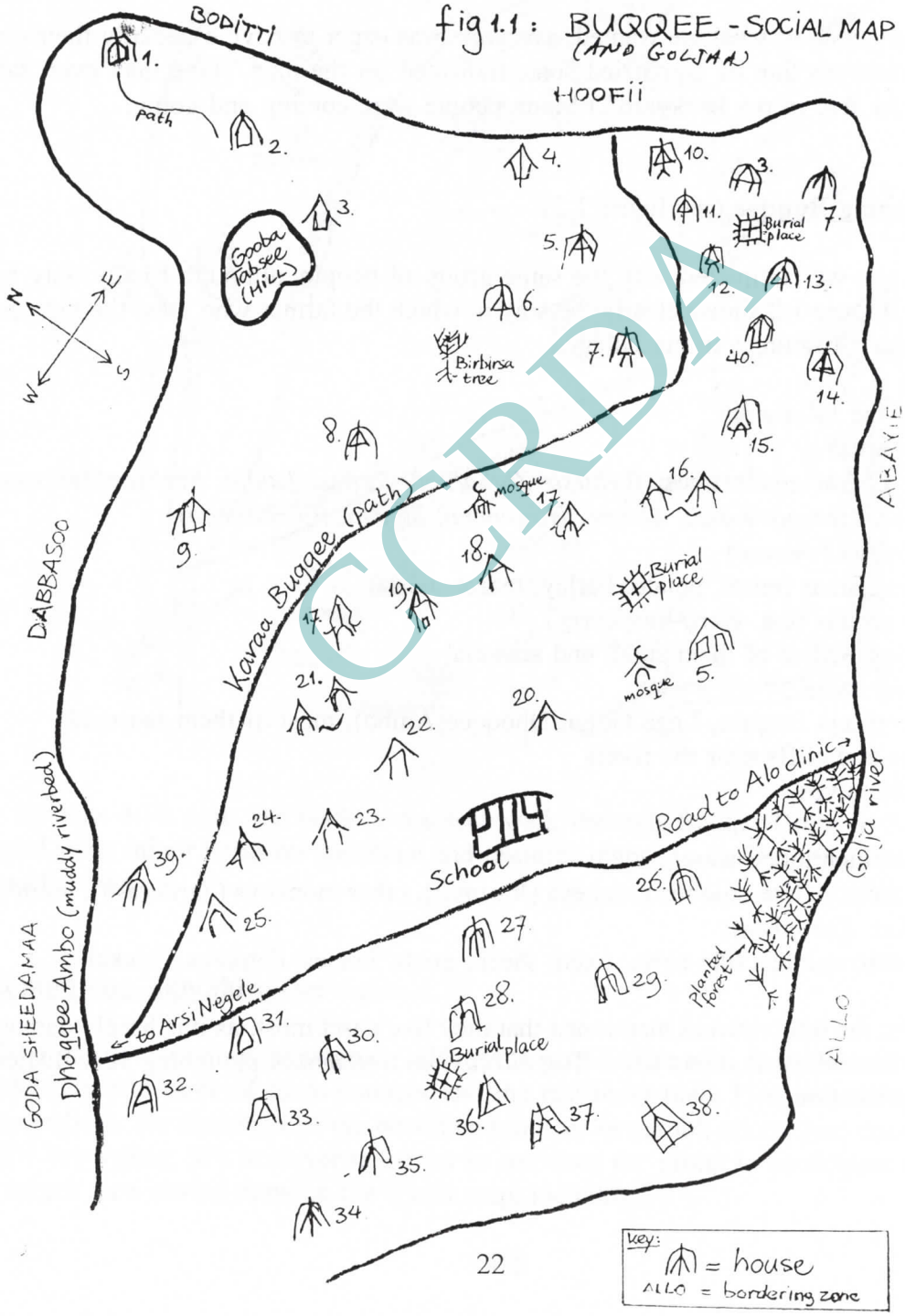
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During the discussion the men asked us whether they should indicate all houses, also those of unmarried sons and different houses of the same people (e.g. of different wives of the same men). We agreed they could draw them, but we did not number them separately.

Regarding the boundaries, they first indicated the most outlying houses of their zone, and then they indicated some landmarks such as:

- the road from Arsi Negele to ADAA's Allo clinic,
- the main path through the village (Kara Buqqee),
- the school (Mana Barnoota),
- one hill (Goba Tabsee).

Then all houses were drawn by two younger men who appeared to be real artists in drawing houses (see figure 1.1: Social Map Buqqee).



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Our interviewees finally designated 40 houses in the zone (27 in Buqqee, north of the road, and 13 in Golja, south of the road). They were all indicated by the name of the household head, and later numbered as shown in figure 1.1. Other items drawn or indicated were:

- the Golja river, forming the south-eastern boundary of the zone,
- Dhoqqee Ambo (muddy area/river), the north-western boundary
- the planted forest
- names of the bordering zones (Allo, Abayie, Hoofii, Boditi, Hawilo, Goda Sheedamaa)
- the *Birbirsa* (*Zigba*) tree we were sitting under
- an occasional path
- burial places (3)
- 2 small individual mosques

When people understood what we wanted, everyone was eager to have especially their own house, and sometimes that of unmarried sons, indicated on the map. (One man even said: "Don't forget the tree in my backyard".) Many people were coming and going.

Resource mapping Buqqee (see figure 1.2)

The resource map we completed with the same group of people, although finally only two men remained. Figure 1.2 shows clearly the way in which the farmer who drew the map sees the trees and other resources in his village.

They indicated the following:

- forest areas
- some characteristic trees: *Birbirsa=Zigba*/Podocarpus, *Tuulla*, *Sukkee*=Mahogany, *Gatamee*, *Heexoo=Kosso*, *Abayie*, *Hirqammu*, *Sigeda*, *Bulchaanaa*)
- bamboo (*Leemman*)
- farming areas (enset, potato, barley, maize, wheat)
- some shrubs (e.g. *Gora*=raspberry)
- 9 springs, most of them small and seasonal
- grazing areas
- rivers (Laga Buqqee, Laga Golja, Dhoqqee Ambo), most of them seasonal
- stones and cliffs near the rivers
- bees/beehives

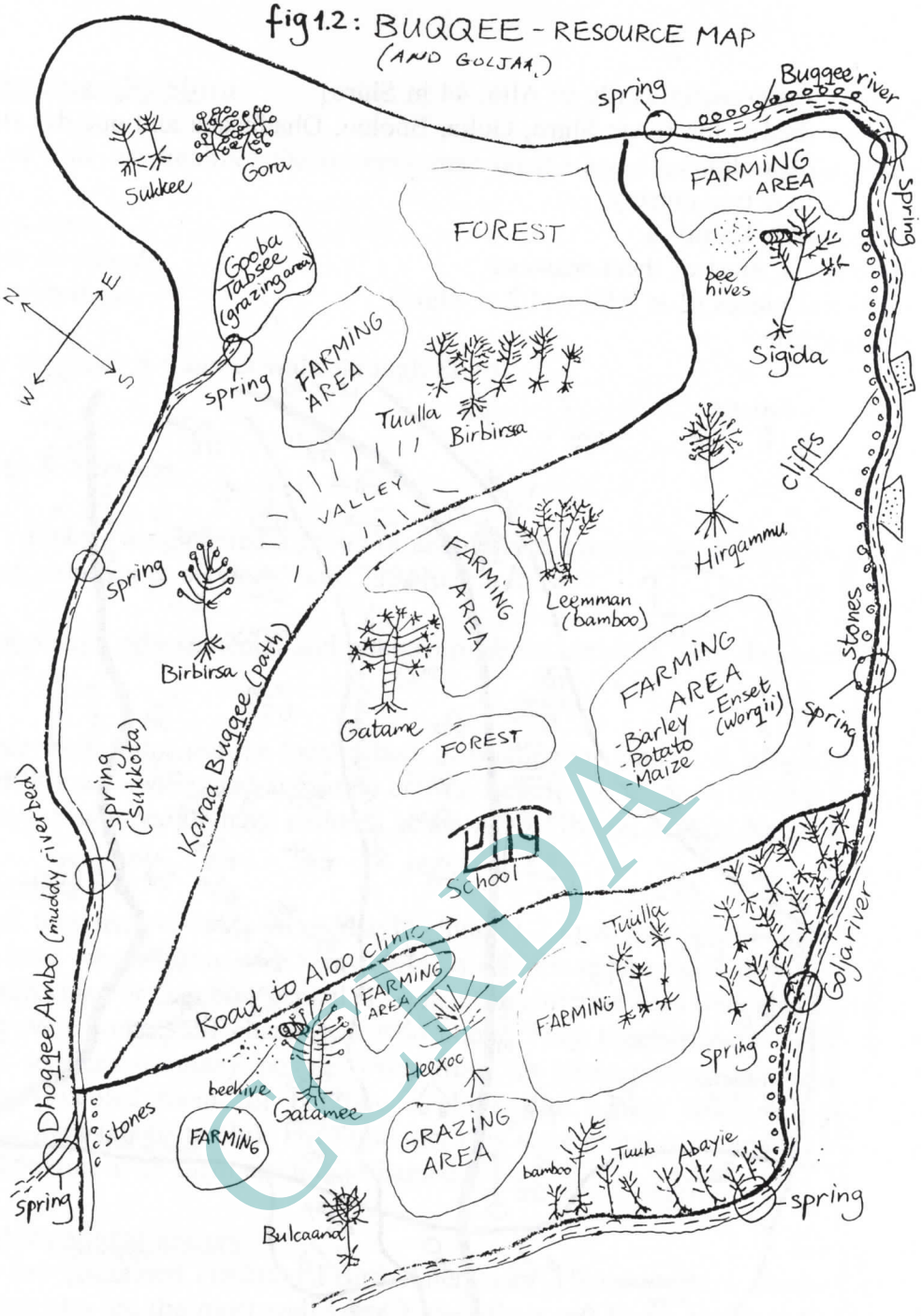
Other resources mentioned were:

- wild animals like colobus monkeys (*Weennii*), other monkeys (*Jardeessa*), antilopes (*Borofaa, Kuruphee*).
- domestic animals like cows, oxen, sheep, goats, horses, donkeys, chicken.

As to the crops, the interviewees mentioned that they like enset most, as it is hardly damaged by pests, and that wheat is rarely used. The *Hirqammu* tree makes ploughing very difficult. They use crop rotation.

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fig 1.2: BUQQEE - RESOURCE MAP
(AND GOLJAA)



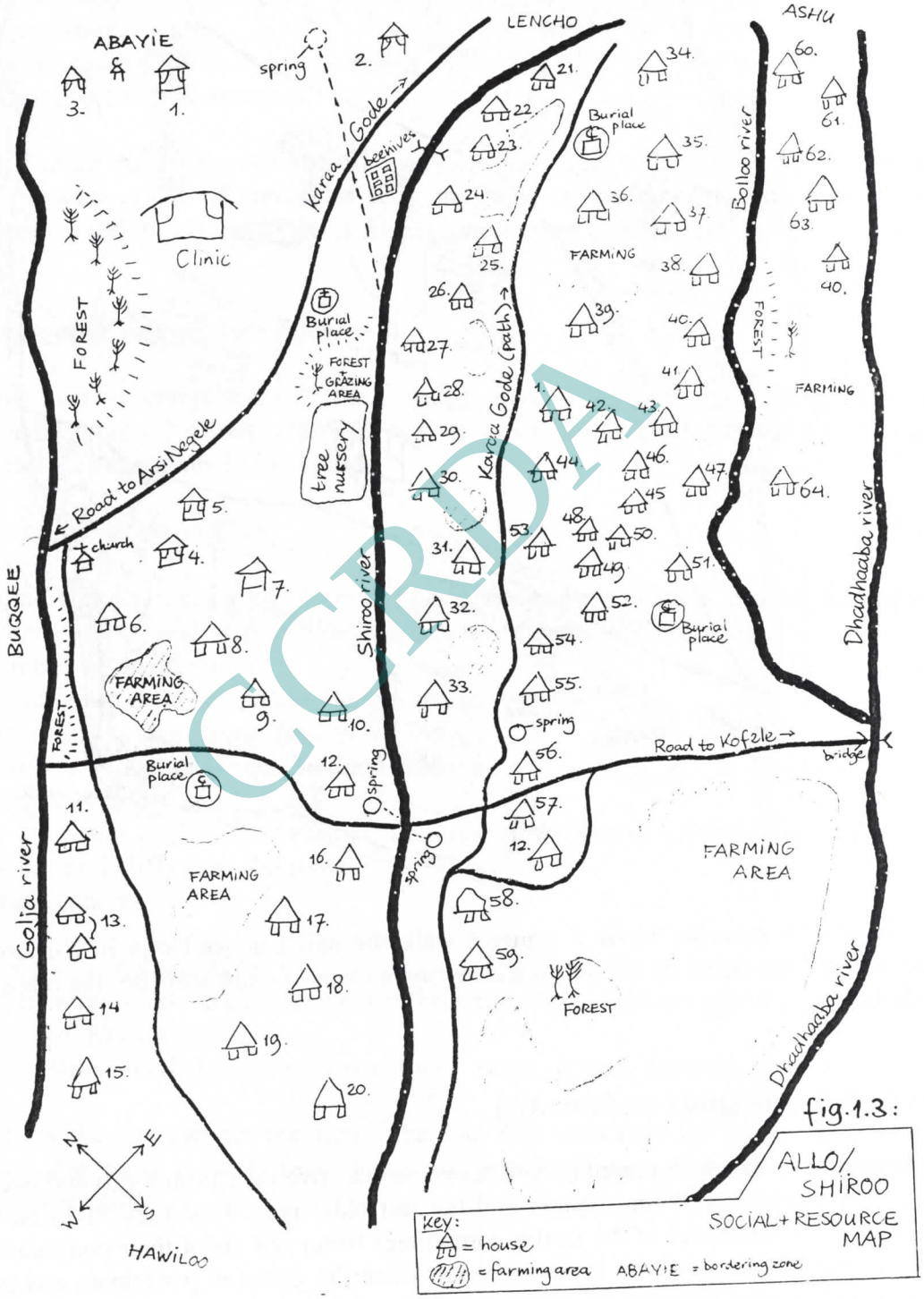
From 2:30 to 4:10 p.m. we made a transect walk through Buqqee/Golja in S-shape and corrected some minor items on the social and resource maps. To our surprise, the maps were very well drawn.

Social mapping Allo/Shiro (see figure 1.3)

At 4:30 p.m. we started social mapping with seven people: five men from Shiro and two men from Allo, two to three of them younger and the rest older men. First they said that Obbo Shanku (who is the chairman of the health committee) better tell about their community, as he knew everything. We however managed to convince the group to participate and two of the younger men started drawing the social map, including:

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- 64 houses/households (20 in Allo, 44 in Shiro)
- 4 river(bed)s: the rivers Shiro, Golja, Booloo, Dhadhaaba and one dry riverbed
- the ADAA clinic
- the ADAA tree nursery
- the ADAA beehives
- 4 springs, most of them seasonal
- 4 burial places (2 at Allo and 2 at Shiro)
- roads/paths.



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Resource mapping Allo/Shiro

Due to lack of time we finalized the resource map on the same map as the social map. It includes:

- forest areas,
- major farmlands,
- rivers/springs.

The next day we made a transect walk through Shiro.

1.2. Opportunities & Services

In Shiro, on Tuesday, we gathered a group of about seven farmers (all men) with whom we discussed "opportunities & services" and "historical trends".

The following public, governmental and nongovernmental services were discussed:

1. Schools
   The people from Shiro use the local school at Buqqee for grade 1-2, at Gode for grade 1-8 (about 4 kms. away), and at Kofele or Arsi Negele for grade 9-12 (resp. 18 and 28 kms. away). Some people have children at the ADAA hostel in Arsi Negele.

2. Health services
   First of all they use ADAA's Ailo Abayie clinic (1-2 kms. away), but since that clinic does not have laboratorium and X-ray services and for severe cases they go to Kuyera Hospital (25 kms.) or Gambo Hospital (18 kms.). The interviewees were also commenting that there were some staff changes at Allo clinic. They mentioned that Allo clinic is providing services to many people, even from far-away places, to those who had previously ridiculed them for building a clinic (the people from Allo and Shiro contributed their labour freely). They said that they were proud of it, and the others who did not cooperate with them are now ashamed.

3. TBAs and traditional healers
   There are four untrained Traditional Birth Attendants (TBAs) at Shiro: Simbu Daka and Robdu Wamisho are the most well-known, the others are Bassu Sinka and Shuka. For certain problems the people go to local traditional healers, such as Kuyu in Shiro, who is specialized in brain-healing, and Gamachu in Aradano. Kedir is a local traditional veterinarian.

4. Grinding mill services
   For grinding mill services the people go to Kuyera, Kofele or sometimes Arsi Negele (18-28 kms. away). This is however very problematic especially in the rainy season when the rivers swell and are very difficult to pass. Very recently (since 2-3 months) they can now also grind their grain at Gode, where ADAA installed a grinding mill which is managed by a women's group from Gode. However, there is a very high demand, and therefore they have to wait very long for grinding at Gode, sometimes a day or two. Women sometimes spend the night there to get their grain milled in time. The mill is

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overused, partly because barley (the major crop) has to be ground twice. Because of this the interviewees commented that they even prefer to go 18 kms. to Kofele. They were also complaining that the Gode people are not treating them well, e.g. by giving priority to their own people/relatives. As to prices, they mentioned that 50 kgs. costs 5 Birr at Gode and 3 Birr at Kofele/Kuyera, but this appeared not to be a major constraint for them.

5. Tree nursery

The farmers said that they have received tree seedlings from the ADAA nursery at Allo, and showed where they planted them. They even said that they could not get as much seedlings as they wanted. They have not paid for the seedlings, but since they realized the need for continued replanting, they were willing to pay something in future. Preferred species were: Juniper, Podocarpus, Eucalyptus, *Heexoo* (*Kosso*), *Sukkee* (Mahogany), etc.

6. Veterinary services

Veterinary services are not available in the area. Farmers have to go to Kofele (18 kms.) or Arsi Negele (28 kms.) to get veterinary drugs or services. The Ministry of Agriculture used to come to the area to provide vet services, but they have not come for the last four years. Common cattle diseases include "*losha*" (diarrhoea) and a kind of body swelling. They remembered one person whose ox recently died, which left him with nothing.

7. Agricultural extension services

There are none. During the Dergue period there were some vet services, but since then they have not seen the MoA anymore.

8. *Edirs*/local associations

The people have an association for mutual contributions during wedding and mourning days. Some community members have a savings association (with up to 40 members). The women at Allo and Golja have a local women's association ("*Wijjoo*").

9. PAs/SCs

The Peasant Association (PA) of Mata Arba is still functional. Its main activities include the collective purchase and distribution of fertilizers and some legal services. They hold office in the school at Buqqee. However, the interviewees said that "the *Kebele* is very weak". The Service Cooperative (SC) at Gode now only provides legal services, for representation towards the *Wereda* administration. Sale of goods such as sugar, salt and soap stopped three years ago, partly because money was misused.

10. Groceries/shops

There is one small shop at Gode (4 kms.), but for most goods such as sugar, salt and soap, the people go to markets in Kofele (18 kms.), Kuyera (25 kms.), Arsi Negele (28 kms.)

11. Market places

They use the following market places:
- Kuyera: Tuesday, Sunday (25 kms. away),
- Kofele: Wednesday, Saturday (18 kms. away),
- Arsi Negele: Monday, Friday (28 kms. away),

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- Gode: Thursday, Sunday (4 kms. away),
- Kore: Thursday, Sunday (15 kms. away).

12. Handicrafts
There are some local carpenters/furniture-makers (part-time). There are no local blacksmiths.

13. Churches/mosques
There is no common mosque (99 % of the population is muslim). Most people have their own individual praying places. Sometimes there is a religious gathering at the school in Buqqee. There is a small Adventist church at Allo (in a tukul).

14. Burial grounds
There are several small burial grounds, as indicated on the social maps.

15. Banks
Our interviewees were not aware of any local people using banks for deposit/savings or credit services.

16. NGO interventions
They only knew of the recent interventions of ADAA.

1.3. Historical Trend Lines

We discussed historical trends of tree vegetation, population, crop production (enset, barley, potato and maize), rainfall and livestock population over the last 50 years with three older farmers out of the same group with whom we discussed "opportunities & services". The farmers indicated these trends on a flipchart using leaves, flowerblossoms and straws (see figure 1.4 and the cover picture).

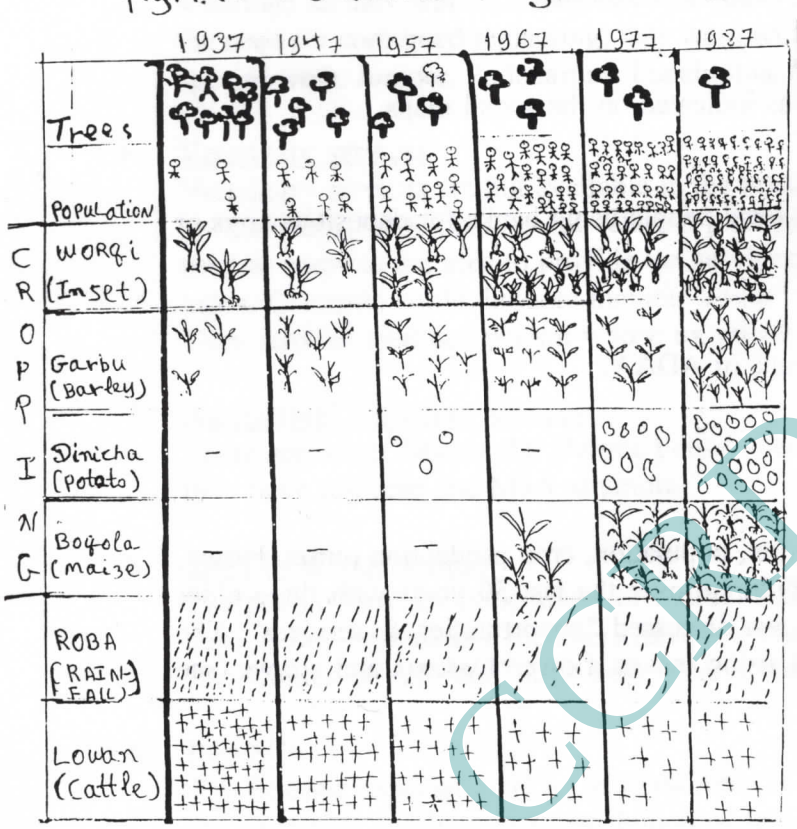
Trees

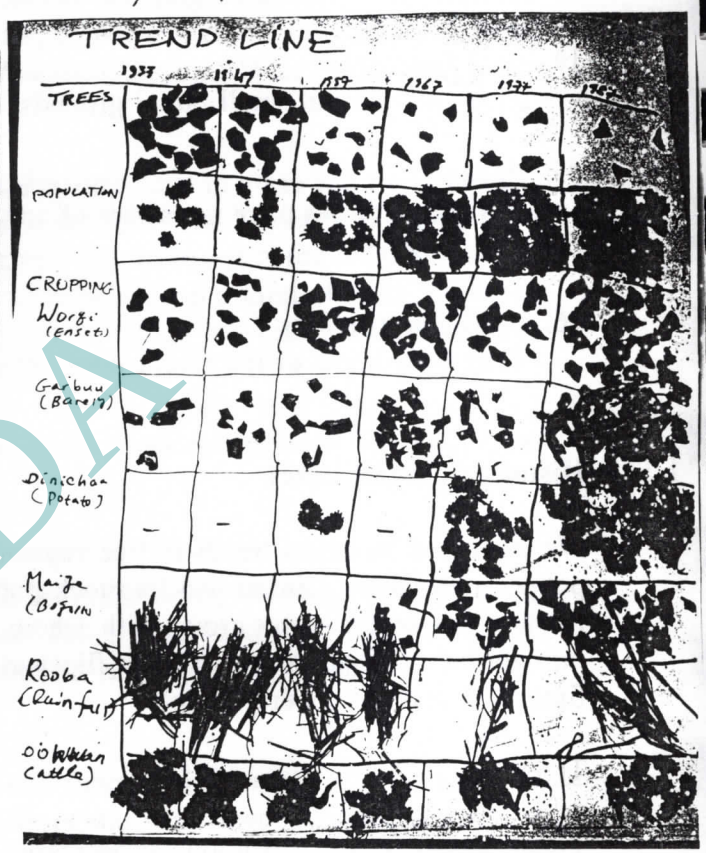
The intensity of tree vegetation has decreased ever since 1937 EC (50 years ago). At that time the area was densely forested with trees such as *Ononu, Koraqa, Birbirsa, Tuula, Hindheesa, Heexo, Badesa, Sukkee, Gatamee, Hirqammu, Mokonisa, Wodesa, Wellena, Chironta, Abayie, Garanba, Buchana, Reji and Leemman*. There were many beehives previously in the trees. Now there are much less beehives, and honey and honey-products have become scarce, so that even at weddings pure honey-wine is hardly served anymore. About 30 years ago, around 1960, the number of trees started to decrease fast, because of the coming of the sawmill of an Italian named Gino at Arsi Negele. Then there was also a kind of flowering of the bamboo ("*Santataa*"), after which all the bamboo dried out. Our interviewees also remarked that the loss of trees was caused by population growth; more farmland was needed, as well as more firewood and charcoal for selling. Some four to five years ago (1982 EC) the local production of planks was introduced to the area (using big saws). Before that, the trees were transported in raw pieces out of the area to Arsi Negele and other towns.

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When asked about the reason for tree-felling and local plank-production, our interviewees said: "Since we saw that the town people were making a lot of money with our resources, we wanted to do the same." Our interviewees remarked that they now understand that it will create a problem in the long run, as the quantity of wood available for fencing and house-building is decreasing. The only solution is now to replant many trees, therefore "we would like to plant trees like we plant maize". Previously there was much more social control on tree-felling, but now "the young people do not listen to the older ones anymore". Some younger people are making their living from tree-felling and -selling rather than farming.

fig. 14: Trend lines, right: the original laid out by the farmers, left: redrawn





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Population

Population was the next trend set out by the farmers, as they viewed it in relation to trees: with the gradual increase in population, more and more trees were cut down. One of the interviewees remembered that when he was born (about 60 years ago) there were only 4 families in Shiro, whereas now there are 44.

Crop production

Our interviewees remembered that in their fathers' times most people lived mainly on cattle production (milk, butter, etc.) plus some *enset* (local name "*Worqi*"). Enset remained the major crop up to 1960. Barley was already introduced in 1940, but became a major crop

around 1970. In 1981 EC (6 years ago) a disease destroyed most of the enset crop. Afterwards people started with enset again, as they value it as an important crop that helps people during periods of food shortage such as in the rainy season.

Barley became gradually the major source of livelihood with the decrease of cattle population. In 1976-77 EC there was a disease ("*Wag*") which destroyed much of the barley crop, but after that it became the major crop again.

Potato was introduced 33 years ago. In 1965 EC there was a "*Wag*" epidemic, destroying all the potato crop. After that it continued to be planted increasingly.

Maize was introduced about 18 years ago, and although it increased, it never became a major crop, as it is hard to weed, does not have a very good production in the area and is not preferred as staple food.

Rainfall

The interviewees said that from 1937 to 1957 EC rainfall was affluent and quite constant. From then on it decreased until it was minimal in 1977 EC (1984/85). Since then it has increased again. The people remembered that the Shiro river has always dried up partly during the dry season; only at places where there are springs it is flowing a little. The Dhadhaaba river is the only abundant perennial river in the area.

Livestock

During the interviewees' fathers' times a person could have 150 to 200 heads of cattle. Cattle was not even measured in heads, but in number of fenced compounds full of cattle. Since that time the number of cattle has steadily decreased. At present the average farmer has not even 5 cows/oxen, which he can easily keep in his house. The interviewees were also recalling a cattle disease epidemic of some 60 years ago, called "*Madini*". At that time they cured the disease by giving the cattle urine or faeces as medication. The main cattle disease at present is "*losha*" (diarrhoeal disease), which was the cause for the decline in cattle population about 10 years ago, whereas now it is reviving slightly. From 1982 to 1985 EC there was a disease amongst horses called "*Garagalcha*".

1.4. Historical time line

We discussed on major events remembered by the same interviewees: two older men and two younger men from Shiro. They reported the following:

1943 EC	-	Establishment of school at Allo.
1950 EC	-	Establishment of Gode market.
1952 EC	-	Earthquake and eclipse of the moon.
1960s	-	Haile Selassie sent Hamassien people (from Eritrea) to Shashemene, who forced the local population from their land around Shashemene (*"Bara Buqisaa"*).

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1963 EC	-	Cholera epidemic,
	-	Long period of drought (*"Bona Dhera"*).
1966-82 EC	-	Dergue period (*"Bara Dergi"*): From 1968 to 1982 the Dergue picked up many people, the sons of many villagers, to fight in the war, first as "militia", since 1976 for "national service". They even picked up young people from the market, loading them in trucks. The period from 1973 to 1980 is remembered as the "quota period", when every community had to contribute part of their harvest to the government.
1967 EC	-	Establishment of Mata Arba P.A.
1968 EC	-	Re-establishment of school at Golja/Buqqee.
1973 EC	-	Establishment of the Service Cooperative.
1983 EC	-	Fall of the Dergue: Many people died during clashes in Shashemene; around Kuyera there were many robberies.

1.5. Wealth ranking

Buqqee

In the afternoon of Tuesday 14 February and the morning of Wednesday 15 February 1995 we interviewed three groups of people from Buqqee/Golja on wealth differences in their community:

- Group 1: five men from Buqqee (incl. two youngsters and two older men), meeting near a site where they were threshing with horses.
- Group 2: seven men from Buqqee and Golja (aged 20-45), meeting at the school compound, near the football field.
- Group 3: nine women from Golja (incl. two older women), meeting in the compound of Bakali.

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All groups came up with livestock ownership as the clearest wealth indicator. Land ownership was much less a criterium, as it is the use that they make of the land which counts (poor people may have land, but "do not know how to use it"), and families with a lot of children may have a lot of land, but they can still be poor, as it has to be distributed amongst all their children. Other criteria for wealth which were mentioned were: number of beehives, possession of enset around the house, cultivation of a diversity of crops, and trading in livestock.

The following were listed as the characteristic assets of the different wealth categories (common denominators mentioned by the three groups):

1. The richest people own about 30 heads of cattle, 6 plough oxen, 15-25 sheep, 5 horses, about 3 ha. (12 *"olcha"*) of land - including grazing land -, a lot of enset around their house and about 30 beehives.

2. Rich people own 15-20 heads of cattle, 4 plough oxen, 3 horses, 2-2.5 ha. of land and 20 beehives.

3. The middle category (not necessarily the biggest category!) owns 10-15 heads of cattle, 2-4 oxen, 20 sheep (this category has more sheep and less cattle, as opposed to the richer ones), 2-3 horses, about 1.5 ha. of land and 10 beehives.

4. Poor people own about 2 cows, 1 ox, a few sheep, a horse and/or a donkey, 0.5-1 ha. of land (although sometimes working more as a sharecropper - *"Qotta"* - on the land of others or their fathers) and 1-3 beehives.

5. The poorest people own hardly anything, maybe one cow, but no oxen, no horse, not even a donkey and they have no farmland (they work as labourers on other people's farms or by cutting down trees; they depend on their parents and have not received land since they are not registered with the PA, which only registered and distributed land in the Dergue period).

There appeared to be some disagreement amongst the three groups of interviewees, especially regarding the middle and poor categories. One group described the middle and poor categories as having much less possessions, i.e. only 4-5 cattle for the middle and the poor having hardly any farmland. Surprisingly, this group ranked more people in the "poor" category. The women interviewees' criteria and ranking did not deviate much from the others; they mentioned the same criteria and their ranking was similar to the other groups.

When applying the wealth scoring index, the final result was as follows:

6 out of 40 households were ranked as	the poorest (15 %)
13	poor (33 %)
12	middle (30 %)
6	rich (15 %)
3	the richest (8 %)

There is a lot of interchange between the "poor" and "middle" groups (about half of all residents was sometimes ranked as "poor", sometimes as "middle"), while the wealth difference between these categories (major assets, see above) is rather large. This could indicate some bias in the ranking by the interviewees. However, it is clear that there is a substantial group of (mostly younger) people with little land and very few or no cattle, who depend on their fathers, their labour and other income besides farming.

Wealth ranking Allo/Shiro

On Wednesday 15 February 1995 we interviewed four groups of people from Allo and Shiro on wealth differences in their communities:

- Group 1: ten women from Allo (old and young), meeting at the compound of Wzo. Leli.

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Wealth ranking at Allo

- Group 2: seven men from Allo (incl. three older men), also meeting at the compound of Wzo. Leli.
- Group 3: five men from Shiro (three older, two younger), meeting at a field in the north-west corner of Shiro.
- Group 4: five men from Shiro (incl. one older man), also meeting at a field in the north-west corner of Shiro.

As in Buqqee, all the groups found livestock ownership to be the clearest wealth indicator. Land ownership was less valued, for the same reasons as mentioned by the Buqqee people (esp. family size could counteract on land ownership). One group therefore mentioned intensity of crop production (in quintals harvest) and the capacity to save food to last the family throughout the year as criteria rather than land size as such. It was interesting to note that two groups clearly indicated that livestock ownership was the main asset of the richest people, whereas crop farming was more practiced by the rich and middle categories.

Other wealth indicators mentioned were: enset cultivation, ownership of trees, beekeeping, horticulture production, trading and cash savings at hand. The quality of housing was also discussed by one group, but found to be a bad indicator, as this depends more on the family's neatness than on their economic wealth.

The following were listed as the characteristic assets of the different wealth categories (common denominators mentioned by the four groups):

1. The richest people own 15-20 heads of cattle, 2-4 plough oxen (2 in Shiro, 4 in Allo), 10-20 sheep, 3-5 horses, about 1 ha. of land with around 12-15 qtls. harvest each year, 1,250 m^2 of enset, a vegetable garden, 15-20 big trees, 10 beehives, and they have 200-300 Birr cash savings at hand.

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2. The rich people own 10-15 heads of cattle in Allo and 5 cows and 2 oxen in Shiro, 5-7 sheep, 2 horses and a donkey, 20-25 qtls. of harvest each year (more crop farming than the richest people!), around 2,000 m^2 of enset, a nice garden, 10-15 big trees, some beehives and they have 100-150 Birr cash savings at hand.

3. The middle category owns 2-3 cows, 1-2 oxen, 2-5 sheep, a horse and/or a donkey, 0.5 ha. of land or 5-7 qtls. of harvest each year, 600 m^2 of enset, 6-7 trees, maybe a few beehives and no savings at hand.

4. Poor people own 1 cow, no oxen, 1-3 sheep, a donkey, a very small plot of land, but often working as a sharecropper on other people's land (*"Qotta"*), no enset and no beehives.

5. The poorest people do not own any livestock, not even a donkey or sheep or not even a chicken (as one group told us) and are purely dependent on others, by selling their labour (for e.g. carrying wood), or by receiving food from their parents/ relatives; they were sometimes said to be poor due to laziness ("one who does not think about his improvement remains poor"), but this could as well be a result of the poverty trap.

The interviewee groups at Allo had generally higher standards in mind than the groups in Shiro; this already indicates the wealth difference between the two communities. The women interviewee group at Allo set the highest criteria for the richest category; this may be due to the older women in the group referring more to the past than to the present.

When applying the wealth scoring index, the final result was as follows:

	Allo	Shiro	Total
Poorest	1 (5 %)	13 (30 %)	14 (22 %)
Poor	4 (20 %)	13 (30 %)	17 (27 %)
Middle	7 (35 %)	11 (25 %)	18 (28 %)
Rich	4 (20 %)	4 (9 %)	8 (13 %)
Richest	4 (20 %)	3 (7 %)	7 (11 %)
	20(100 %)	44(100 %)	64(100 %)

The wealth difference between Allo and Shiro is immediately apparent: Shiro is much poorer (60 % in the poor and poorest categories, for Allo it is only 25 %). Especially in Shiro there is a substantial number of people with very limited assets, often working as sharecroppers or labourers.

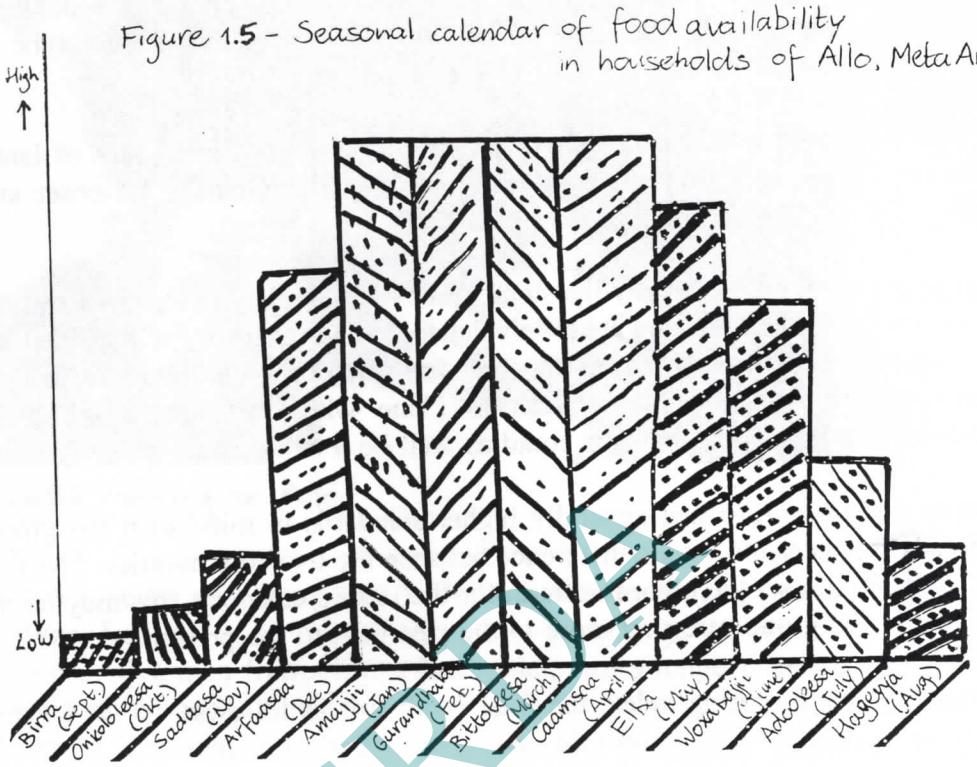
Compared with the results of Buqqee, one could say that Shiro is the poorest of the three communities, Buqqee is in between and Allo is the richest. (However, Buqqee interviewees listed more assets for the middle to richest groups, and may therefore be closer to Allo than to Shiro in relative wealth measured by economic assets). In Allo there are relatively many female-headed households, mainly of older widows, who are on the average not poorer than the other people.

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1.6. Seasonal calendar - Food availability

On Thursday 16 February 1995 we interviewed five women and two men in Allo on seasonal trends in food availability in local households. The bar-graph in figure 1.5 is the result of the discussion.

Figure 1.5 - Seasonal calendar of food availability in households of Allo, Meta Arba



The bar-graph shows that food is abundantly available from January (*Amajii*) to April (*Caamsaa*), i.e. just after the main harvest season. In May (*Elba*) the quantity of food starts to decrease, as part of the grain will be used for sowing and due to consumption. From then on it will decrease more up to September (*Birra*), which is the month of lowest food availability. In October (*Onkololeesa*) and November (*Sadaasa*) food from other areas is again available at the market. In December (*Arfaasaa*) the first harvest will start to fill the family's grain store again.

From January to June the people mainly eat local bread and injera (from barley and maize), "*marka*" or "*genfo*" (porridge from barley with butter) and some local cabbage or "*dobbi*", a plant which grows in compounds with a lot of manure. From July to November (the food shortage months) "enset" plays an important role in the diet. Enset is therefore highly valued as a root crop that helps people overcome the worst period.

When asked about the extent of real food shortage, the interviewees responded that the poorer people who do not grow enough to last them throughout the year, have to cut down trees for timber and charcoal to earn money in the period from July to November. The poorest of the poor have a food problem throughout the year, and have to sell their labour or cut down trees throughout the year.

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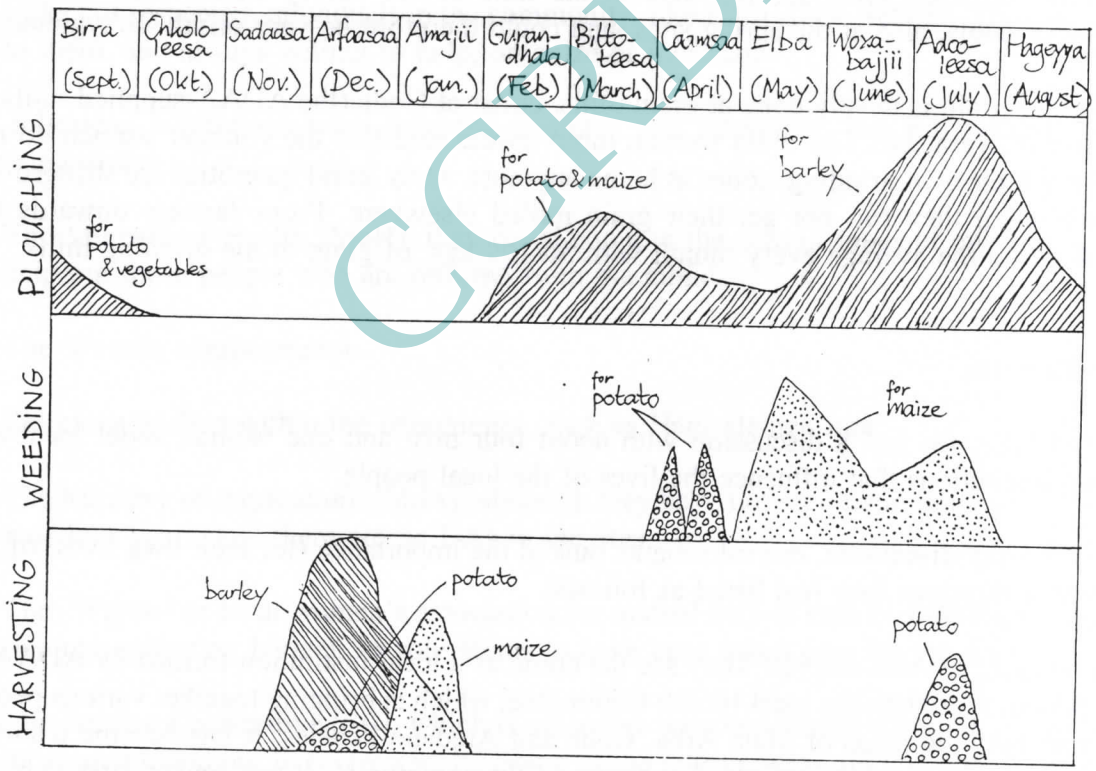
Amongst the middle and rich people those who are clever enough to save food will not need buying food from the market at all. However, those who consume without saving will have to buy food from the market from September onwards. At that time the women load fuelwood and timber on their donkeys and sell this on the market in order to buy additional food. Richer families with milking cows will make butter and sell this on the market.

Regarding the possibility of middle and rich people to sell part of their harvest (those who are above subsistence level), it was mentioned that they will prefer to sell their cereal products at the following occasions: to pay tax to the government, to repay fertilizer received from the PA, to pay school fees for their children, to buy clothes and household items. Poorer people sometimes have to sell some of their livestock to fulfil these obligations. Clever rich people sell part of their cereal crop in August, when the price is high. They mostly sell it at the market in Kuyera.

1.7. Seasonal labour calendar

With a group of four men and three to four women at Allo we drew a labour calendar (see figure 1.6) for the main agricultural activities and had a discussion about the workload for both men and women in the different seasons.

Figure 1.6 - Seasonal Labour Calendar (agricultural activities), Allo



In February and March the farmers are ploughing for potato and maize (although this is dependent on the rainfall; small rains have to precede the ploughing). In April and May there is much less ploughing activity, but weeding is then required. The main ploughing season (for barley) is in June and July up to August. In July the potatoes can also be harvested, which

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sometimes has to precede the sowing of barley on the same fields. Therefore, July and the surrounding months can easily be regarded as the busiest time for the farmers in Mata Arba. The second busiest time is from 25 November through December up to January, when barley is harvested, some potato (second harvest, mainly for seeding purposes) and maize. At that time the whole family, including women and children, are engaged.

When asked about those farmers who do not have oxen, they told us that they will use the oxen of neighbours on days when usually most farmers are not working, such as on Fridays. Widows (there are quite some, esp. in Allo) get assistance from sons or labourers/ sharecroppers for ploughing.

During the months of least agricultural activity, from September to November, men will look after the cattle and other livestock at their grazing areas, as children who usually do this will not be able to pass the rivers. The men will also start constructing new fences for the livestock. At the same time women will be busy going to market to buy additional food.

At the time of ploughing, women collect firewood to store for the rainy season, when dry wood is not available. They also collect dry soil to apply on the floors in their houses. At the same time they help their husbands with agricultural activities.

According to our interviewees, water fetching was not a burdensome task, as water is available from nearby springs and rivers throughout the year. (This surprised us, as most of the rivers and even some springs were at the time of our survey nearly dry; water was standing in pools, also at the spring sites, and could therefore be very unsafe/unhygienic.)

Grinding of grain is mostly done at grain mills, either at Gode (the ADAA-supplied mill) or at Kofele, Kuyera, etc. The older women interviewees said that the younger women do not even have their own grinding stones at home anymore. Only small quantities are still ground at home when they can not get their grain milled elsewhere. From January onwards the women go on the average every month with 50-100 kgs. of grain to the grinding mills.

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1.8. Venn-diagram

Again at Allo, we had a discussion with about four men and one woman about local and external institutions that influence the lives of the local people.

After a lengthy discussion, our informants ranked the importance (for their own lives) of the different institutions they had listed as follows:

1. The clinic at Allo Abayie: They see the clinic as a local institution formed by ADAA in collaboration with the local Health Committee, which is bringing together various people from outlying areas of Mata Arba, Gode and Aradano kebeles. It has become a sort of meeting place, enhancing social cohesion of the community. It was ranked first as health is the first and foremost need of the people.

2. The local *"Edir"* (mutual aid association for weddings, mourning periods and in other times of need): Although the Edir stopped admitting new people, as their number became

too big, they value it highly as it helps people in times of death and when there are problems in the community (various issues are discussed at *Edir*-meetings).

3. The *"Shanacha"* or *"Saddeeta"*, which is an indigenous tribunal of influential people who intervene to resolve major conflicts between communities (by means of sanctions). In the Oromo *"Gadaa"*-system there are several bodies for conflict resolution: the *"Bayii"* for the whole of Arsi, the *"Kontoma"* for one clan, and the *"Shanacha"* for a group of villages. The members of these committees are well respected (although it was said that "they are meaningless without the support of the people"). They intervene in cases of deep-rooted conflicts. We were told that these bodies have become more important since the fall of the Dergue, as the influence of PAs and other official representation systems has weakened.

4. The Peasant Association: The PA provides at present legal services in case of short-term problems, it can represent the community towards government authorities and it provides fertilizer to its members through collective buying in Shashemene on credit basis (unregistered, mostly young farmers can get fertilizer through their parents or relatives).

5. The traditional healers (*"Ogeessaa"*) and traditional birth attendants (*"Ogeettii"*): Although these people are only respected for the service they provide, their services are found to be vital, and they even refer to and get references from the clinic. Some of them heal animals rather than human beings.

6. Elders or respected individuals in the community, like Hajji Abbii Sedebo. They are near to them, and always willing to help, organize or intervene.

The following institutions were regarded as much less important, but still ranked in the following order:

7. The Ministry of Health (MoH): they could come to the area in times of epidemics, and help out those people who are referred from the clinic.

8. The Wereda administration.

9. Religious leaders within the community, such as Hajji Hamza Jara.

10. The Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), although they have not seen them in the area for the past four years, and there are no DAs in the area.

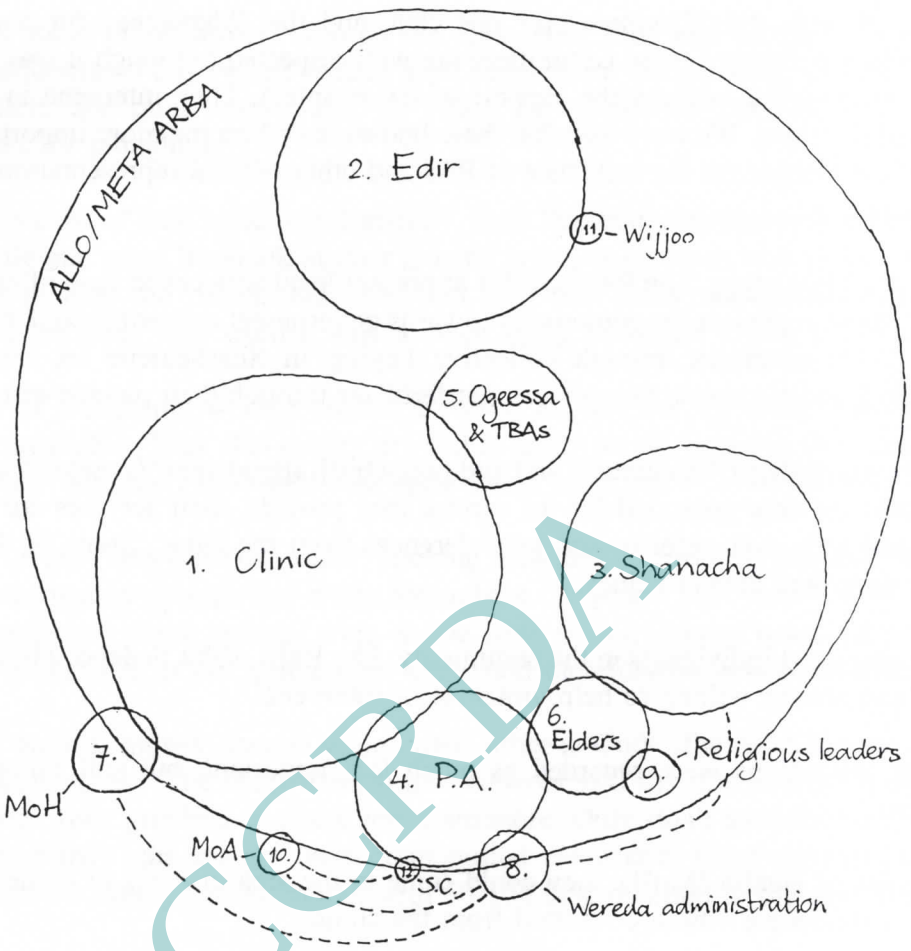
11. The *"Wijjoo"* or local women's association for mutual help in case of weddings or births (mainly collecting butter); its role seems to have been taken over by the *Edir*.

12. The Service Cooperative (SC), which is not active anymore except for some official role in negotiation about fertilizer supply. Some of the interviewees did not want to mention the SC, and accused them of misappropriation and robbery.

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Then these institutions were represented by circles (of various sizes according to their importance) on a flipchart, and our interviewee participants indicated the linkages between them (see figure 1.7).

Figure 1.7 - Venn-Diagram of local institutions and their relationships, Allo



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1.9. Community meeting

On Friday 17 February we had a meeting with the community of Allo, Shiro and Buqqee/ Golja near the clinic. The purpose of the meeting was to present briefly the results of our PRA fieldwork, our objectives, to deliberate with them about their main problems and to hear their suggested solutions.

The meeting was attended by 32 people, 16 men and 16 women. After Ato Gebi had presented the results on the flipcharts (see the picture on the next page), the participants said that it was a good reflection of the actual situation.

When coming to the Venn-diagram, the people mentioned that apart from the clinic, the following institutions were also considered very important for the community: the school, veterinary services (although at present not available), grinding mill and feeder road.



Community meeting at Allo Abayie (near the clinic)

The major problems mentioned by the community were:

- lack of fertilizer; no assistance from MoA
- deforestation
- lack of schooling facilities: only up to grade 2 and lack of materials, teaching aids like blackboards and books; the people expressed their willingness to contribute labour and local materials, if ADAA or the government could assist them.
- lack of grinding facilities, as the mill in Gode is overutilized; again the people expressed their willingness to build a shed for the purpose.
- the inconsistency and inadequacy of the existing health services; the clinic needs to be upgraded, as for many problems the people are still referred to hospitals in Kuyera, Gambo, etc.
- the condition of the road from Arsi Negele to Allo Abayie, to make accessibility to and from the area easier.
- lack of veterinary services.
- one person suggestted that electric power was needed, a.o. for the clinic.
- another person mentioned the need for fencing the clinic compound, to prevent cattle from disturbing.

In connection with the deforestation problem, the community members invited Ato Dawit Negassa to speak about possible measures to combat deforestation, as he had already lobbied with some villagers, by making more and better use of ADAA's nursery or by starting individual/group nurseries by groups of farmers, as was done in one village he visited.

When the community was asked about the relationship between deforestation and population growth, an old woman said that they are happy with every child they get and that children also add to productivity.

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Regarding possibilities of alternative employment for those who depend on tree-felling for their livelihood, one person suggested a credit scheme to provide them with oxen, improved seed or other production assets. For those who fell trees for only some extra income or out of ignorance, continuous education is needed. The people requested whether an expert could teach them how to take care of their trees.

Finally, Obbo Shanku thanked the PRA team for listening to and learning from the community, and expressed his hope that these activities will continue.

2. GROUP II - ASHU AND GODE SOKORA (by Desta, Wariso and Dawit)

The first day, after walking for 45 minutes to Ashu/Gode Sokora, Group II managed to gather seven farmers with the help of Ato Gamachu Chiro, the guard of Allo Abayie clinic who lives in Ashu village. Within the team, Ato Desta figured as interviewer, Ato Wariso played an observer role while Ato Dawit took the responsibility for recording and reporting.

2.1. **Social mapping** (see figure 2.1)

The seven farmers (one woman and six men) who did social mapping, resource mapping and opportunities & services were between 28 to 80 years of age. The first information the group discovered was that there are 55 household heads in the two zones (49 in Ashu and 6 in Gode Sokora), whereas according to the PA chairman (see introduction Part Two) there were only 31 households in both villages.

The discussion with the farmers was very friendly and the team did not encounter any problem in obtaining whatever information it required from the farmers. The main theme of the discussion was to know the number of household(head)s and to locate the house of every farmer on paper. In addition, some places and institutions which give service to the community were also shown on the map.

While the farmers were discussing, one farmer who had completed 12 grades of schooling did most of the drawing on the social map.

The interpretation of the social map for both villages is as follows (please refer to figure 2.1):

- There are two rivers bordering the villages. River Anjelelo borders Ashu village to the south, while river Lencho borders Gode Sokora on the western side.

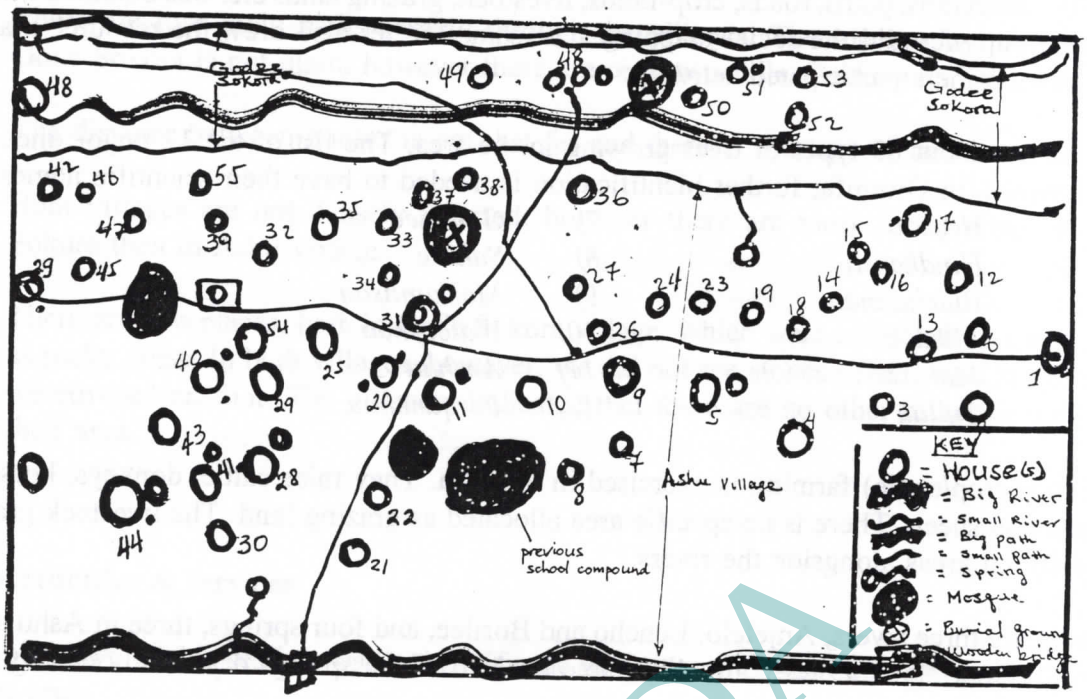
- There are 71 houses belonging to 55 heads of households. Eleven farmers each possess two houses; there is one farmer with three houses while another owns four houses. The number of houses indicates the number of wives. Therefore, the one with four houses undoubtedly has four wives. This condition is not surprising since both villages are all inhabited by muslims.

- Some individuals have small huts near their living houses which they use as a resting place and where they also do their praying. There are two mosques, both in Ashu village, in which the community prays together.

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ZONE:- EASTERN SHEWA
DISTRICT:- NEGELLE ARSI
KEBELE:- MATA ARBA
VILLAGE:- ASHUU & Gode Sokora

fig.2.1: SOCIAL MAP of ASHU & GODEE SOKORA VILLAGES



- The size of the houses usually varies. Most small houses are also poorly constructed and they belong to poor farmers. Large and strong houses are owned by well-to-do farmers. The type of the houses is all the same, "tukuls".

- Almost all the small huts which are called individual mosques are of the same size. While performing the discussion, the whole group had to go into one of such mosques because of rain. The writer of this report had a difficulty to crawl into the mosque because of his tallness.

- There are three communal burial grounds, two in Ashu and one in Gode Sokora.

- In Ashu, the very place where the PRA team discussed with the farmers happened to be a place where there was a school. The school was established and funded by a man named Feyissa Hayato, who was from that area. The school ceased functioning with the death of Ato Feyissa, but the villagers still have respect for the place which was once a village school. The barren area indicated on the map is the ex-school compound.

The first part of the discussion was completed at 1:30 p.m. when the farmers went for the day prayer and the PRA team was invited for lunch by Wzo. Momina Lenchamo. The second session of the discussion started at 2:30 p.m.

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2.2. **Resource mapping** (see figure 2.2)

Information regarding the natural resources such as forest, minerals, springs, rivers, hills, mountains, waterfalls, paths, roads, crop-fields, livestock, grazing lands etc. was obtained from the same group who did the social mapping. The same farmer also drew the resource map. Again, most farmers participated actively.

- There are about 63 types of trees growing in the area. The list of the 12 major ones is as follows (in Oromifa, further identification is needed to have their scientific names):

1)	*Heexoo*	*7)*	*Gatamee*
2)	*Hindhensa*	*8)*	*Sukkee*
3)	*Bulchaanaa*	*9)*	*Mokkaniisaa*
4)	*Abbayii*	*10)*	*Waleeynaa*
5)	*Mararoo*	*11)*	*Anshaa*
6)	*Tullaa*	*12)*	*Hirqammuu*

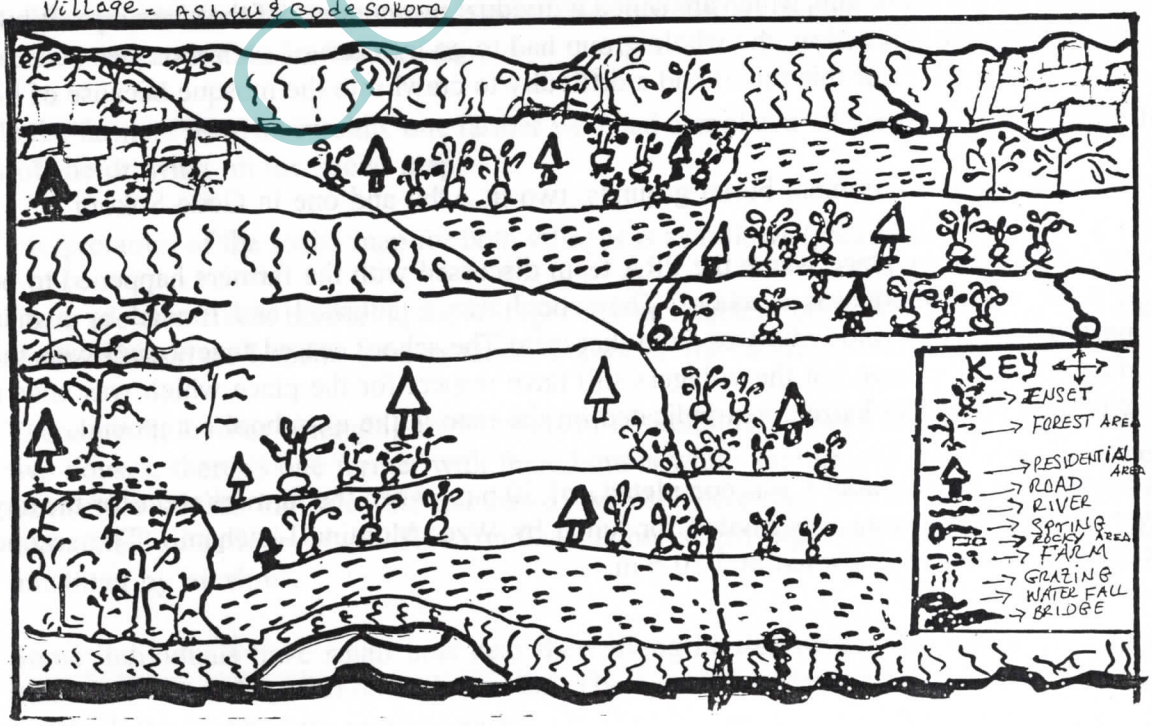
- Mixed (crop/cattle) farming is exercised in the area. They raise cattle, donkeys, horses, goats and sheep. There is no specific area allocated as grazing land. The livestock graze mostly on areas alongside the rivers.

- There are three rivers, Anjelelo, Lencho and Borilee, and four springs, three in Ashu and one in Gode Sokora. They are all potable but two of the springs dry mostly during the long dry season.

- There is one big waterfall in Anjelelo river.

Zone: Eastern Shewa
District: Negelle Arsi
Kebele: mata Arba
Village: Ashuu & Gode sokora

fig.2.2: RESOURCE MAP OF ASHUU & GODEE VILLAGES



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- The major crop grown in the area is barley. All farmers have enset in their backyard, although the size differs. Potato, cabbage, onion and wheat are also common in both villages.

- There are four main paths passing through the villages. The topography of Ashu and Gode Sokora is not plain; however there are only two hills, Sukke and Tullu Edeo.

- The distance between houses is not that far and there is shortage of farmland.

- Both villages are not densely forested; however there are more forest areas in Gode Sokora than in Ashu village.

- There are two places, both in Gode Sokora village, which were indicated by the farmers as rocky areas. In both villages, however, we did not see stones of any kind in all places we covered on foot. The villagers indicated that there are no other minerals known in their area.

2.3. Opportunities & services

The objective of this session was to identify the institutional background and services given to the area.

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School

- There is no school in the villages. Their children go to Gode school for primary and junior secondary education. The school is about an hour's walk for a child who is at the southernmost tip of either Gode Sokora or Ashu village. Those who are at the other end may walk only about 10-15 minutes to reach Gode school.

- The nearest highschool is found at Kofele which is about 20 kms away. Some parents who have relatives in either Shashemene or Arsi Negelle, which are about 40 kms and 30 kms respectively, send their children to highschools in those towns.

- All of the parents responded negatively to sending their children to Kuyera High School because of two major reasons:
  a) Kuyera High School is a boarding school with school fees too high for them to afford. Those parents who are in favour of education for their children complain that Kuyera High School is very expensive and is not meant for farmers' children. They indicated that Kuyera High School and College gives services only for children of rich urban people e.g. from Addis Ababa. One farmer said that "Kuyera is useless for Arsi".
  b) The people in Ashu and Gode Sokora are all muslim. They are not happy to send their children to an Adventist school like the one in Kuyera. They indicated that the boarding school may influence their children to be converted to christianity.

Clinic

There is no clinic in both villages. They go to Allo Abayie clinic for both minor and major health problems. Allo Abayie clinic is established in 1992 by ADAA. Before the clinic was established at Allo Abayie, the villagers had many unresolved health problems which they don't want to remember.

Market places

- There is no market in the two villages. The people go to Kofele town on Wednesdays covering twenty kilometres on foot to sell their agricultural products and also to buy basic necessities such as clothes, sugar, salt, etc.
- At Gode, there are two market days, Sunday and Thursday. The villagers, mostly women, go to Gode market for minor things.

Grinding mill

There is no grinding mill in the villages. The mill at Gode is the only one present within a radius of 15 kms. The mill is too crowded with people who come for milling service so that sometimes it takes them days to get their barley ground. Hence they prefer to go to Kofele for milling. They say that except for the distance, in Kofele they have a better choice to go to a flour mill which is less crowded.

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Tree nursery

It is clear to any observer that both villages were densely forested a couple of years ago. The rate of deforestation is very high. We observed that some trees like *tid* are being chopped for fuelwood while they are still intact. Some of such trees have already died before they are cut down. There is no effort to replant the trees that are on the process of fast destruction. There is no tree nursery in the villages under study. The farmers indicated that they do not know much about the use of the nursery site near Allo Abayie clinic. However, some farmers pointed out that they have taken some seedlings of eucalyptus and *tid* from ADAA free of charge and planted around their farmlands. They also indicated that the survival rate was small because most planted seedlings were destroyed by livestock. The team discussed with the farmers on ways to replace the destroyed trees and protect new seedlings. The fact that ADAA is supplying tree seedlings free of charge to the farmers is a good encouragement to fight deforestation which is expanding in a high speed. However. it is advisable to give repeated educational sessions for the farmers at the project level. The objective of the nursery site shouldn't be confused as if it is donating tree seedlings but should clearly be understood by the farmers that it is part of the agricultural development of the area. Some farmers have indicated that they are able to develop their own nurseries; this attitude has to be encouraged and similar effort should be multiplied by other farmers as well. During the transect walk the team observed some Eucalyptus and Juniper trees recently planted by few farmers.

Veterinary services

The number of livestock in the villages is moderately high. People relate their wealth mostly with the possession of cattle and horses. However, there is no animal clinic that gives veterinary service for the area. The farmers indicated that there was an outreach programme by which veterinarians came to Gode with some medicines for vaccination and treatment. However, such services have stopped and thus they usually depend on traditional herbs to treat their livestock when they are ill. The death rate of livestock is high in both villages which is said to be the case also in the surrounding villages.

Road

There is no all-weather road which could give service for vehicles. One farmer mentioned that their vehicles are their horses and some of their children do not know what a car looks like. There are three major paths that are widely used by the villagers and people from other areas to go to Allo Abayie clinic, Gode school and market place and to Kuyera. The two paths through Gode Sokora village intersect with each other and with the one passing through Ashu on the juncture which borders Gode Sokora with another village known as Shiro.

"Edir"

"Edir" is a kind of traditional association founded with the objective of rendering assistance to members during ceremonies such as marriage, death, calamities, etc. The community shares the activities to be performed by the member during such occasions which otherwise could have been very difficult for one member to handle.

- There is one *Edir* in Ashu village consisting of all the 49 community members. Assistance is rendered mainly during burial and marriage ceremonies. The *Edir* already possesses the necessary and basic materials such as tent, benches, barrel, kettle, digging tools etc. needed for such occasions. The community at Gode Sokora are too few to form an *Edir*. However, they voluntarily assist each other whenever such occasions takes place in the village.

"Wijjo"

"Wijjo" is a kind of *Edir* which consists of women only. The assistance is rendered during similar occasions as for the *Edir*. But *Wijjo* members mainly give the assistance by providing items for cooking. Butter is the major item which is given to the *Wijjo* member whenever there are ceremonies like marriages in her family. At present there is no *Wijjo* in both villages but the women are intending to form one in Ashu village.

Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA)

Wzo. Shaggitu Gemeda, who lives in Gode Sokora village, is the only traditional birth attendant for both villages and some other nearby villages as well. The lady is well known and respected by both male and female community members. Almost all farmers talk about her with due respect and emphasize her services mainly before the establishment of the clinic at Allo Abayie. Wzo. Shaggitu is not only giving delivery services. She is also the one doing

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circumcision. Furthermore, the lady is well known as a traditional healer particularly for bone breakage, muscle strain etc. The service rendered by Wzo. Shaggitu is very wide, but she mainly focusses on midwifery and local physiotherapy. The lady has never obtained any modern training to upgrade her abilities. There is no other traditional healer in both villages. The joke by one farmer indicating that they are praying for the long life of Wzo. Shaggitu has much truth in it.

Traditional healer for livestock disease and fractures

An old man of 80, named Galgalo Gamada, is well known for his traditional medicines for treating livestock. Bone fractures of cattle, horses and sheep are well mended by Ato Galgala. He lives in Gode Sokora village and is also well known for his wealth and his four wives. The services of Ato Galgalo, particularly during this time when there is no veterinary service provided for the village, is indispensable.

Religious leader/mosques

There are two community mosques, both in Ashu village, and one religious leader named Aliyi Waqo. Since the people of both villages are all muslim, there is no church in both villages.

Influential persons

There are two men, one in each village, who have respect in the community for their voluntary social services. Ato Beyene Galgalo, a resident of Gode Sokora, is a development-minded farmer who is well known for organizing the people of both villages for development works. Ato Beyene has supervised the building of the grinding mill at Gode. He participates in different committees and sacrifices much of his time for the development of his area.

A specifically influential person is Ato Shigida Aliko of Ashu village. He is well known for his effort in resolving conflicts between individuals and sometimes communities. He represents the communities whenever there is a need for establishing conflict-resolving committees organized from different villages. From some individual discussion casually done between Ato Shigida and PRA team members, we also admired him for his wide knowledge about the culture of Arsi people. Ato Shigida could be a good resource person for any research conducted in both villages.

Peasant Association

The farmers in both villages still have a working relationship with the Peasant Association of Mata Arba. However, the farmers consider the association as an institution to execute government policies rather than performing communal activities.

Service Cooperative

The community of Ashu village has less relationship with the Service Cooperative than those of Gode Sokora. Some farmers at Ashu said that the Service Cooperative is not performing any beneficial activity to the farmers. The farmers in Gode Sokora village, who are also

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nearer to the office of the Service Cooperative, think differently from those of Ashu regarding the activities of the Service Cooperative. They say that the Service Cooperative links the farmers with the activities of the Bureau of Agriculture. This controversial point needs further clarification from farmers of other villages where PRA fieldwork has been carried out.

Shop and public inn

There is no shop of any sort in the villages; public inn is even never heard of. However, the team considers that establishment of small shops is very much beneficial to the community and could be a means of income-generation for one or two farmers who are suffering from shortage of farmland.

Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)

The villagers know the ADAA as an organization that established a clinic at Allo Abayie. They have great hope that the agency organizes other development activities in their villages in the future.

Government agencies

The villagers think that government agencies only work in towns. They indicated that no government agency has ever tried to work in their areas. Even taxes are collected through Peasant Associations. The villagers emphasize that their area is forgotten by government agencies because of the lack of a good access road.

Hospital

There is no hospital in the village or nearby villages. The interviewees asked in surprise whether the interviewer knows any government hospital established in a rural part of the country. The nearest hospital found at Kuyera is about 5-6 hours walk from the villages.

Bank

There is no bank in the villages. The villagers said that the traditional way of saving money is by putting it in pots and burying it in the ground, mostly in houses.

The afternoon session ended at 5:00 p.m. When the team proposed to work for one more hour, this was not accepted by the farmers. The farmers were all fasting since it is a fasting month for muslims. Hence, they went for prayer and rest before they would break their fasting at about 6:00 p.m.

Transect walk

The team wanted to cross-check what had been listed and drawn by the farmers regarding resource mapping. Hence, after closing the discussion with the group of farmers, the team walked to the top of Ashu village and walked through the whole area in a sort of "S"-shape.

The team then returned to Allo Abayie clinic at 6:30 p.m. After supper there was a meeting of all participants whereby the team leaders presented reports on their fieldwork by which experiences were shared.

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The next morning, on Tuesday 14 February, the team walked through Ashu village from bottom to top in an inverted "S"-shape. The transect walk helped the team to have a close look at the crop fields, grazing lands, enset farms at the backyard, etc. of Ashu village.

For the second day discussion, a farmers' group was organized from Gode Sokora village. Before the discussion started, however, the team also did a transect walk in this village. The resource map drawn by the farmers included all the necessary things. The team was surprised by the ability of the farmers to show the resources on the map after it was confirmed by the transect walk. Both the social and resource maps drawn by the farmers were done on flipchart paper. Both maps are redrawn on small papers without changing their original points and are included in this report as figures 2.1 and 2.2.



2.4. Historical time line

A group of seven farmers (three women and four men) was formed for this session. Their ages ranged from 22-75 years. The oldest of the group was a woman named Obse Jara who appeared to have a photographic mind. She remembered a lot and told us in a humorous way some happenings taken place about 60 years back.

The discussion started with seeking information on major historical events like wars, disasters, diseases, etc. The technique is known in PRA as "time line". The events recited by the farmers, mostly by Wzo. Obse, is as follows: (Approximate periods are given since the farmers were not able to remember the exact years in which the events took place. All years are according to the Ethiopian Calendar.)

1) 1910-20: *Bara Awwanisaa*

This is the period when desert locust invaded the area and destroyed crops and vegetative cover. The event was remembered as when the earth and sky were all black. It was not possible even to see the sun because of the swarms of locusts. People tried to kill them on the ground using branches of trees having leaves. The forest was very dense and the leaves and grasses were not totally destroyed. There was no food shortage because at that time the land was fertile and the product of farmers was beyond the need of family members which were few in number. Secondly, the number of cattle owned by individual farmers was high, usually more than 50, and milk production was high. Hence, the effect of the locust destruction was not felt much by the community in terms of food shortage. The lady commented that had *Bara Awwanisaa* occurred nowadays, definitely famine would follow.

2) 1915-25: *Shibirii Guddoo*

This was the war fought between the Amhara and Arsi people on the land of Arsi. Many people were killed while chasing away the Amhara army because of the dense forest. There was only one path leading in and out of every village. A *Qiishoo* or barricade was then formed by felling two big trees to block the only path. Soldiers from both sides were not able to join one another after such a *Qiisho* was formed. Someone who managed to climb over the *Qiisho* and killed a soldier from the enemy side was considered a hero. On the burial ceremony of such men from the Arsi side his courage is remembered by the others by singing war songs for him such as *"Janni Qiishoo koree, Qiishoo dhitee lolee"*, which means "a brave man has climbed over the barricade and fought over it".

3) 1928-1933: *Bara Xaaliyani*

This is the Italian invasion. They remember that the *Ferenjiis* themselves did not come much into the villages, but so did their "servants" called *Hamaseniis*. The *Hamaseniis* are the soldiers who came with the Italians mostly from Hamassien province in Eritrea. If the people met an Italian soldier in the jungle they used to say *"bon giorno"* while bowing low as a greeting. The farmers don't remember the Italian invasion with bad feelings as they do for *Shibirii Guddoo*.

4) 1935-40: *Shibirii Diqqoo*

"Shibirii Diqqoo" is a battle fought between the *Mettas* (Shewa Oromos) and Arsi people again on the land of Arsi. The farmers remember that the battle took place shortly after the Ethio-Italian war. They say that the *Mettas* are the puppets of the Amhara (led by Haile Selassie) who were sent to take away the ownership of the land of Arsi from the indigenous people and make them serfs. The battle was concluded after much sacrifice in favor of the Arsi. "Arsi" in this report refers to the people, not the region, and the Oromo people in the villages under study and in the whole of Negelle Arsi District prefer to call themselves Arsi.

5) 1940-1945: *Bara Bona Untaa*

This is the time when the dry season was followed by another dry season without any rainy season in between. It was a serious drought and people suffered much. However, they managed to survive the drought without any assistance from government agencies

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or non-government organizations. The farmers mentioned that such type of intervention was not common at that time.

6) 1945-1950: *Dhibee Bagaa*
Dhibee Bagaa is an epidemic of smallpox which took place a couple of years after the drought. The nearby villagers of Allo, Wachore and Gode have assisted the villages attacked by smallpox. Vaccination or modern treatment was hardly known in the area at the time. There was a comment from one farmer that both the epidemic and its cure was in the hands of God and people died or survived based on God's will.

7) 1948-1955: *Bara Roba Untaa*
This is the opposite of *"Bona Untaa"*. In this case the rainy season was followed by another rainy season without any dry season coming in between. There was a long rain for almost one year and there was no harvest for the year. However, the impact was not as serious as it was during the long dry season or drought.

8) 1952-1957: *Bara Garagalcha*
Bara Garagalcha was the year when almost all horses in the area were diseased and died. It was a very hard time for the villagers since the service rendered by horses for transportation of people and loading purposes was immense. The effort made by local or traditional livestock healers did not work much during *"Bara Garagalcha"*. They remember the time as a very bad time when they lost almost all their horses.

9) 1955---1965: *Bara Sombee*
"Sombee" is a common name for different diseases of cattle. The interviewees said that there were no significant cattle diseases before 1955 EC. The disease was not in a form of epidemic, but was killing cattle at different times of the year. The disease was initially assumed as a calamity or God's punishment. Unlike other events, *Sombee* was not only a one year happening but continued until the introduction of immunization of cattle one or two years before the downfall of Haile Selassie. (The farmers never referred to Haile Selassie as "King" or "Emperor" Haile Selassie, but merely "Haile Selassie".)

10) 1966: *Bara Kufa Haile Selassie*
This event refers to the downfall of Haile Selassie (the feudal regime) and the emergence of the military junta. The farmers remember this period as a great event as they were more or less freed from subjugation by the Amhara landlords. One farmer indicated that the downfall of Haile Selassie meant the return of land to the "real" owner.

11) 1977: *Bara Beela 77*
"Bara Beela 77" refers to the drought of 1977 EC (1984/85) which more or less affected the whole country. We were told that when something is expensive nowadays the farmers often ask "Did 77 come back?" if they think that the price of the item is exaggerated.

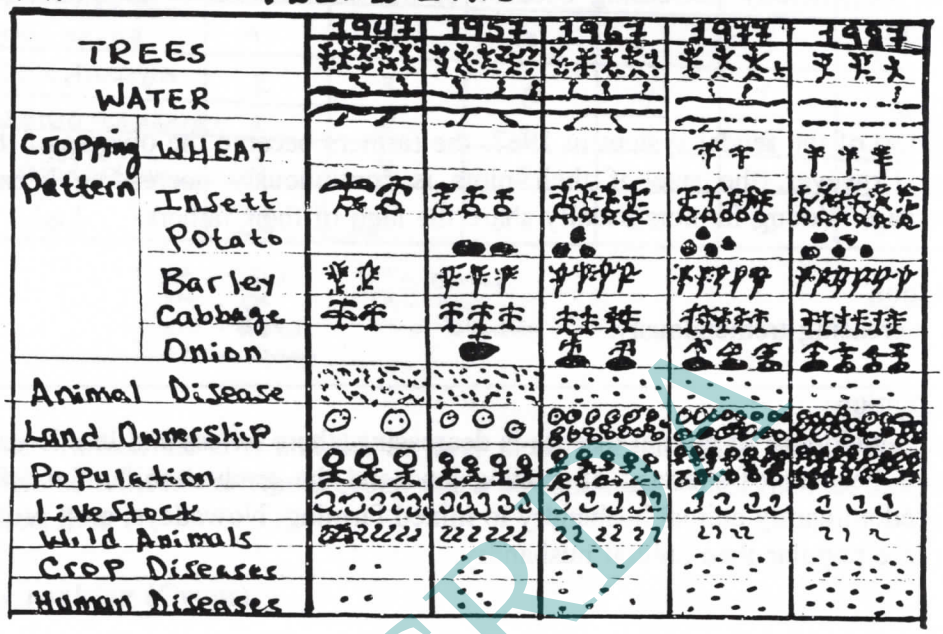
The discussion made with regard to the historical time line was very interesting. Most interviewees indicated that they themselves learnt or refreshed their memory a lot about important events taken place in their area. Our PRA team has also felt they learned a lot from every discussion session with the farmers.

GCRDA

2.5. **Trend lines** (see figure 2.3)

Trend lines were discussed for the period from 1947 through 1987 in ten year intervals for trees (forest condition), river water supply, cropping patterns (for wheat, enset, potato, barley, cabbage and onion), land ownership, population (human), livestock population, wild animals, crop diseases and animal diseases.

fig 2.3 - ASHU & GOBE SOKORA TREND LINE



Trees

Shows a decreasing trend continuously from 1947-1987. The main reasons are cutting of trees for carpentry or other wood products, for fuelwood, charcoal and for clearing the lands for agricultural purposes.

Rivers (water resources)

Shows a decreasing pattern mainly after the 1977 drought. Before 1977, the rivers and springs flowed during all seasons, but thereafter many springs and some rivers started to dry up during the dry season. Change of weather and shortage of rain because of deforestation were the main reasons cited for this condition.

Cropping Pattern

Wheat was introduced in the seventies and is used increasingly ever since that time. However, it is not yet produced by all farmers.

Enset is very common in the area at present and it is cultivated increasingly since its introduction.

Potato was introduced in the fifties and there is an increasing production trend since then.

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Barley is the main crop produced in the area and in an increasing pattern.

Cabbage (Kale) is well known in the area and it can be seen in every backyard. It is increasingly cultivated.

Onion was introduced in the fifties. Even though it is not produced by every farmer it gradually becomes more popular.

Animal Disease
Animal disease is generally decreasing because of the introduction of immunization and modern treatment.

Land Ownership
With the abolition of the feudal system in 1967, the farmers became the owners of the land they cultivate. However, the size of their plots is continuously decreasing because of population increase. Young farmers usually share the land of their fathers.

Human Population
Population is increasing tremendously.

Livestock Population
Even though the incidence of animal disease is decreasing, there is less and less livestock in the area. This is because of shortage of grazing land and the gradual shift of the farming system from predominantly animal husbandry to mixed farming. Nowadays, crop production is becoming more popular than animal husbandry.

Wild Animals
The population of wild animals is continuously decreasing because of deforestation and uncontrolled hunting.

Crop Diseases
The incidence of various crop diseases is increasing from time to time. The main reasons for this were cited to be change in weather because of deforestation and low quality of seeds.

Human Disease
Human diseases are on the increase. The farmers think that food shortage which results in low resistance to diseases is the main reason for the high morbidity rate.

2.6. Preference ranking (Livestock)

With this technique the farmers have valued different kinds of livestock such as horse, cow, ox, sheep, goat, donkey and chicken. The criteria focussed on their use to human beings: transport, milk, meat, loading, cash income, other general uses for human beings, production/reproduction, disease resistance, and agricultural production value were the specific criteria taken into consideration. After hot and active debate amongst the farmers group, the following was the result:

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fig. 2.4 - PREFERENCE RANKING (MATRIX SCORING).
(Livestock)

(PREFERENCE RANKING (Matrix scoring))

Criteeria/Variety	Horse	cow	OX	Sheep	goat	donkey	chicken
Transport	5	0	2	0	0	3	0
Milk	0	5	0	4	3	0	0
Meat	0	4	5	5	5	0	3
Loading	5	0	3	0	0	4	0
Cash income	3	4	5	4	2	3	2
Geneal use for human being	4	5	3	3	1	2	3
(Re) production	2	3	0	4	1	2	5
disease resistance	2	5	5	3	4	3	1
Agricutural production	3	3	5	0	0	1	0
Total	24	29	28	23	16	18	14

1st - Cow
2nd - OX
3rd - ~~Horse~~
4th - Sheep
5th - Donkey
6th - goat
7th - Chicken

The farmers ranked the cow and the ox very close to each other. Had it not been for one woman who convinced the whole group that a cow is more useful than an ox, the ox would have ranked first.

Pair-wise ranking (Crops)

Pair-wise ranking was done on different types of crops. Barley, enset, wheat, potato, cabbage and onion were compared with one another. After comparing each crop with each other, the following was the final ranking according to popularity/user value:

Fig. 2.5 - Pair-wise ranking, Crops

zone Eastern Shewa
District Negelle Arsi
kebele Mata Arba
Village Ashuu & Godesokora

(Pair-Wise Ranking)

	Barley	Inset	Wheat	potato	Cabbage	Onion
Barley		Inset	barley	barley	barley	barley
Inset			Inset	Inset	Inset	Inset
Wheat				potato	Cabbage	onion
potato					Cabbage	potato
Cabbage						Cabbage
Onion						
	4	5	0	2	3	1

1st - Inset
2nd - Barley
3rd - Cabbage
4th - potato
5th - Onion
6th - Wheat

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2.7. Wealth ranking

Wealth ranking was done with four different interviewee groups for three consecutive days. Each group has set their own criteria for every rank (poorest, poor, middle, rich, richest). The criteria were more or less similar and the summary of the criteria of the four groups is as follows:

criteria	Richest	Rich	Middle	Poor	Poorest
-Cattle (in number)	30-40	20-30	10-15	4- 6	1- 2
-Sheep (in number)	20-30	15-20	7-10	3- 4	1- 2
-Horses (in number)	5- 7	3- 5	2- 4	1- 2	none
-Qtls. barley sown	3- 4	2- 3	$1^1/_2$-2	$^1/_2$-1	$^1/_4$-$^1/_2$
-Enset farm	1 olcha	$^1/_2$ olcha	$^1/_4$ olcha	100 roots	50 roots
-Number of wives	3- 4	2- 3	1- 2	1	1
-Number of houses	1 per wife	1 per wife	1 per wife	1	1
-Type of houses	large & strong	large & strong	moderate	small & weak	small & weak
-Type of bedding	leather rope/ hides	leather rope/ hide	bamboo/hides	"medeb"/ no matrass	"medeb"/ no matrass
-Quality of clothes	very good	good	fair	low	very low
-Type of decoration for saddles	very good	good	fair	--	--

1 olcha = 0.25 ha (50x50m.) "medeb" = made from mud.

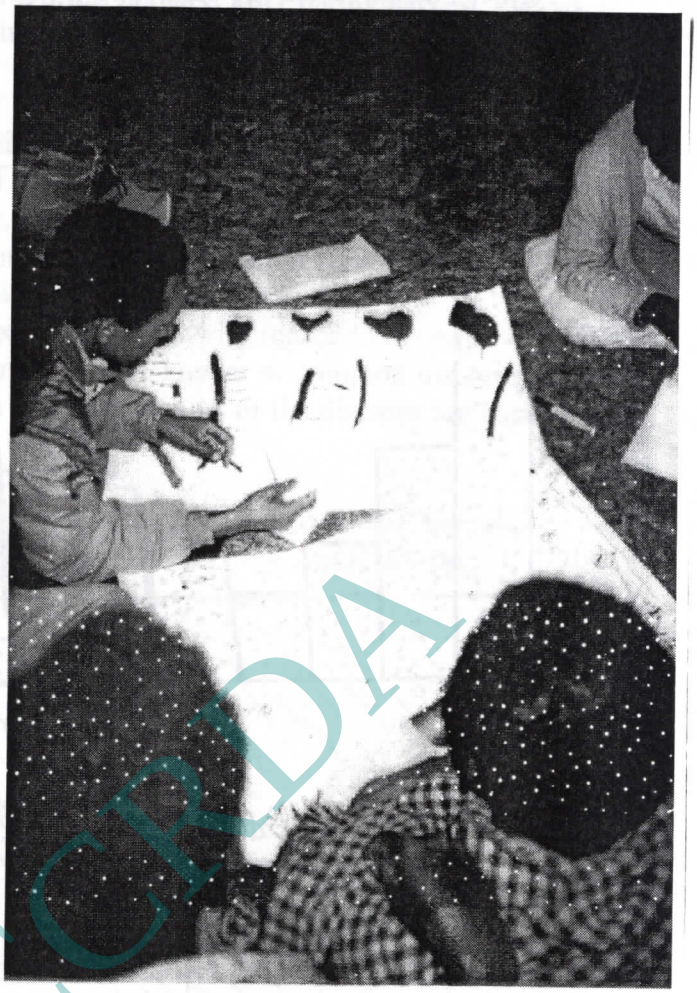
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Each group ranked every household (as identified by the social mapping exercise) in one of the five categories based on their own criteria as above.

According to the average results of wealth ranking in both villages, the poorest group took the highest percentage, whereas the poor and poorest constitute nearly 75 % of the total population:

poorest (score 20-25) : 23 farmers (42 %)
poor (score 30-45) : 18 farmers (33 %)
middle (score 50-65) : 9 farmers (16 %)
rich (score 70-85) : 2 farmers (4 %)
richest (score 90-100): 3 farmers (5 %)

Out of the six farmers in Gode Sokora, two are in the richest category while three are middle and one is in the poorest. This shows that the farmers at Gode Sokora village are much better off than the farmers in Ashu.



Wealth ranking: five categories identified by leaves of increasing size, from poorest to richest.

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2.8. Seasonal calendar - crop/livestock prices, human disease

Under this technique, discussions were made with three farmer groups on seasonal crop price trends, livestock prices and intensity of human diseases.

Crop prices (see figure 2.7)
The average price of crops is very high in September and very low in January.
In September the barley is already sown, but there is no harvest yet, hence no crop for food, and the demand is very high.
In October the price is a bit lower because of some early harvest of barley in other areas.
In August there could be some leftover for consumption.
In July, there is potato but barley is reserved for sowing.

Hence in both months, the price of barley is high but not as it is in September and October.
In November there is some early harvest of barley so the price starts declining.
December is the main harvest month, so the price is fair.
In January every farmer has harvested his barley, so the price is very low.
From February to June the crop prices gradually increase.

Fig. 2.7 - Seasonal calendar, crop prices

ZONE Eastern Shewa
District Negelle Arsi
Kebele Mata Arba
Village Ashuu & Godeesokore

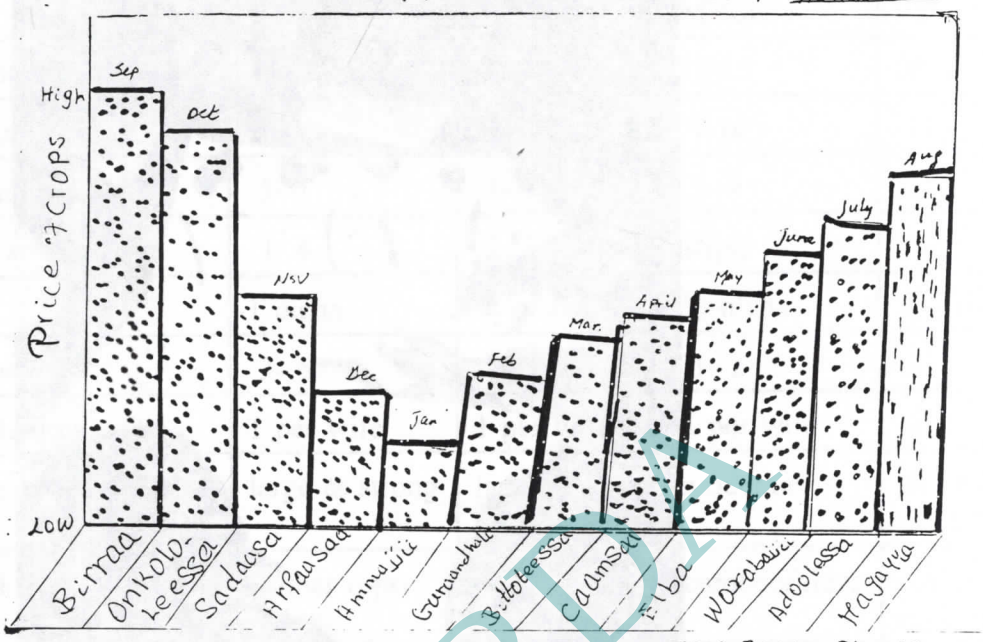
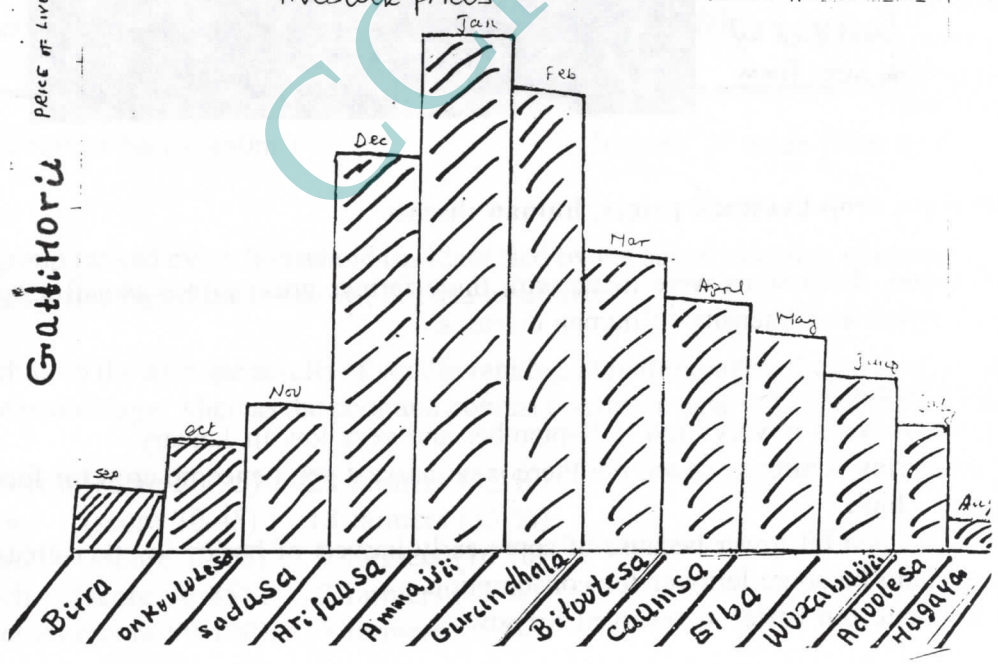


Fig. 2.8 - Seasonal calendar, livestock prices

Zone Easter Shewa
District Negelle Arsi
Kebele Mata Arba
Village Ashuu & Godeesokore



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Livestock prices (see figure 2.8)
The price of livestock is high in January, February and December and low in August, September and October. This is exactly opposite to the price of crops. The reason is that the farmers have to sell their barley to buy livestock. During January, after barley harvest, every farmer may want to buy livestock which results in the price being high.

Human diseases (see figure 2.9)
The interviewees were able to tell the months in which the incidence of human diseases is either high or low, but they could not tell us the possible reasons or causes. In January, human disease is high while it is low in September. From September to January there is an increasing trend with a peak in January and it starts falling until May. In June it rises again, while falling in July and again rising in August and decreasing in September.
It was also not possible to clearly get information with regard to the types of diseases. However, in January common cold and pneumonia were known as common diseases.
Even though human disease is high in January, most of the diseases are curable ones. The death rate is the highest in August.

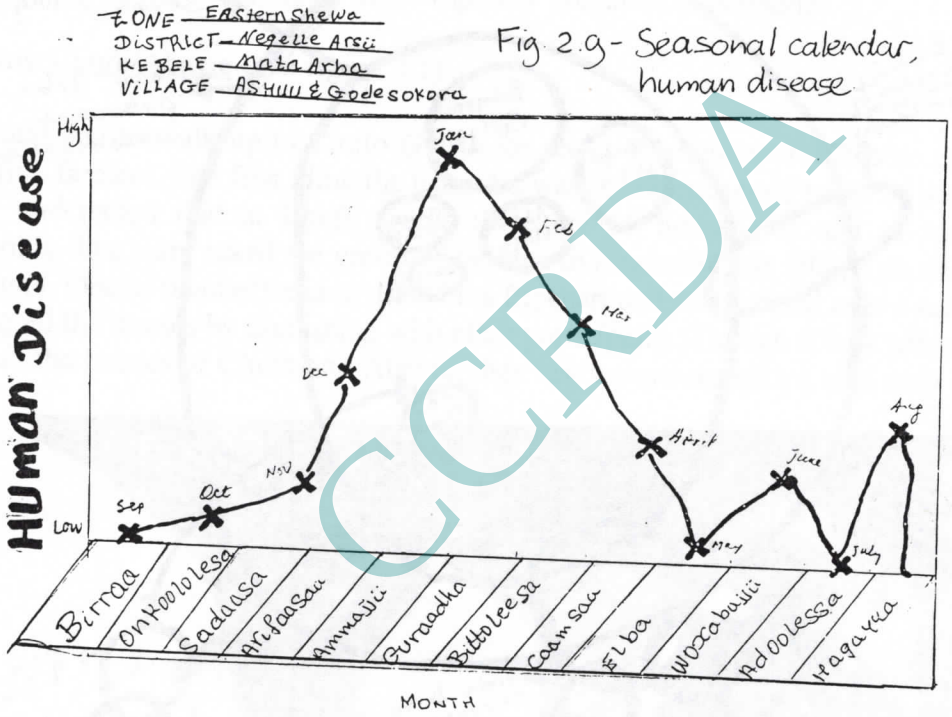


Fig 2.9- Seasonal calendar, human disease

2.9. **Venn-diagram** (see figure 2.10)

The relationship of the villagers with governmental and/or non-governmental institutions and with influential individuals within the community was discussed by way of Venn-diagramming.

The community of Ashu and Gode Sokora have a very limited relationship with government agencies of Arsi Negelle District, such as the District Bureau of the Council of Representatives,

CCRDA

Bureau of Education, Bureau of Health and Agricultural Development. The small tie there is through the Service Cooperative. However, the Bureau of Education makes contact through the education committee organized by the farmers.

The farmers identified four influential farmers in both villages. They are (in order of influence according to the interviewees): Ato Beyene Gelgelo for his participation in many development activities and his organizing ability, Ato Shigida Aliko for his conflict-resolving ability, Ato Aliyi Waqo as a religious leader, Ato Galgalo Gamada for his traditional healing capacity and finally Wzo. Shagitu Gamada as a traditional birth attendant.

Ashu & Gode Sokora

Venn Diagram

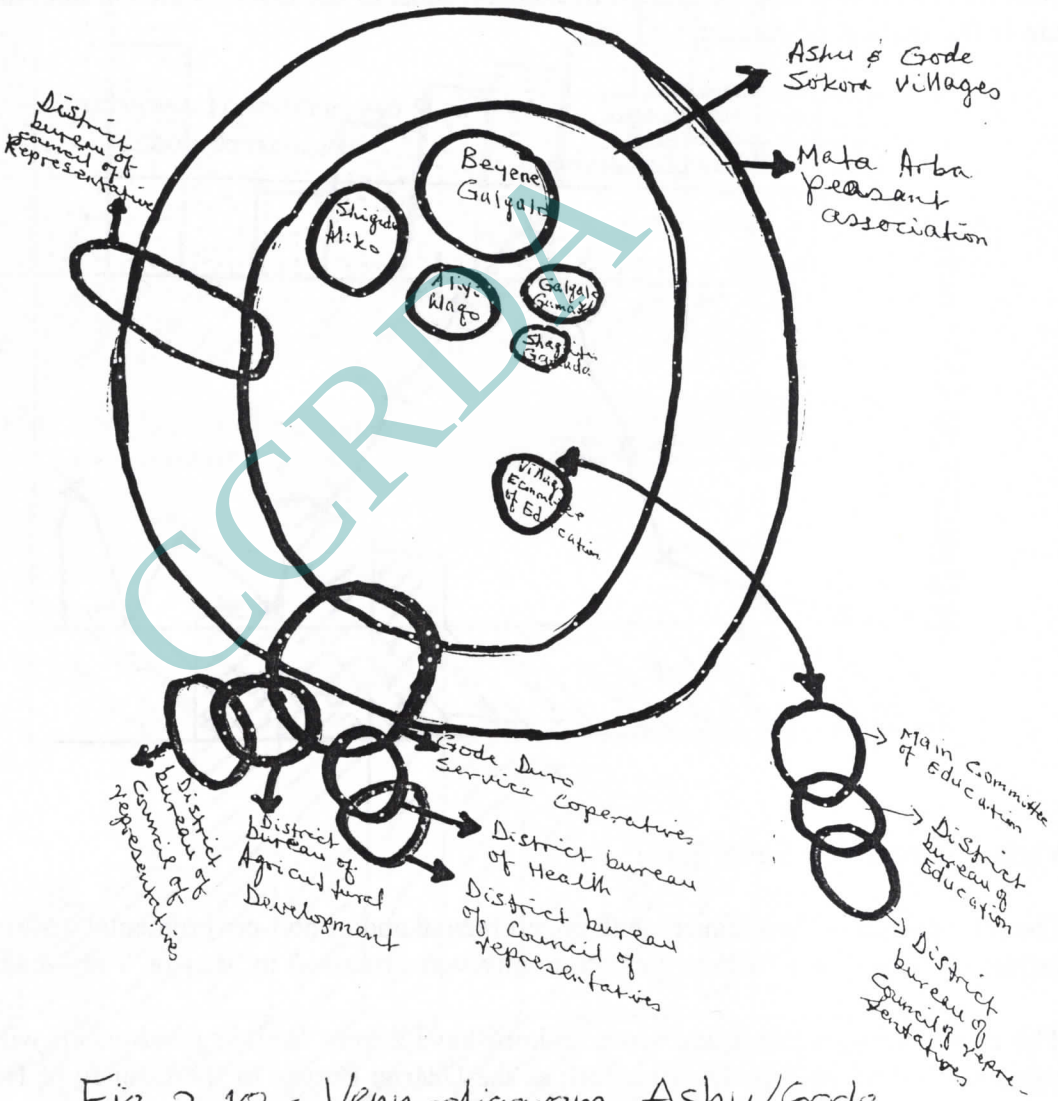


Fig. 2.10 - Venn-diagram, Ashu/Gode Sokora

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2.10. Community meeting

On Friday 17 February 1995 the community meetings were convened to show the PRA results to all farmers in the villages and to hear their comments and suggestions. The farmers were happy to see their work and raised questions with regard to assistance to overcome their major problems which were indicated in this report at different places.

Group II has completed its field work successfully without encountering major problems. The participation and cooperation of the community was very high and has contributed much to the success of this work.

3. GROUP III : CHUFO, ABAYIE AND LENCHO (by Abebech, Birtukan and Kaleb)

These zones were covered by women participants Abebech and Birtukan. Due to language problems they have made use of the services of an 8th grade girl from the area to assist in translation. The following report was originally prepared in Amharic.

3.1. Mapping Chufo/Abayie (see figure 3.1)

The group had to walk up to Chufo *Gasha* for about 45 minutes. For the social mapping they found five farmers. The first thing the team did was listing names of heads of households. It was clearly understood that at Chufo Gasha there are 16 households and at Abayie Gasha 24 households. The team asked the group of farmers to illustrate their village on the flipchart or on the ground. One of them offered to draw on a flipchart and was handed over a marker. He started drawing all the houses by discussing with other participants. Though it took more than two hours to put all the houses of Chufo and Abayie, they lastly came up with a nice map of both Gashas.



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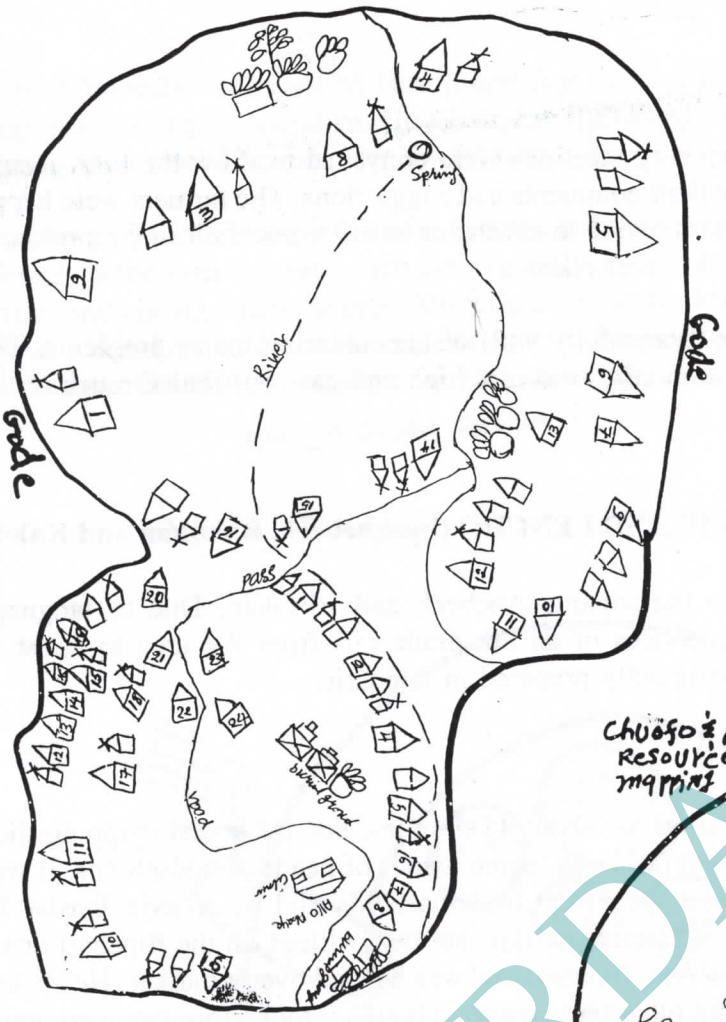


fig. 3.1:
Chuofo & Abayae
Social mapping

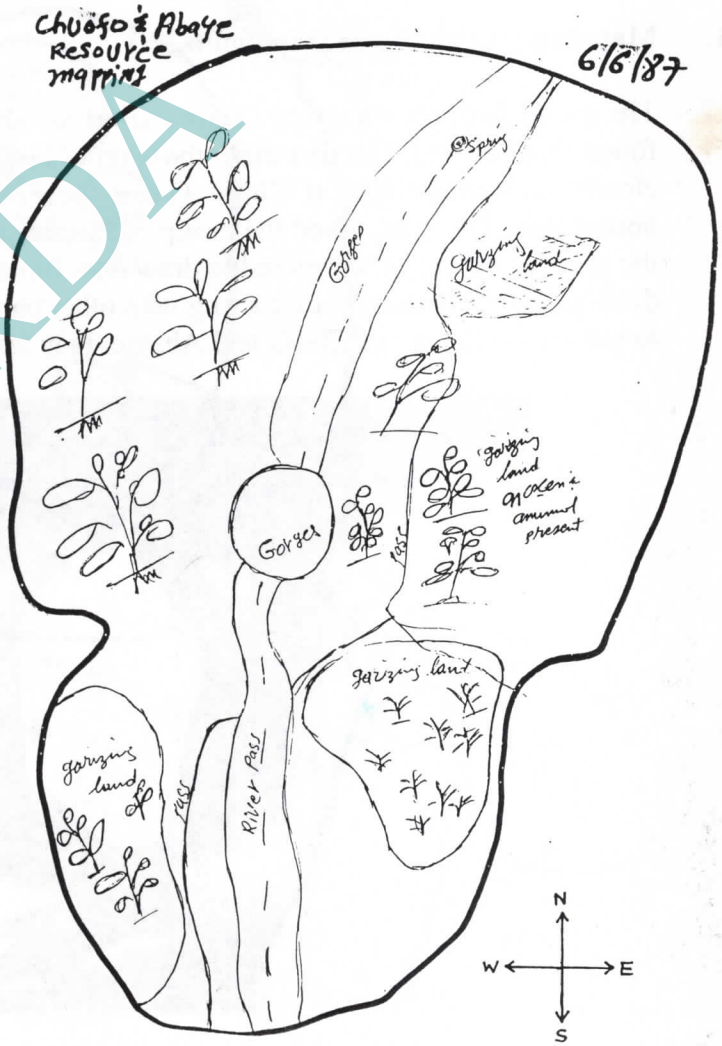


fig. 3.2: Chufo and Abayie, resource map

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Social mapping Lencho (see figure 3.3)

On the same day the team walked to Lencho zone and fortunately met a group of people (about 10 in number) who gathered at a place after a funeral ceremony. Shortly after the introduction, the team leader asked how many heads of households there are in Lencho. After discussing with each other they agreed that there are 14 households. One of the young men then started drawing houses on the wall of his house. This person was also willing to draw the houses on the flipchart. Thus all the households of Lencho are shown on the social map and are numbered.

fig. 3.3 :



Then the team also asked the same group to list the resources of Lencho. The following resources were listed:

Trees

1. *Konbolcha*
2. *Kosso*
3. *Getamee*
4. *Sukkee*
5. *Detena*
6. *Abayie*
7. *Tuula*
8. *Korola*
9. *Ansha*
10. *Birbirsa*

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Livestock	Crops
1. Ox	1. Barley
2. Cow	2. Enset
3. Sheep	3. Potato
4. Horse	4. Onion
5. Mule	5. Wheat (rare)
6. Donkey	6. Maize (rare)
7. Goat	
8. Chicken	

By transect walking through Abayie and Chufo, the team managed to observe (list) more and more crops and trees. A number of 31 types of trees were listed eventually.

In Chufo, Abayie and Lencho zones there are 54 households, 28 mosques, 2 rivers, 6 burial grounds and one feeder road.

3.2. Opportunities & services

On the morning of Tuesday 14 February the team interviewed five men and one woman in Abayie zone on opportunities and services. The result was the following:

- School at Gode, 30 minutes walk
- Clinic at Allo-Abayie, 30 minutes walk
- Grinding mill at Kofele and Gode
- Market place at Kofele
- Feeder road to Arsi Negele only
- Edir, one only
- P.A. office (administration)
- Wijjoo, women's association (for contribution of butter)
- Service Cooperative at Gode
- Traditional healer
- Hospital at Kuyera, sometimes to Yirgalem
- NGO (ADAA)
- Mosques
- Church, Awelo Abdo
- Spring

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3.3. Historical trends

The trend line as well as the time line was done at Lencho by a group of three farmers. The key informant was an old man of 80. These informants were actively participating in the discussion.

They said agricultural activities began to be practiced widely in the area not long before the downfall of Haile Selassie. Before that farmers made their living by rearing livestock and by selling trees. Before 1967 EC, there was limited plantation of enset at the backyard.

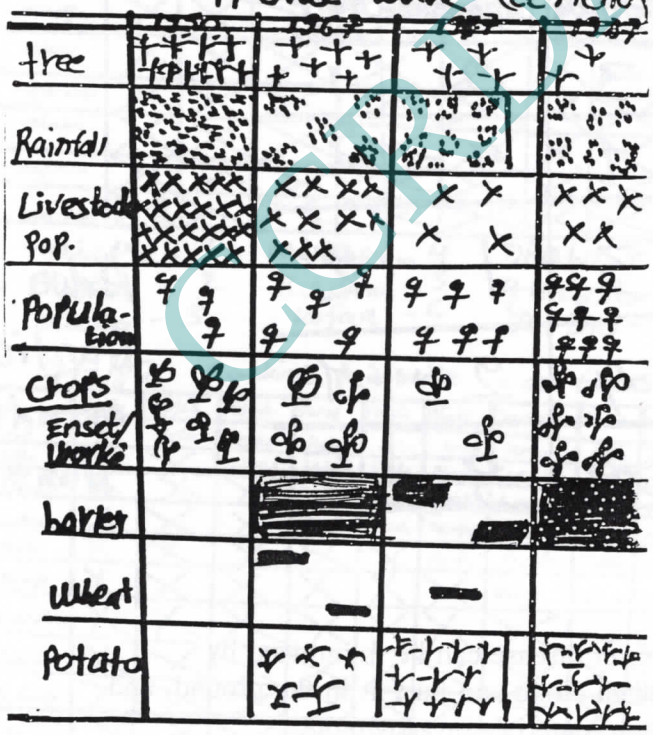
The time line was also discussed extensively at Abayie and Lencho. In both cases the informants remembered very well the Italian invasion, that took place in 1928 EC. Then they remembered the eclipse of the moon of which many thought it would be the end of the world, in 1953. Other events they remembered were:

in 1964/65 - A devastating livestock disease
in 1977 - Drought, thousands died and thousands migrated
in 1985 - Rinderpest, livestock epidemic

The tribal conflicts between Arsi and Sidamo people have been frequent events for the community of Mata Arba. Livestock diseases were also unforgettable incidences at times, but after 1967 EC some drugs were introduced, and the attacks were controlled better.

The trend line drawn by participants from Lencho is illustrated in figure 3.4.

fig. 3.4: Historical trends 7/6/87
Trend-line (Lencho)



CCRDA

3.4. Preference ranking (Enset varieties)

On Tuesday at 2:30 in the afternoon various ranking methods were undertaken with community members. For preference ranking they chose a comparison between different varieties of enset.

The names of the enset varieties mentioned by the farmers are:
Adoo, Ganticha, Mundurare, Hanqudha, Chacho, Demela, Birra, etc. They wanted to do preference ranking on the first four major ones. The criteria taken were: good taste, early maturity, resistance to disease, resistance to lodging.

Figure 3.5 shows the results of the ranking exercise. *Adoo* was the most preferred type of enset, followed by *Ganticha*, *Mundurare* and least favoured was *Hanqudha*.

Fig. 3.5 – Preference ranking, Enset varieties

(7/6/82)

Preference Ranking on Enset (Abaye-Chuofo)

	Adoo	Ganticha	Mundurare	Hanqudha
Good taste	4	3	2	1
Early maturity	2	1	4	3
Resistance to disease	4	3	1	2
Resistance on Lodging	3	4	2	1
Total	13	11	9	5

Adoo – 1
Ganticha – 2
Mundurare – 3
Hanqudha – 4

CRDA

They said that spread of enset disease can be minimized by:
1. cutting down the infected clone and bury it in the ground, and
2. using disinfected cutting materials on new clones.

The suspected disease is "bacterial wilt".

Pair-wise ranking (trees, food)

The team agreed to do pair-wise ranking on the major trees in the area. The team proceeded by asking the same group to tell them the major trees in Mata Arba. Eleven tree species were then compared on a pair-wise basis, generating a list of characteristics.

Figure 3.6 shows the result of the pair-wise ranking. Bamboo is the most preferred species of all. It is used for construction of houses, for beehives, for fencing, for construction of cattle sheds, etc. The *Gatamee* tree is second, because it is mostly used for beekeeping, and the farmers get a lot of income from honey production. Other trees like *Kosso* have medicinal uses.

When walking to Lencho, the team met a group of women who gathered for mourning. The team began by thanking the women for showing interest to do the exercise.

Figure 3.7 shows the pair-wise ranking on types of food in the area.

fig.3.7: (Lencho) Rankins. pair-Wise on food 7/6/87

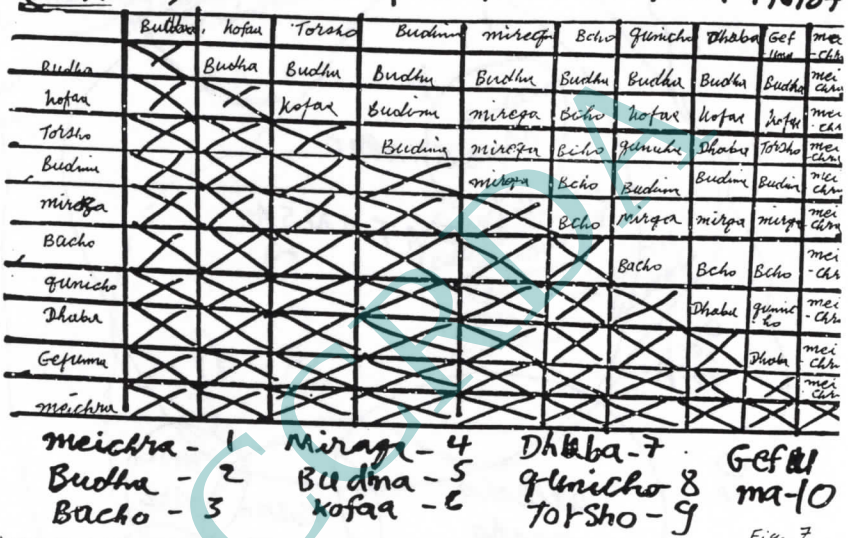


Fig. 7

fig.3.6: 7/6/87 Ranking pair wise - on trees (Chufa)



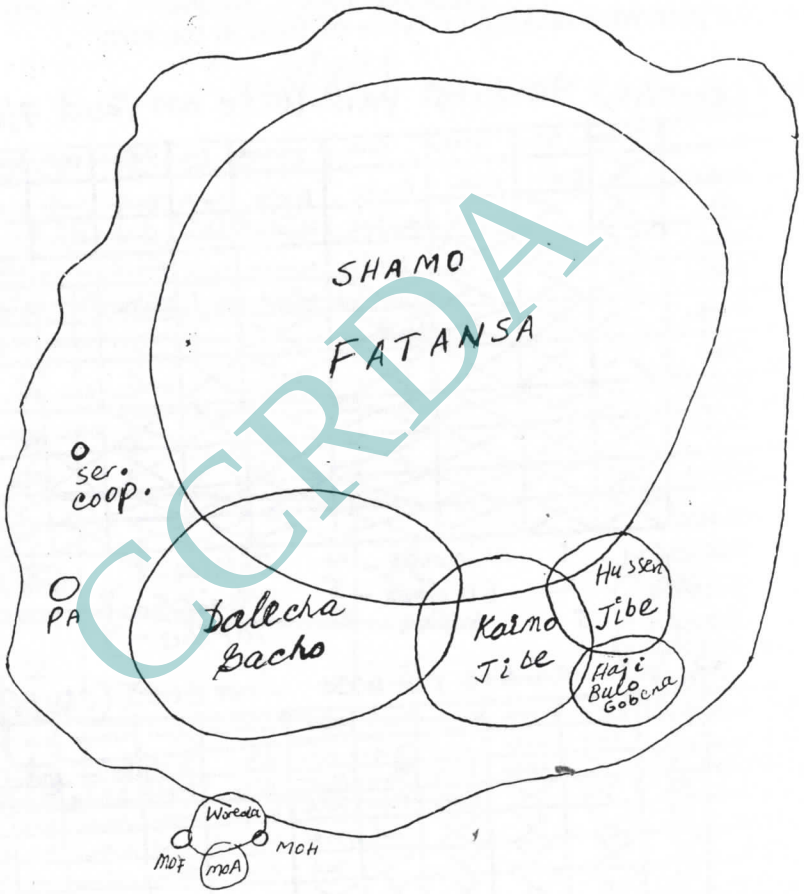
Fig 6

3.5. Venn-diagramming

While the women were doing pair-wise ranking, Kaleb made a Venn-diagram with five men from Chufo.

During the training all participants had a feeling that this exercise may take time. But this group understood the exercise easily and courageously told us the importance of individuals as well as institutions within and outside the zone. They gave priority to influential men who take responsibility in resolving conflicts on land, credit, marital problems, etc. The services extended by institutions such as the Service Cooperative, *Edir*, TBAs, traditional healers, etc. were mentioned to be almost nil and they did not want to indicate their importance.

Fig. 3.8. VENN-DIAGRAM OF CHUFO GASHA



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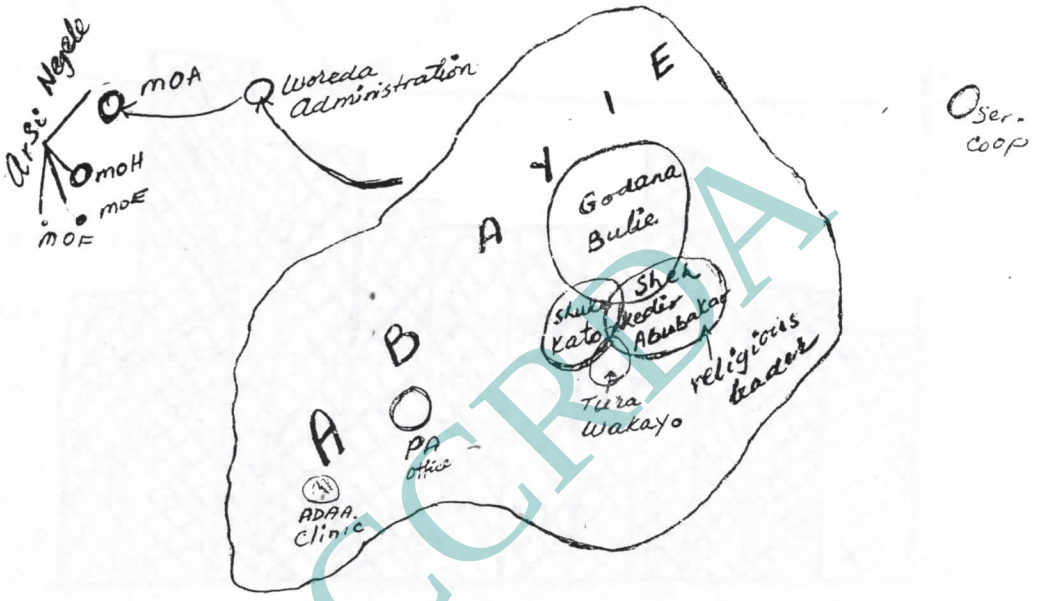
In the case of Abayie also individual community members are highly appreciated and given respect by villagers. The participants regretted the fact that their relationships with institutions such as Service Cooperatives are minimal. Some of the community members did not even want to mention these institutions because of their unpopularity. Traditional birth attendants and traditional healers do not exist in the zone, they have to look for them outside the zone. Governmental institutions such as MoA, MoE and MoF are more or less invisible for this

community, although they admit that fertilizer comes from the Wereda MoA at Arsi Negele, through the Service Cooperative at Gode. In fact this is the only relationship the Service Cooperative has with the society. They said that the relationship with the PA administration still exists.

As illustrated in figure 3.9, all of them have wide interrelationship as expressed by the interviewees, in that they get together in most cases before resolving conflicts in that very community. These people even have contacts with the PA administration in case of need.

They admit that though there is no clear and routine relationship with ADAA as a local NGO, the service they get from the clinic is enormous. They see a bright future in working with ADAA.

fig. 3.9 - Venn-diagram of Abayie village



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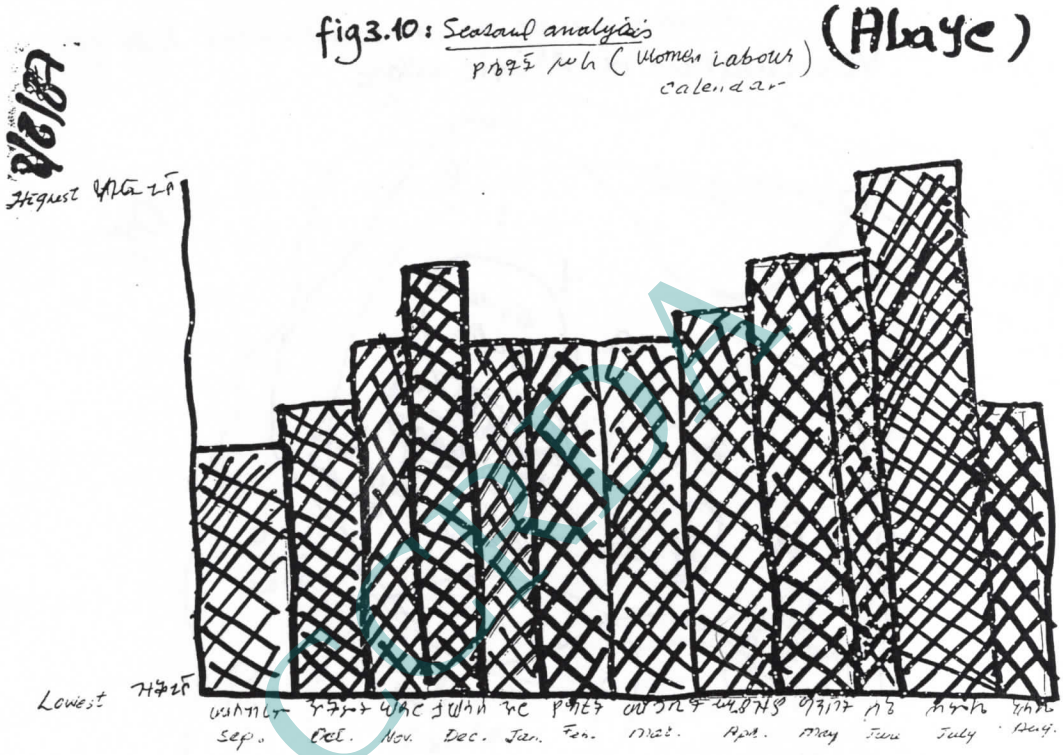
3.6. Seasonal calendars - Women's labour and rainfall

On Wednesday 15 February the PRA team was not able to find people to do wealth ranking, as it was market day in Kofele. But they found three women (old and young) in the village. The team decided to discuss about seasonal activities performed by women.

One of the women said: "There is no work in which women do not participate". Another woman said: "We start the day's activity by milking cows, then we prepare breakfast for the family, clean the house and take care of the children, etc. We do everything!"

The routine activities mentioned by the interviewees are: cow milking, cleaning the house, food preparation, fetching water, fuelwood collection and taking care of children. In addition to these, women are involved directly or indirectly in activities done by men. They help in farming activities by carrying necessary farm implements to the site. The heaviest duties they perform are preparation of food from enset and carrying fuelwood to towns. It takes them more than 8 hours to carry wood to Arsi Negele. During harvest they are also very busy assisting their husbands, starting from harvest up to threshing. They said that September and October are the loose months for women.

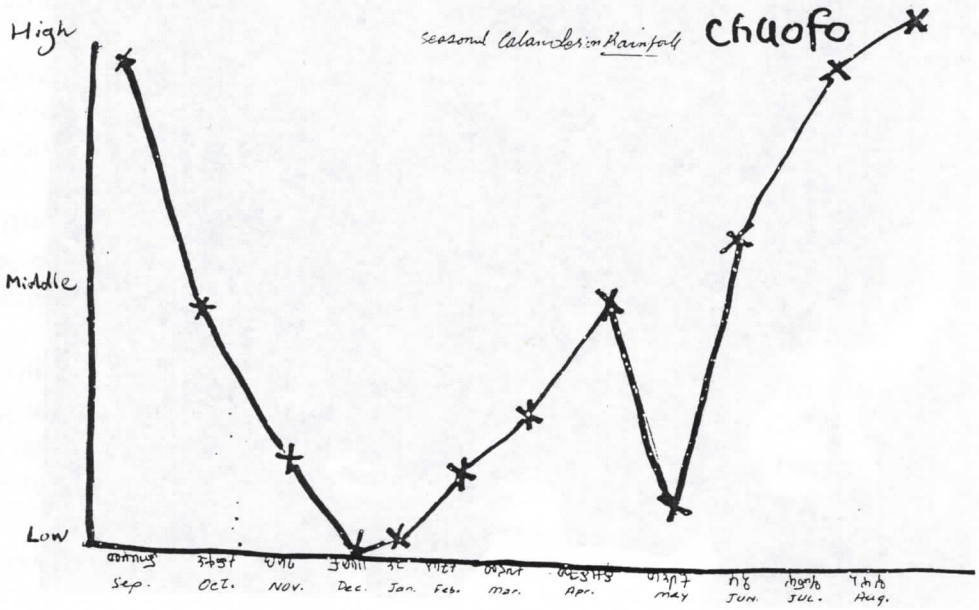
Figure 3.10 shows the labour intensity or busiest periods for women in the community of Abayie, the peak periods being December and July.



The next exercise was a rainfall calendar, done at Chufo with the only farmer who did not go to market. The discussion began by asking when the rain starts. As expressed by the farmer, rain begins in February and the land preparation for potato planting also begins in February. Towards the end of March the main land preparation begins, when rainfall has increased gradually. After June 15, the intensity of rainfall becomes very high, even up to the first week of October. November, December, January and February are the months in which less rainfall is registered.

Figure 3.11 shows the annual rainfall pattern in Chufo and Abayie.

fig. 3.11 : Rainfall calendar



3.7. Wealth ranking

Though it was not possible to find enough community members in any of the zones to do wealth ranking, the team managed to discuss with few people in Chufo about criteria for classifying community members as richest, rich, middle, poor and poorest:

1. The richest have 10 cows, 4 oxen, 10-15 sheep, goats and horses, and 2.25 ha. of land.
2. The rich own 6 cows, 2 oxen, 10 sheep, 2 horses, and 2 ha. of land.
3. Middle farmers own 4 cows, one ox, 1.75 ha. of land.
4. Poor people own 2 cows, a few sheep, 1.5 ha. of land.
5. The poorest has almost nothing, a "timad" of land only.

The team came back to the clinic at 3:15 p.m. on Wednesday 15 February.

In Abayie the wealth ranking categories were identified as follows:

1. The richest own 10 cows, 4 oxen, 10 sheep, 1.5 ha. of land, 5 horses and 2 donkeys.
2. The rich own 4 cows, 2 oxen, 1.25 ha. of land, 2 goats, 4 sheep and 2 horses.
3. Middle farmers own 2 cows, 1 horse, 0.5 ha. of land, a number of chicken.
4. The poor own 0.5 ha. of land and a few sheep.
5. The poorest are landless, have no cattle, they live by selling charcoal and selling timber in towns.

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Wealth ranking

After classifying the wealth/well-being categories during Wednesday, the next step was to identify to which category each household belongs. Therefore, on Thursday 16 February, the team went to Lencho and gathered about 15 interviewees. But at first they were not willing to do anything, unless they see a letter from the PA administration. At last, after a long discussion on the aim and objectives of the exercise, they agreed to give the necessary information. The group was divided into four groups of four men each, and each of the groups gave their own rankings (see the above picture).

At Abayie three groups were interviewed and at Chufo four groups. All of them agreed on the criteria set by others the previous day (see above).

The final result was as follows:

	Chufo	Abayie	Lencho
Poorest	4 (25%)	2 (8%)	3 (21%)
Poor	2 (13%)	5 (21%)	2 (14%)
Middle	4 (25%)	11 (46%)	5 (36%)
Rich	3 (19%)	5 (21%)	4 (29%)
Richest	3 (19%)	1 (4%)	- -
	16(101%)	24(100%)	14(100%)

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3.8. Community meeting

According to the schedule previously arranged, all the teams had to go back to each community and present or show what the community members themselves did. The purpose of the community meeting is to encourage the farmers to do things by themselves in future, to discuss their problems and find solutions with them. There will be a feeling of belongingness to what has been done in their community.

The main topics discussed in the community meeting held at Lencho were social maps, resource maps, opportunities and services, historical trends, seasonal calendars and others. At last some participants asked questions which the team answered through discussion.

Regarding the need for PRA, Ato Kubsa described that ADAA as a development agency after doing such studies will do all its best to respond to some of the needs of the community, in addition to the ones already started, as far as the financial and human resources of the agency allow to do so.

The meeting ended at 11:20 a.m.

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Part Three

REVIEW OF THE RESULTS

1. Summary of Findings

Population

The PRA team has covered 8 out of the 13 villages in Mata Arba Peasant Association, with a population of 213 households (or, more accurately, household heads, as one head may have several households, if he has several wives, as is customary in the area, which is predominantly muslim). Comparing the number of houses with the number of household heads, it can be estimated that about 15 % of the heads has more than one wife, and therefore more than one household (usually two, in very rare cases three or four; in earlier times there were much more).

If we include the population figures of the non-surveyed villages, there are an estimated 350-400 household heads in the whole PA (see page 20), or 400-465 households. Therefore, the total population of the PA must be in the range of 2,000-3,000 people.

An average of 20 % of the household heads are female; most of them are widows.

The settlement pattern is scattered.

Land ownership

Only about half of the farmers are registered with the PA. There has been no redistribution since the fall of the Dergue regime; many young farmers are not registered with the PA, so they only received a small plot of land from their fathers. Land ownership is therefore very unevenly distributed.

The average farmer has 0.5-1.5 ha. of land, but the younger and poorer farmers have less than 0.5 ha. and are sometimes considered landless. The richest farmers have a maximum of 3 ha. of land. Some people remember the times when the rich farmers had several "gashas" (before 1974).

Means of livelihood

The area used to thrive on cattle (milk, butter) rather than crop production. Although the average farmer still has around 5-10 heads of cattle, some sheep and horse(s), mixed farming is now the usual practice. The major crop is barley, supplemented by enset and potato. Enset is highly valued, because its product can be available even in times of food shortage. Cabbage, maize and wheat are minor crops. Most of what is yielded, is eaten locally; only some of the richer farmers sell part of their crop.

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The younger and poorer farmers are usually sharecroppers or even labourers on other people's farms. Some have come to depend more on cutting down (big indigenous) trees and selling timber.

Beekeeping used to be an important subsidiary means of livelihood, but with deforestation this has declined.

Natural resources

As indicated above, the area used to be densely forested. Although the local people consider the area denuded compared to 30 years ago, there are still many indigenous trees (at present at some 20 meters distance from each other) such as Podocarpus, Juniperus, Mahogany, but they are being cut down at an alarming rate by local wood-cutters. There is hardly any replanting.

In between the forest and cropland, there is still some grazing land. There are many water sources, such as springs and rivers, but most of them are seasonal. The topography of the area is hilly, with altitudes around 2,500-2,600 m.a.s.l.

Social services

There is one village school up to grade 2 in Buqqee zone of Mata Arba PA, which was only recently re-established. In the neighbouring PA, Gode, there is a school up to grade 8. The people are very motivated to have more schooling facilities, as they have had more schools in earlier times, such as a private school in Ashu and an elementary school in Allo.

The ADAA health station (clinic) between Allo and Abayie zones is the only modern health facility within a radius of 15 kms. It performs a very important function for the people of Mata Arba and neighbouring PAs. It was built by the local community and they are very proud of it. Hospitals are available at Kuyera (25 kms.) and Gambo (18 kms.). There are some traditional healers and untrained TBAs in the villages.

There are two ways of access to the area: a 25 km. feeder road from Arsi Negele/Kuyera, and a 15 km. feeder road from Kofele (which does not reach Allo Abayie, but stops at Gode).

Traditional and modern institutions

The local people have a self-supporting and inward-oriented attitude. Influential people in their own communities are of much more importance than "external" institutions such as government agencies and PAs/SCs. There are no government representations in the area, not even a DA or visiting agricultural extension agent. The people's experience with external bodies is rather negative, as they only used to come for tax or "quota" collection, to make war or to pick up their sons for military service.

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Traditional institutions include the *"edir"*, *"wijjoo"* (women's association, in some villages), *"shanacha/saddeeta"* (conflict-resolving body), traditional healers/birth attendants, religious leaders and other influential people. The PRA fieldwork teams have identified various influential people who could be key informants or community mobilizers for development interventions.

Wealth differences

Through wealth-ranking in all the eight zones, a detailed picture of the socio-economic status of all households was obtained. Cattle ownership was considered the most important indicator for well-being by the local people themselves. Although there was quite some difference between different interviewee groups in defining the wealth categories, the overall picture shows that slightly over 50 % of the people were ranked as "poor" and "poorest", 20 % as "rich" and "richest, and the remainder was placed in the middle category. The wealth differences between the different villages within the PA are remarkably high: Ashu and Shiro are the poorest villages, followed by Lencho, Buqqee, Abayie and Chufo, whereas Allo and Gode Sokora are the richest.

2. Discussion on the PRA results

At a final workshop day at ADAA's Southern Zone Coordination office in Shashemene (Sunday 19 February 1995) the whole PRA team discussed the above findings and recommendations made by the communities at the community meetings.

Group I presented the following major problems and needs indicated by the people during the community meeting on 17 February:

- inaccessibility/lack of fertilizer,
- deforestation,
- lack of schooling facilities (classrooms and teaching aids),
- need for upgrading of the existing clinic,
- lack of sufficient grinding mills,
- condition of access roads,
- lack of veterinary services,
- lack of alternative employment for those people who have meagre farming assets and depend on tree-felling.

The community proposed some solutions to some of these problems. The problems and suggested solutions were discussed by the team on Sunday, and the team members commented and made some new suggestions. The reflection of the discussion is outlined below.

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Fertilizer use

Following the suggestion of the community to intervene on this issue, one of the team members remarked that it is not advisable to encourage the use of fertilizer without sufficient research (soil tests) and without the proper education and back-up services, and also because it might contribute to soil infertility in a later stage. He proposed that it would be better to change the attitude of the people to use animal manure rather than fertilizer. The participants from the Arsi Negele Agricultural Bureau stated that during the field work they had heard that farmers used only half of the required amount of fertilizer (50 kgs. instead of the required 100 kgs. per hectare), which could be useless. Therefore, fertilizer should not be given without the proper instructions. The same team members also proposed that it would be more useful to teach farmers about crop rotation and to plant leguminous, nitrogen-fixing plants to increase/maintain soil fertility.

Therefore, agricultural extension services and educational measures have to precede any encouragement of fertilizer.

Deforestation

In order to minimize the high rate of deforestation in the area, the following suggestions were forwarded:

- Collaborate with the Wereda MoA and Natural Resource bureaux to establish agricultural/agroforestry extension services, to give continuous education and possibly training to selected farmers who could then go back and teach their own communities. It was also mentioned that stricter control, also within the government authorities itself, is needed.

- Initiating and motivating people to plant various species of trees as they usually take care of the ones they plant rather than the existing, indigenous trees. The most preferred indigenous species of trees should be available from the ADAA nursery.

- To encourage individual/group nurseries run by the farmers themselves (as recommended in the National Forestry Action Plan).

- To give some incentives to farmers who plant more trees and take care of them. However, this should not mean providing free seedlings, as experiences of some NGOs indicated that the survival rate of freely distributed seedlings is much lower than the survival rate of purchased seedlings (ActionAid experienced an increase in survival rate from 1.5 % to 75 % when they started selling seedlings). Therefore, the meeting agreed that it is more advisable to give a "post-planting" incentive or non-material support (e.g. more contact with extension services, using them as model forest farmers) rather than giving seedlings free to the farmers.

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- To teach farmers to take care of tree seedlings as they usually do for vegetable gardens, and to plant trees within certain plots of land (woodlots) rather than only around the fields. When selling the seedlings, this should go with an instruction as to how and where to plant the tree, how fast it grows, how to safeguard and care for it.

- ADAA could employ a development worker or work with the MoA/MoNRDEP to teach the local people about the importance of trees, so as to change their attitude. This could also be done at the local schools, so that children will learn from their early ages about protection of the environment.

Finally, it was agreed that ADAA should give emphasis to this issue.

School

Group I reported that there was an elementary school (grade 1-4) established by the community of Mata Arba PA some 12 years ago. It was built by the people themselves at Buqqee zone, where today's Kebele administration office is. This school was later transferred to a place called Gaadoo where it could serve three PAs, namely Mata Arba, Hawilo and Mararo. However, as the school was constructed on the farming/grazing land of some individuals, the school was looted and destroyed during the fall of the Dergue and the land was recaptured by the previous owners.

Since the small children of the three PAs can not go to Gode every day for which they have to travel at least 5 kms., the communities of Mata Arba and Hawilo re-established schools at their respective Kebeles. The Mata Arba community transformed the Kebele administration office which they also use as a common mosque into a school for grade 1 and 2. Group I indicated that the community is eager to expand the school, and that the people are willing to contribute labour and local materials and even financially if they can, and they requested ADAA to assist them in any possible way.

The PRA team member of the Wereda Education Bureau explained that he was impressed by the community's conviction to have adequate schooling facilities through their own effort. He was willing to bring the community's case up at the Bureau. With the new education policy there is a possibility to establish grade 1-4 schools in such areas, adding to the efforts of the community.

Another important point of discussion was about the quality of education in Ethiopia. It was said that most of the young people who depend on the cutting of trees for their livelihood are those who have either completed grade 12 or dropped out of school when they reached the secondary level. This issue was further discussed and finally it was concluded that the quality of education is a national or even a global problem and in order to improve this, every individual, family, community and the whole society should make an effort.

Finally it was recommended that ADAA could try to establish a good linkage between the community's education committee and the government's Education Bureau to push a resolution

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to this problem. It was also mentioned that ADAA could make contact with some teachers in the schools and use them to teach the community and the children about various issues, such as how to minimize the rate of deforestation and encourage tree planting.

Grinding mill

Group I reported that the grinding mill which was donated by CRDA to the women's group at Gode did not even meet the demand of Gode community, leave alone those of the neighbouring PAs (Mata Arba, Wachere, Hawilo, etc.). This is partly because barley, the major crop in the area, has to be ground twice.

The team members therefore suggested the following:

- That ADAA should find a way to install an extra mini-motored mill for pre-grinding next to the already installed one at Gode (to enable double grinding of barley).

- The high demand for grinding facilities may necessitate the installation of another grinding mill at e.g. Mata Arba PA. The community had indicated that they are willing to contribute in constructing a mill house or in any other way, if ADAA could help them. If there are adequate perennial rivers (e.g. the Dhadhaaba river), a water-powered mill could be an option.

Health services

During the community meeting, the people requested ADAA to upgrade the existing clinic by adding facilities like laboratory and X-ray services, and more qualified staff like nurses instead of health assistants, so as to minimize the tedious walk to further areas to get necessary treatments. They also requested more stable staff who would stay in the area for longer periods, since the previous health assistants were coming and going.

All PRA participants have witnessed the high number of patients at the clinic every day when they were staying there. Realizing this, they suggested the following:

- To investigate the type of health problems and how upgrading of the clinic could solve these problems.

- To consider tackling these health problems in a preventive manner (e.g. by giving health/hygiene education, establishing community-based health services - CHAs/TBAs in health posts, EPI outreach, MCH/FP, etc.) rather than by upgrading the curative clinic facilities.

- To employ a nurse for the clinic, and to find ways to make the clinic staff's stay more stable.

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Feeder road

It was stated that although the construction/upgrading of the feeder road is important it could also accelerate deforestation. However, for development of the area an access road is of vital importance. Because of this there are no government services in the area, and it became a backward, forgotten area. Therefore, a linkage should be made with the Wereda administration to handle this issue.

It was also said that the condition of the existing feeder road from Arsi Negele to Allo Abayie is not very bad during the dry season. This road may need some yearly maintenance, but it is in a good enough condition to enable government development workers to travel to the area.

Further suggestions on the issue were:

- The construction/maintenance of the road could be undertaken by the community itself if they were provided with digging implements. The area is not drought-stricken, so the community should be able to contribute free labour. At some places (e.g. some riverbeds) reinforcements are necessary. The local people as well as those who originate from the area but are now living elsewhere could be mobilized to contribute for the construction of the road.

- To find out the real reason why the community wants a good road: Is it to facilitate transportation of local people to schools, hospitals, transportation of development workers to the area, to transport school materials, medicines, fertilizers, etc. or to facilitate transportation of wood from the area?

- To discourage the transport of wood from the area, a check point could be constructed on the road.

Veterinary services

The community of Allo/Shiro/Buqqee had also presented the problem of livestock diseases, and the lack of veterinary services. The role of MoA regarding this issue was asked, and the representatives of the Wereda Agriculture Bureau stated that there is a shortage of veterinary medicines and supplies.

To tackle these problems, the participants suggested the following:

- To make an assessment of the prevalent livestock diseases, how they could be treated/prevented and what medicines are needed.

- ADAA should try to collaborate with MoA in establishing veterinary services.

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- Regarding the availability of medicines, as ADAA can not import medicines like some international NGOs do, ADAA could suggest to the farmers to organize themselves to negotiate collectively with individual merchants to get the required medicines for a fair price (as veterinary medicines are usually available from private merchants at very high prices).

- To consider establishing community-based veterinary services, i.e. training local farmers (e.g. traditional livestock healers) as paravets who will be able to solve simple animal health problems and keep some veterinary drugs purchased by the community as above.

- To approach some other NGOs who have veterinary service programmes, to learn from their methods and experiences and explore possibilities of working together (possibly in cooperation with the MoA).

Credit schemes

One of the community members had suggested to establish credit facilities for those people who have meagre farming assets and depend on tree-felling for their subsistence. The person suggested this to enable these poor farmers to buy (improved) seed or oxen.

Some of the PRA team members mentioned that the experiences with credit for oxen and seed were not very positive, and that it requires very careful management. However, it was also suggested that credit for other income-generating activities could be considered, such as for sheep-fattening and trading. Beneficiaries could be identified by means of the wealth ranking done during the PRA fieldwork.

The MoA participants said that improved seeds (barley, faba beans) are available from the Wereda MoA through an FAO grant. CRDA is also supplying improved seeds to affected areas for rehabilitating disadvantaged farmers.

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Group II reported that they did not have to add anything to the first group's report regarding suggestions from the community.

Group III added that during their community meeting the people had brought up the problem of **land shortage and land distribution**. The distribution of land among farmers is not uniform because redistribution was not done for many years. Some farmers have larger areas, whereas the younger farmers sometimes even do not have half a hectare. In response to this, the PRA team participants suggested the following:

- The participants agreed not to go into a detailed discussion on this issue as the problem of land is a question of national policy which is beyond ADAA's capacity. Dealing with the

issue of land distribution could even have negative repercussions on ADAA, if landholding farmers feel threatened.

- One participant mentioned that some farmers are not properly using their land. Therefore, another option is to teach farmers to properly utilize their land so as to increase their production from the existing land. ADAA could consider employing an agricultural extension coordinator who could work together with MoA workers on establishing **extension services** for the farmers. Otherwise, ADAA should liaise with the Wereda MoA to make use of their extension officers. An agricultural extension project could be submitted to a donor, which could even include assistance to the Wereda MoA (e.g. transport materials, fuel, perdiems). ADAA could approach other NGOs who are providing such services (e.g. FARM-Africa), through the liaison services of CRDA's Advisory Unit.

After these discussions, the three groups presented their fieldwork findings. A summary of their findings with comparisons and brief analysis of results was given in section 1 of this chapter. Finally, the participants discussed recommendations for follow-up and evaluated the workshop and PRA fieldwork. These are all discussed in the following sections.

3. Suggestions for follow-up

At the final meeting on Sunday 19 February 1995, the PRA team members also discussed about possible ways of giving follow-up to the PRA workshop and field work done in Allo Abayie. The following was suggested:

1) To make more in-depth studies of certain aspects in the same study area, using other PRA techniques (e.g. household analysis especially on the poor and poorest families, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, etc.)

2) To do similar PRA field work on the rest of the villages of Mata Arba PA or surrounding PAs, to get an overall picture of the ADAA target area.

3) To start immediately addressing the problems and possible solutions resulting from this PRA, as described above in section 2 of this chapter. This is important since the community is now involved and aware of their problems, and this momentum should not be lost. Some will require further investigations and drawing up project proposals to be submitted to donor agencies.

4) To give further training to other staff of ADAA working in different project areas. E.g. to carry out a similar workshop in ADAA's Central Zone (Sendafa/Legetafo).

5) To circulate this report to all participants, collaborating agencies, sister organizations, etc. to share experiences and enhance possibilities of working together.

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The PRA team did not reach a conclusion as to how to proceed, although it was stressed that the 3rd point was the most immediate one to be addressed. It was suggested that ADAA discuss the several options for follow-up amongst its own staff, management or board.

4. Evaluation of the workshop

At the final day the PRA team members also evaluated the workshop and fieldwork. All participants were pleased with what they had learned, how the PRA techniques were presented and what they had learned from the fieldwork. Some participants expressed special admiration for the team spirit that developed amongst the participants or praised the community's participation in our exercises and willingness to continue working together for development. The following specific remarks were made:

- "PRA is a wonderful approach, and I had the chance of knowing deeply the community of Allo Abayie" (Desta)
- "PRA is a very good approach to development work" (Wariso)
- "Those with common understanding of development have by chance come together to do this PRA" (Gebi)
- "Though it is the first time for me to participate in a workshop of this type, I found the team to be very hardworking and the team spirit was wonderful." (Dawit)

One participant remarked that afterwards he realized that more preparations were needed. Some of the other participants however, expressed admiration over the way in which it was organized under such primitive conditions.

The participants were also requested by the facilitator to write down two major things they learned from the PRA workshop and field work. The participants wrote the following:

1. "PRA taught me how to easily approach farmers and study the farming environment."
2. "I became more interested to further exercise PRA. It is more simple and advisable to do PRA among people whom you are familiar with."
3. "I learned that the local people must be informed beforehand about the PRA activities which are going to take place."
4. "This PRA workshop enabled me to know the living conditions of the Allo Abayie community and to learn that it keeps on changing by itself."

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5. "I found the ideas which were suggested by all participants (farmers, development workers, staff) to be very important."

6. "I have come to understand that the community's involvement in project preparation with respect to explaining its environment and setting its own priorities is vital to achieve sustainability."

7. "I found ADAA staff and (potential) collaborators to be very motivated for development field work and I was happy to see how PRA has encouraged this motivation and dedication."

8. "I have come to understand that the local people at Allo Abayie have a lot of resources, are pretty satisfied with their life and can do a lot by themselves."

9. "I see PRA as a community-based technique that can provide an opportunity to share opinions on problems of farmers, women and children, so as to solve them as needed."

10. "I have come to appreciate that PRA is a very important approach to get reliable and true information about a community by asking the community itself, and that it helps the community members to understand their own problems and suggest appropriate solutions."

11. "I found out that it is wrong to think that rural people are ignorant and do not know about their problems and historical developments."

12. "To work for the people, involve the people."

13. "I learned that farmers are secretive in the beginning but can provide more and more information if properly approached, and if handled with patience."

14. "To do successful PRA in a rural community it is advisable to have some practitioners who come from that very community."

15. "I learned that the rural community is neglected by government agencies."

5. Final conclusions

The following conclusions were drawn up after review of all the reports and findings.

Has the PRA field workshop fulfilled its objectives (see the three objectives on page 1, introduction)?

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re.1: Collecting baseline information

A lot of information was gathered about the community and the local conditions. The local people gave us a wealth of information, which could serve as baseline information. We now have general insight in the conditions and problems in ADAA's target area, so that ADAA will be able to identify possible fields of intervention. However, to find out the details of the problems, some more detailed studies focussing on specific issues are required, e.g. on health problems, animal diseases, cropping practices, traditional resource conservation methods. This could partly be done again by selected PRA methods.

re.2: Enhancing community involvement

The PRA has definitely contributed to strengthen the bond between ADAA and the local community of Allo Abayie, if only it were for the mere fact of our staying there for a couple of days; outsiders are never staying in the area for more than a couple of hours. Many different villagers participated actively in the fieldwork exercises, and most of them seemed to be delighted that there was a genuine interest in their own life and views. Admittedly, the villagers' positive attitude was partly due to the fact that some of the PRA team members are natives of Allo Abayie. Given the local people's past experience with outsiders, one would rather have expected a negative attitude.

Several existing activities of ADAA were discussed with local farmers, and they were made to think about improvements (e.g. in the clinic and nursery activities, the grinding mill). At the same time the local people were made to think about their needs, problems and possible solutions, as during the PRA exercises they came to analyze various issues and interrelationships (e.g. between deforestation and population growth, between livestock and crop prices). It is not exaggerated to conclude that this was the start of an awareness process, which could make the people realize their own potentials and responsibilities, as was already illustrated by their genuine promise to contribute by their own effort to future development activities. Luckily, the people in this area (which has never been aid-receiving, because it is not directly drought-prone and relatively far from the main roads) do not have a dependent attitude, but would rather support themselves, as what had come from outside was usually to their disadvantage. The people could even be called outright development-oriented, as exemplified by several natives who established their own schools or were responsible for other development works. This potential should be exploited.

In addition, the PRA did not only a strengthen the bonds between ADAA and the community, but also between the community and the district MoA and MoE bureaux, through their respective participants.

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re.3: Improving ADAA's capacity

ADAA staff members and potential partners were trained to do participatory research, how to relate to the rural community, to identify options for development activities, all through learning and practicing PRA techniques. Judging from the evaluation remarks (see above), the participants themselves felt they learned a lot along these lines. It is hoped that these skills will be put to use in further development activities, whether in Allo Abayie or elsewhere.

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GLOSSARY/ABBREVIATIONS:

ADAA	= African Development Aid Association
CRDA	= Christian Relief and Development Association
DA	= Development Agent (extension staff of the Ministry of Agriculture)
EC	= Ethiopian Calendar (1995=1987)
Edir	= Traditional community association for mutual aid during weddings, death/mourning days, calamities, etc.
Enset	= "False banana", root crop used for staple food in southern Ethiopia
Gasha	= Zone, originally an area of 40 hectares
Kebele	= PA (Peasant Association)
MoA	= Ministry of Agriculture
MoE	= Ministry of Education
MoF	= Ministry of Finance
MoH	= Ministry of Health
MoNRDEP	= Ministry of Natural Resources Development and Environmental Protection
PA	= Peasant Association
PRA	= Participatory Rural Appraisal
RRA	= Rapid Rural Appraisal
SC	= Service Cooperative
Tid	= Juniper (tree)
Wereda	= District
Zigba	= Podocarpus (tree)

Some basic Oromifa pronunciation rules:

X, x = exploding "t"
Q, q = exploding "k"

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