

Ethiopian Urban Studies

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Arada Area (Kebele 08/09)

Shashemene

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One of a series of six studies edited and produced by the Ethiopia Wellbeing in Developing Countries Research Programme, based at the University of Bath, UK, and financed by the Economics and Social Research Council, UK. The rural Village Studies II are updates of four of the 15 Village Studies I published in 1996 (Dinki, Korodegaga, Turufe Kecheme and Yetmen). The two Urban Studies cover new sites in Addis Ababa and Shashemene.





Foreword

The reports in this series are outputs from the Wellbeing in Developing Countries (WeD) research programme organized and coordinated by the University of Bath, UK and financed by the Economic and Social Research Council, UK, between 2002 and 2007. Ethiopia is one of the four countries selected for the research¹. The aim of the programme is to develop a conceptual and methodological framework for studying the social and cultural construction of wellbeing in developing country contexts, and thereby investigate linkages between quality of life, power and poverty in order to contribute to improving policy and practice.

WeD Ethiopia selected twenty rural and two urban sites for its WIDE² research. Community profiles for fifteen of the rural sites had been produced in 1995 and 1996 (WIDE1)³ and five new sites were added in 2003, when further community level research was undertaken in the twenty sites (WIDE2), involving exploratory protocol-guided research during one month in July and August 2003 by teams composed of one female and one male researcher in each site.

Six sites were selected for the DEEP⁴ research, including four of the rural sites and both urban sites.⁵ In-depth fieldwork was carried out between July 2004 and November 2005 by teams composed of one female and one male researcher spending about three weeks of each month in their respective sites. The four rural sites were chosen from the two largest regions: Oromia and Amhara. In each Region one of the selected sites was more remote (Korodegaga in Oromia and Dinki in Amhara), and the other closer to market and state influences (Turufe Kecheme in Oromia and Yetmen in Amhara). The urban sites, Kolfe in the capital city, Addis Ababa, and Arada in Kebele 08/09 of Shashemene, a business city in the south, were selected on the basis of the research team's interests in market areas, community-based organisations and urban-rural linkages. One of the rural sites, Turufe Kecheme, is close to Shashemene town.

Profiles are available for the following six sites:

Rural sites:

Dinki, Ankober *Wereda*, North Shewa Zone, Amhara Region

Korodegaga, Dodota-Sire *Wereda*, Arssi Zone, Oromia Region

Turufe Kecheme, Shashemene *Wereda*, East Shewa Zone, Oromia Region

Yetmen, Enemay *Wereda*, East Gojjam Zone, Amhara Region

Urban sites:

Arada, Kebele 08/09, Shashemene, East Shewa Zone, Oromia Region.

Kolfe, Kebele 10/11, Kolfe-Keranio *Kifle Ketema*, Addis Ababa City Administration.

¹ The other three countries are Bangladesh, Peru and Thailand.

² Wellbeing and Illbeing Dynamics in Ethiopia.

³ The 15 Village Studies were produced by the Centre for the Study of African Economies, Oxford, UK and the Department of Sociology, Addis Ababa University and financed by the UK Overseas Development Administration and can be obtained from the web-site (www.csae.ox.ac.uk)

⁴ In-Depth Exploration of Ethiopian Poverty.

⁵ Likewise the other countries in the WeD project selected a similar number of urban and rural sites.

The (DEEP) research involved a Resource and Needs survey with 250 households followed by in-depth process research involving monthly community and household diaries with households differentiated by gender, wealth and size, life histories of children, adults and old people, and modules exploring thematic research topics including community institutions, elites and destitution, poverty dynamics, migration, intergeneration relations, collective action, and a quality of life survey. A research database has been produced including data at individual, household and community levels which is being used to produce a book and research papers.

The rural village studies were produced starting with the 1996 community profiles, which were constructed from a background paper based on secondary sources, rapid assessment material collected by site managers and enumerators involved in the three rounds of a household economic survey (the ERHS⁶), a field visit during one month by an anthropology student, a questionnaire completed by the enumerators at the end of the household survey and a community economic survey administered by the site managers.

The 1996 profiles were updated, and revised with a focus on the major research interests and approaches of the WeD programme. The new versions are largely the product of insights from the researchers who carried out intensive fieldwork in the sites over 16 months from mid 2004 to late 2005.

Many people participated in the construction of the profiles, the most important being the people in the villages who answered questions, raised issues we had not thought of and provided hospitality to our fieldworkers. The site managers, enumerators, and anthropologists involved in 1995 played a vital role. First drafts of the 1996 profiles were constructed by Etalem Melaku-Tjirongo and Joanne Moores, and backup in terms of translating, editing, word processing and map-making and was provided by Tina Barnard, Ziggy Bevan, Girma Getahun, Haile Redai, Sarah Smith, and Ruth Tadesse. Economist colleagues at Oxford (Shukri Ahmed, Stefan Dercon and Pramila Krishnan) and Addis Ababa (particularly Bereket Kebede, Getinet Astatke, and Mekonnen Tadesse) were influential in shaping our ideas, and the administration in the Economics Department at Addis Ababa University was extremely supportive.

The 2004-2006 research design benefited from the inter-disciplinary discussions and debates of the WeD research group in Bath, including anthropologists, economists, psychologists, and sociologists, and the research teams from Bangladesh, Thailand and Peru. A number of the core Bath team provided intellectual stimulus, advice and support, and several members collaborated in various aspects of the research design and/or visited Ethiopia including Allister McGregor, the Director of the Project, Ian Gough, Sarah White, Suzy Skevington, Bereket Kebede, Laura Camfield, Susan Johnson, Julie Newton, Andy McKay, Catherine Dom, Virginia Williamson, and Anne Yates. Logistical support was provided by Becky Lockley, Jane French, Diana Duckling, Emer Brangan, Teresa King, Mark Ellison and Jun Zhang.

The Project benefited from discussions and collaborations with John Hoddinott, from the International Food Policy Research Institute, Marleen Dekker from the Free University in Amsterdam, Luc Christiaensen and Caterina Ruggeri-Laderch from the World Bank, Pramila Krishnan from Cambridge University, Stefan Dercon from Oxford University, Charles Schaefer from Valparaiso University, Nuala O'Brien and Kevin Kelly from Development Cooperation Ireland, Simon Winetraube from the British Council and Claudia Fumo and Laure Beaufils from the UK Department for International Development. A local NGO, PADET, and the Learning Centre provided office space for the project.

In Ethiopia the main members involved in the research design and management were Feleke Tadele, Yisak Tafere, Bethlehem Tekola, Solomon Tesfay, Ashebir Desalegn, and Theodros Wolde Giorgis. Members of Addis Ababa University Department of Sociology who took part in the project at various stages included Ayalew Gebre, Melese Getu, Derese Getachew and Asrat Ayalew (the last two of whom went for graduate studies to Bath). The project benefited from support from the Economics Department of Addis Ababa

⁶ The Ethiopian Rural Household Survey involves a panel survey carried out by the Economics Department of Addis Ababa University in collaboration with the Oxford Centre for the Study of African Economies in 1994 and the International Food Policy Institute in 2004.

University particularly in carrying out the Resource and Needs Survey. The project also benefited from advice from a network of advisors from various disciplines who are too numerous to mention.

The following researchers took part in the 2004-2006 research in the six sites, although most of the drafting of the rural profiles was carried out by one female and one male researcher, generally those who spent longest in the site, whose names are on the front of the profiles and are italicised in the list below. The urban profiles involved more researchers, with greater input from the field coordinator and editors.

Arada: Abebech Belayneh, Abraham Asha, Bethlehem Tekola, Demissie Gudisa, Habtamu Demille, Mahder Tesfu and Rahwa Mussie

Dinki: *Damtew Yirgu, Kiros Berhanu and Tsega Melesse*

Kolfe: Bethlehem Tekola, Demiye Tefalet, Eyob Tiemelisan, Rahwa Mussie, Tigist Tefera and Yisak Tafere

Korodegaga: *Aster Shibeshi, Tsega Melesse and Workneh Abebe*

Turufe Kecheme: *Bizuayehu Ayele, Demissie Gudisa, Tsega Melesse and Yohannes Gezahegn*

Yetmen: *Agazi Tiemelisan, Asham Asazenew, Hiwot Atfraw, Kiros Berhanu, Leleena Aklilu and Lewoyehu Ayele.*

Most of the editing, standardisation, formatting, improvement of the maps, photographs, seasonal calendars etc was carried out by Tom Lavers.

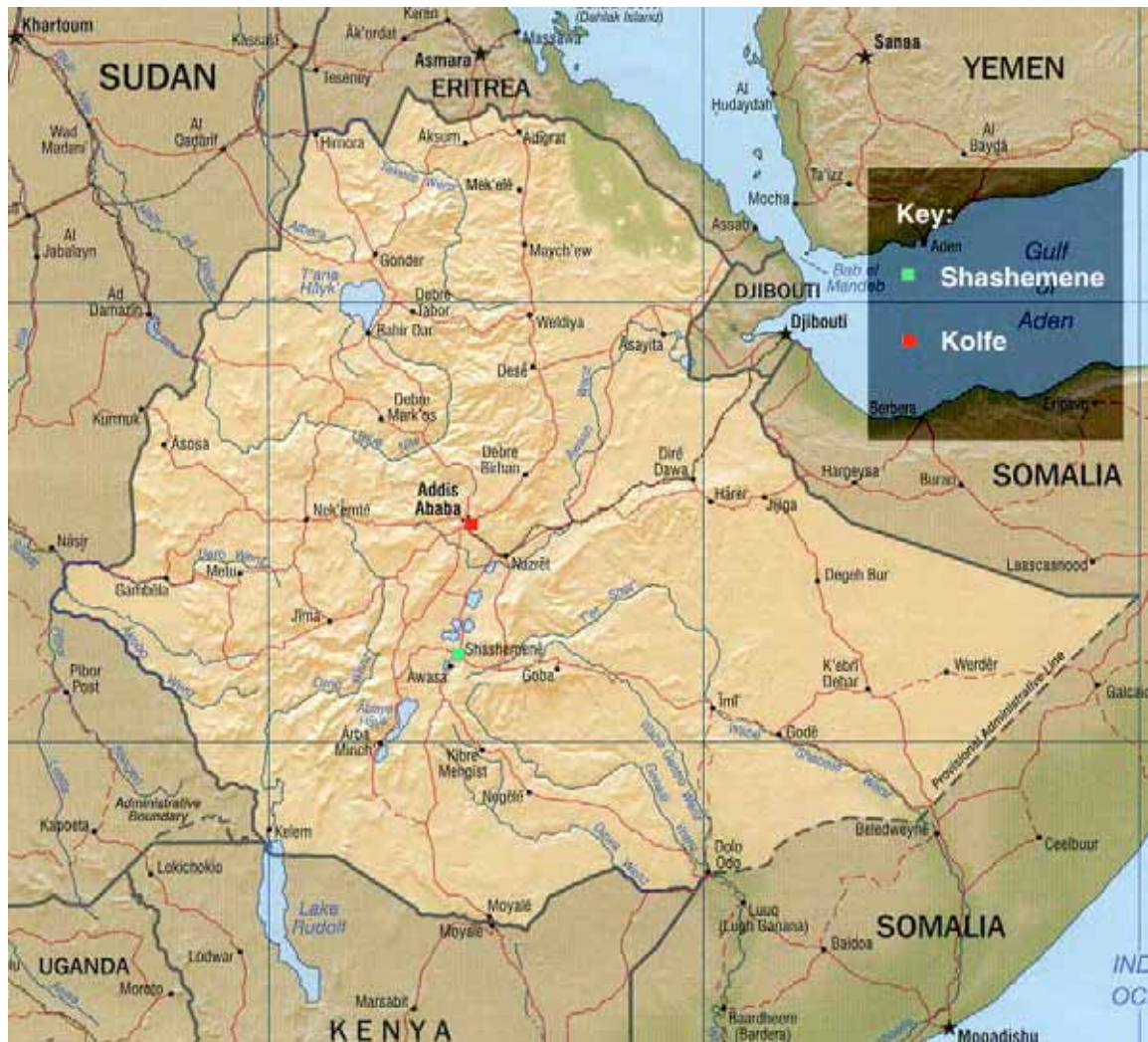
Further information about the Wed-Ethiopia project can be obtained from the web-site: www.wed-ethiopia.org. The Bath University WeD website www.welldev.org.uk provides overall information about the project worldwide.

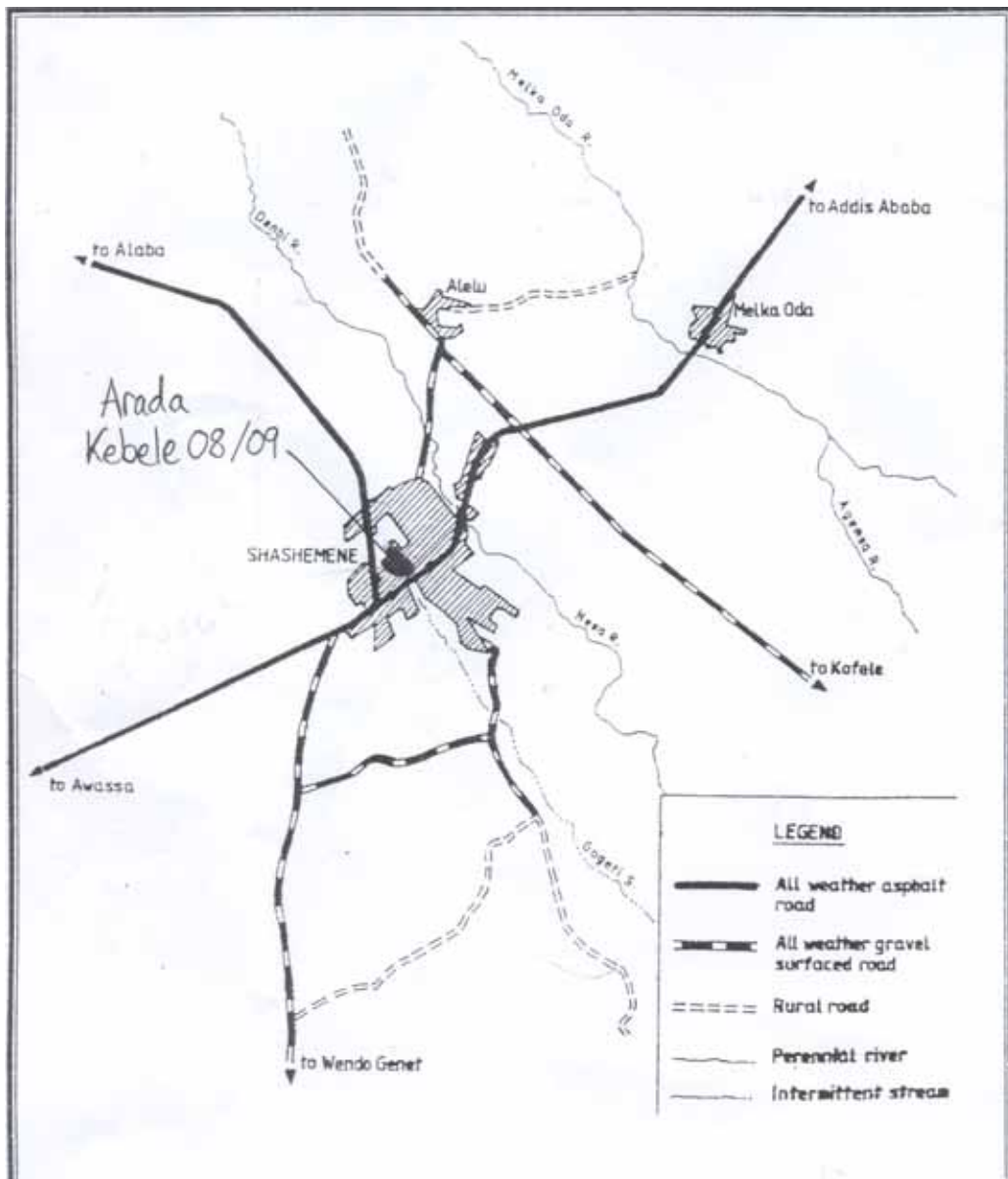
Further information can also be obtained from:

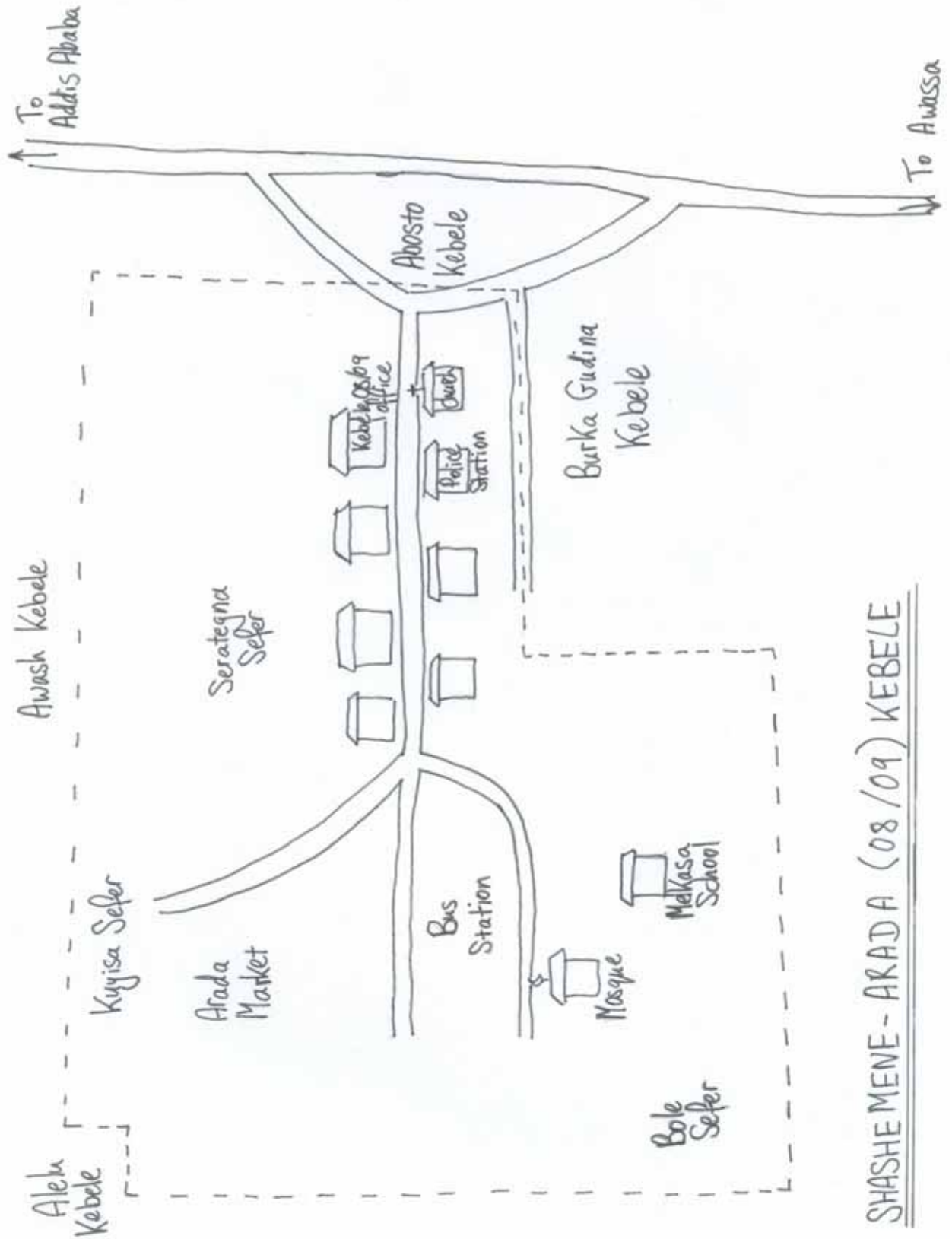
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Ethiopian Urban Studies Research Sites







SHASHEMENE-ARADA (08/09) KEBELE

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1. Locating the Site in Space and Time

Geography

Shashemene is located in East Shewa Zone of the Oromia National Regional State, approximately 250 km south of Addis Ababa. Geographically, the town is located at 7-degree North Latitude and 38-degree East Longitude. The town is economically important and expanding quite rapidly compared to other towns. This is perhaps due to its location as a crossroad and a junction point for most towns located in the southern part of the country. It serves as an international highway route connecting Ethiopia with Kenya. The town also lies within the Ethiopian Rift Valley and is close to the lakes and holiday resorts of Awassa, Langano and the Shala-Abiyata park.

The urban land of Shashemene stretches over 1,858 hectares of land. Climatically, Shashemene district falls into three climatic zones known as *Dega*, *Woinadega* and *Kolla*. Its altitude ranges from 1,672 to 2,722 metres above sea level. The temperature level ranges from 12-28°C and yearly rainfall varies from 1,500-2,000mm.

There are four rivers (Laftu, Melka, Oda and Issa) that flow through the town towards Lake Shala. Dhedhaba is another major river that serves as a natural boundary between Shashemene and Arssi Negele.

According to the official Central Statistical Survey, the total population of Shashemene was estimated to reach over 73,560 in 2001. The Shashemene town has been restructured into ten administrative units called *Kebele* which are managed by the Municipality.

The major sources of livelihood for the town are small business, informal trade, civil service employment, brokers and handcrafts, such as carpentry, pottery and metal works. The major crops produced around the town are maize, *tef*, barley, wheat, legumes, sorghum and *enset*. Shashemene enjoys the supply of abundant coffee, sweet potatoes, vegetables, maize and animal resources from adjacent districts.

Once Shashemene was identified as the second urban research site, the following selection criteria were developed in consultation with key informants and community leaders of the Shashemene towns to identify the *Kebele*.⁷ The criteria used were:

- *Kebele* where both extremely poor and rich people are living together side by side;
- *Kebele* known for hosting heterogeneous ethnic groups;
- *Kebele* known for having multiple social institutions such as *Iddir*, *Equb*, churches, mosques, government offices, NGOs and civil society organisations;
- *Kebele* located adjacent to or in the centre of the grand market place;
- *Kebele*, which have historic and symbolic significance in the settlement and development of the town.

In accordance with the above criteria, the Arada Area within *Kebele* 08 and 09 were selected from the ten urban administrative units. *Kebele* 08 and *Kebele* 09 are located at the centre of Shashemene town. They were the first areas of settlement and this part of the town used to be called Arada. The presence of ancient houses and long time residents serves as living examples of early settlement. Although the town expanded with newly emerged *Kebele* and *Sefer*, both *Kebele* 08 and *Kebele* 09 have continued to serve as the nerve centre of the town with the bus station, the oldest and popular church, St. Michael, the grand mosque and the biggest open air market.

The neighbourhoods in *Kebele* 09 include five main *sefer*: Abosto, Bikil *Sefer*, Serategna (Sodo) *sefer*, Berenda *Sefer* and Kuyesa *Sefer*. *Kebele* 08 has seven *Sefer* with their own specific characteristics: Abosto (Arebo *sefer*), Bishate *sefer* (Lukanda), Delala *Sefer* (Satin Tera), Menaheria *Sefer*, Chat Tera (Mesgid *sefer*), and Bole *Sefer* around Melka Issa School.

⁷ *Kebele* is the smallest administrative unit in urban administration in Ethiopia.

According to the *Kebele* administration, current estimates there are about 14,680 people living within the *Kebele* 08/09. The *Kebele* is densely populated and predominantly a slum area, compared with other neighbouring *Kebele* in the town.

Brief Description of the selected Sefer:

1. Bishate and/or Lukanda *sefer* (*Kebele* 08)

Bishate *Sefer* is one of the oldest neighbourhoods of *Kebele* 08. Many of the inhabitants of this *sefer* are *tella* and *areke* sellers and sex workers. They live in extremely dilapidated houses. The *sefer* is named Bishate after a woman called Bishate who used to sell *tella* and *areke* in the old days of Shashemene. The majority of the women engaged in these small business areas are reported to be migrants from the Wolayita and Hadiya areas. The small bar owners make use of the sex workers to attract clients for their bar business. In most of the houses, there are two to three beds, which means that there are two to three sex workers who use the house for prostitution.

2. Bole *Sefer* (*Kebele* 08)

Bole *Sefer* is one of the richest neighbourhoods of *Kebele* 08. The houses are big in size and compound with their modern architectural design. The majority of the households are reportedly from the Gurage ethnic group and are engaged in business activities.

3. Serategna *Sefer* (*Kebele* 09)

Most of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood are blacksmiths and tailors. Almost all of the blacksmiths belong to the Gurage ethnic group from the *Sodo* area. They produce farm implements for the surrounding rural communities and metal utensils for the urban dwellers. Economically, most of the inhabitants are considered poor.

4. Kuyesa *Sefer*

The *Sefer* is located adjacent to the river Issa and is well known as a place for waste disposal. The name *Kuyesa* is often used to describe a mud 'tower' built by termites. Most of the inhabitants of this *Sefer* are people who migrated from the Wolayita and Kembata areas. There are a few Oromo settlers as well. Almost all the households have no facilities of electricity, potable water, kitchen and latrines. Most use electric lines are illegally drawn from neighbouring households, which put them at risk of fire accidents. Many households use *Kuraz*, because they cannot afford to pay 7-10 *birr* per month to their neighbours from who they take power. According to some key informants, there are about 350 houses illegally constructed at Kuyesa *sefer* of which only 3 to 5 houses have legal access to electricity. They are the ones who supply electricity to most of the housing units in the area for higher charges.

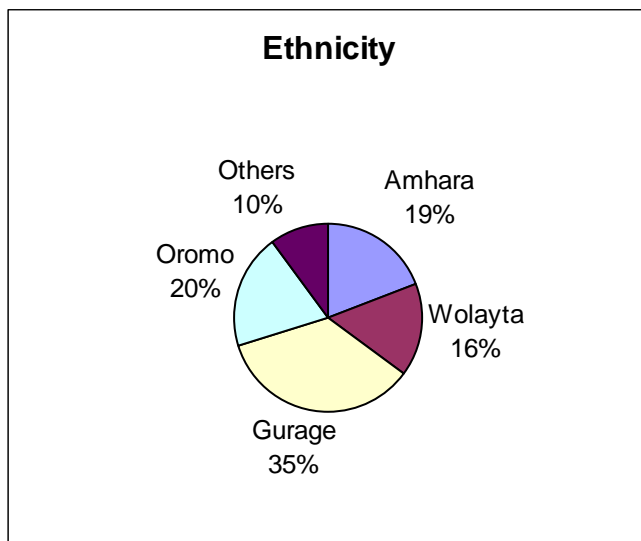
Social Structure

There is a strong relationship between the economic status and the settlement patterns across the four urban neighbourhoods; namely, Kuyesa *sefer*, Serategna *Sefer*, Bishate *Sefer* and Bole *Sefer*. There are indications that there are strong relationships among occupational types, ethnic origins and economic status within the urban community structure. For example, migrants from Sodo Gurage who specialise as blacksmiths, mostly inhabit Serategna *Sefer*. Similarly, Bishate *sefer* is mostly inhabited by women from the Wolayita area who are often involved in the sale of local drinks or commercial sex work. Other Gurage migrants are mostly engaged in middle and large-scale business that requires intensive capital. In comparison, most of the inhabitants from Oromo, Amhara and Tigray origin are largely civil servants.

Thus, it seems that people of similar ethnic background often specialise in certain occupations and develop their networks through the formation of *Iddir*, *Equb* or *Meredaja mahiber* in order to help themselves and maintain their identities.

Inhabitants who own big shops, hotels or any other business activities are often considered as rich and notable people in their neighbourhood. *Kebele* leaders or other politically powerful people are also popular and influential members of their community. Elderly people and religious leaders are also influential but not as notable as the rich people and the political leaders. It was reported that in the past elderly and religious leaders were the most notable people in their respective neighbourhood but in recent days the rich and politically powerful people are becoming the most notable members of the urban community.

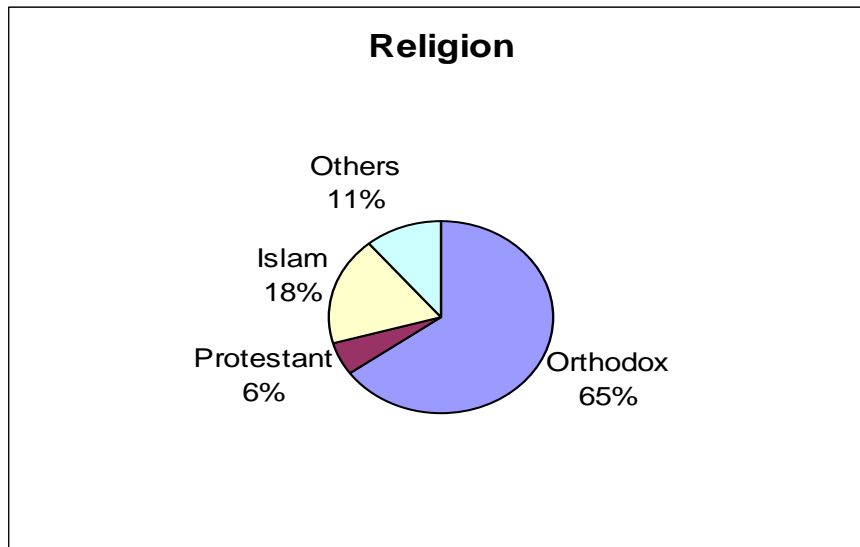
Figure 1: Ethnic composition in Arada Kebele



Source: RANS, 2005

Shashemene is a town comprising different ethnic groups. The most important in the Arada study area are the Gurage representing over a third, followed by the Oromo, Amhara, and Wolayita (see Figure 1). The ethnically differentiated people are able to integrate through *Iddir*, *equb* and other social institutions. Since the introduction of ethnic based federalism by the EPRDF in 1991, Shashemene was restructured and became one of the 12 administrative *wereda* (districts) in Eastern Shewa Zone of the Oromia National Regional State. This structure has given more political power to the Oromo ethnic group. During the transition period (1991-93), other ethnic groups reportedly felt threatened on the grounds of discrimination they had experienced in court, property ownership and public participation. These kinds of actions created fear and tension among the non-Oromo ethnic groups and led them to rely on several ethnic based organisations such as *Iddir*.

Figure 2: Religious composition of Arada community



Source: RANS, 2005

Among the people living in Arada the majority are Orthodox Christians representing about two-thirds, followed by the Muslim representing 18 % and the Protestant Christians 6% (see Figure 2).

History of Shashemene

There are conflicting reports about the original settlers of Shashemene. Some sources claim that the original settlers came from Oromia region, specifically from the surroundings of the present town around 1908. Other sources indicate that a prominent lady called *Shash* was the original settler from Sidama, of the Southern Nations and Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). Elderly key informants reported that the name Shashemene relates to a woman called *Shashe*, who used to sell *tella* and tobacco at a place now named Arada (*Kebele* 08/09). Her customers used to call her place *mena Shashe* – in Oromiffa meaning “Shashe’s house”. It was from this word *mena Shashe*, that the town got its name. Many believed that she was among the first settlers of Shashemene in the first decade of the twentieth century, when the town was believed to have been founded.

Shashemene emerged in the second decade of the twentieth century mainly due to the expansion of commercial activities in the southern corridor of the country and its strategic location on the route south to the Kenya border and the roads to South Omo in the west and Bale in the east. This convergence of a road network made the town a major commercial and distribution centre for both agricultural and industrial products (Benti 1990).

One major turning point in the development of the town was the construction of a road that passes from Addis across Shashemene to the southern part of Ethiopia and stretches to Moyale. The road crossed Shashemene town in 1932. The expansion of roads to the surrounding rural areas and the main road, from Addis Ababa to Moyale, made Shashemene a strategically important economic centre of the area. Thus it led to the establishment of important institutions, including the bus station, the bank and many hotels, which led to the expansion of the town. The establishment of mechanised agriculture in the surrounding rural areas also contributed for the expansion of the town, as the owners of these institutions built their business centres and residence houses in the town.

Politically, Shashemene remained a centre for rural *Wereda* and it was only in the year 2003 that the town of Shashemene was restructured with an independent authority from the rural *Wereda*. Since then it has been governed by a town mayor. The new administration of the town is now accountable to the Oromia

Regional state. Many agree that in the last two years there have been significant developments in the town, among which the most remarkable one is the implementation of the master plan.

Table 1. Summary of main events in the history of Shashemene

Imperial Regime (end of nineteenth century - 1935)	- the town was founded - highway to Awassa - construction of high school
Derg regime (1974-91)	- construction of mini-stadium
The EPRDF period (1991-to date)	- new town master plan was set up and being implemented - development of infrastructure (roads, light, upgrading schools, clinics and pharmacies - new colleges (private) - New highway from Addis to Awassa - restructuring town administration independently of the rural <i>Wereda</i> administration

2. Climate and the Effects of Seasonality

As Shashemene is found in the Rift Valley the rainfall is comparatively lower in the *Wereda*. There are two major rainy seasons in the town: the *belg* (March to April) and *Kiremt* (June to early September). The coldest month in the town is October, while the hottest is May. But as opposed to other places, the rainy season in Shashemene is not very cold. People enjoy the rainy season because the soil is sandy and it does not get muddy after rainfall.

Table 2: Summary of seasonal activities

Activities	<i>Tibi</i> : Sept-Nov.	<i>Bega</i> : Dec- Feb	<i>Tseday</i> : Mar-May	<i>Kiremt</i> : June-August
Blacksmith	Good for selling hand tools.	Good for selling wheels for carts	Good for selling farm tools for <i>belg</i> farm	Excellent farming period - selling of farm tools
Selling used clothes	Good for selling used jackets & sweaters	Good for selling used clothes as the farms sell products	Good for selling used goods as <i>belg</i> rain falls.	Good for selling used clothes, especially rain coats, thick jackets
Selling vegetables: potatoes, tomatoes	Good, yet the quantity is less than summer time	Good for the merchants, expensive for customers	Very good for selling tomatoes since it is fasting period	Excellent time for sale of vegetables, potatoes, roasted corn on the cob
Cereals: <i>tef</i> , maize wheat	Expensive for the buyers good for the traders	Good for the buyers, decrease price	Good, yet increase of price	Excellent to the merchants, expensive for the buyers.
Household furniture	Good, yet the goods are not sold much	Excellent for selling furniture	Good for selling household furniture	Bad for the producers of the furniture, some engage in other work

There is higher rate of migration from the Wolayita area to Shashemene in the months of *Ginbot*⁸ and *Sene* mainly to work on the potato farms around Shashemene. During the summer time, potatoes, vegetables and maize (corn on the cob) is plenty and cheap in the town and the poor dwellers are very much satisfied.

3. The Local Economy

The expansion of commerce in Shashemene created several economic opportunities and attracted a large number of migrants, whose number soon exceeded the town's capacity to support them economically. The migration of different ethnic groups has made the town's population a multi-ethnic one (Bjeren 1985).

The majority of inhabitants within the two *Kebele* are engaged in the informal sector of the economy as petty traders, daily labourers, blacksmith, potters, *tella* and *areke* sellers, sex workers, brokers, tailors, cart drivers and the like. Only a small proportion of the inhabitants are government employees.

Manufacturing

Serategna *sefer*, as its Amharic name implies, is a neighbourhood inhabited by workers of different occupations such as blacksmiths, artisans, weavers and potters. However, the blacksmiths are the dominant occupational group and they are mostly Gurage from the Sodo area. They are engaged in the production of knives, small hand pushcarts and agricultural implements for the surrounding rural communities. They use traditional equipment requiring much labour and energy. The blacksmiths work in groups of five to six organised by the owner of the equipment. The second occupational group are potters who are mostly of Wolayita origin. They live adjacent to the Serategna *Sefer*. The third occupational group comprises wood workers who live on the border of *Bishate Sefer*. They produce wooden objects such as chairs, tables, doors and sofas. They are mostly young people of different ethnic backgrounds who have completed grade 12 and have some vocational high school training.

Today's blacksmiths and potters have inherited the skill, the equipment, and the place for work (usually in front of their houses) from their fathers. They operate informally and are not liable to any form of taxation. They have organised themselves into occupational cooperative associations. However, the associations are not very strong. The mass production and the importation of better quality farm implements have reduced the demand for the products of the blacksmiths.

In the last two years, following the establishment of an independent town administration, increasing numbers of youths have begun to organise themselves into groups to start wood and metal work, and involve themselves in different business activities. Most of them are organised at the *Kebele* level and have got training and capital from the town administration. The town administration also gave them a place to work. Many informants appreciated the support given by the government but are worried about the market problem, especially those engaged in woodworking. On the other hand, some people fear that the expansion of woodworking will increase the rate of deforestation in the area.

Urban agriculture

Before villagisation of the *Derg*, there were many urban dwellers who were members of the peasant associations and used to engage in agricultural activities. They were mostly those who lost their farmlands due to the nationalisation of rural land in 1975. When villagisation started they were left with two options. They were forced either to be registered town dwellers and leave their farmland or to leave their houses in the town and move to the established rural villages. Most of them opted to live in the town and consequently lost their farmlands. Currently, there are very few individuals who live in the town and who

⁸ For an explanation of the Ethiopian calendar, see Appendix A.

are at the same time engaged in agriculture by leasing farmlands. Some others are also engaged in small vegetable growing activities within the *Kebele*.

Trade and marketing

Trade activities in Shashemene town are reportedly associated with the founding of the town itself. As the town is located at a crossroads, many trade activities take place in it. Arada *Kebele* is located in the centre of the town and is the centre of trade and marketing. The “Taiwan” market, which was formerly the centre for contraband items and clothes, is the big centre for ready-made clothes, household utensils and multi-purpose plastic products. Near the bus terminal, which is found in *Kebele* 08, is the standing station for business people who sell second-hand clothes. During the evenings, there is also a big business of second hand clothes around the area called Abosto on the border of *kebele* 08 and 07. The “*ehil berenda*” (centre for grain) and “*Berbere tera*” (area for red pepper sale) are also found in 09 *Kebele*. Firewood and charcoal are also sold in the two *Kebele*.

There are two major markets in the town, one of which is located in Arada *Kebele*, and it is called Arada Market. The other market is Alela market, which is mainly for cattle. Both markets are held on Saturday. In these markets, people from Shashemene town and the surrounding rural areas meet. Food grain, potatoes, cattle, firewood and other agricultural producers are introduced from the surrounding areas. The people from rural areas buy kerosene, salt, oil, electronics goods etc. from Shashemene. Many also buy agricultural inputs (fertiliser, pesticides, and seeds) from Shashemene.

Occupational structure and work activities

Men are often engaged as daily labourers, blacksmiths, tailors, carpenters, brokers, and drivers of horse pulled and hand pushed carts or wheelbarrows, barbers, traders (shop owner or wholesale traders), petty traders, workshop workers, house builders, etc. Most of these occupations are informal. There are very few examples of formal work performed by men. These include employees of government and NGOs. Some men often work in the formal sector as teachers, health practitioners, as well as *Kebele* employees like guards, archivist and drivers.

The main occupations for women include *Tella* and *Areke* selling, petty trading, waitressing, house servants, daily labourers, cleaners, firewood and charcoal selling, selling of roasted barley, selling fruits, and sex work (especially in Bishate *sefer*) in addition to reproductive roles within the household.

Cooperative or group labour activities

In Shashemene town as well as in *Kebele* 08/09 there are some cooperative or group labour activities. Young people are organised to manufacture beehives, wood and metal works and the like. Though initially the cooperatives were provided with wood, metal and small machineries that were used for production they are still facing market problems. There are also horse pulling carts and *Delala* (brokers) Associations.

Common property resources

The common property resources in *Kebele* 08/09 of Shashemene include the bus terminal, the public water tap, commonly shared showers and pit-latrines that were constructed by a Denmark Development project. Community members have also access to the Melka Issa River where they wash their clothes and their bodies as well as extract sand freely.

4. Reproductive Activity

Division of labour in the household is based on gender. Men and women spend the day outside the house to earn bread for the household. Children are also engaged in survival work like selling of tissues, chewing gum and plastic bags. In addition to the outside activities women are engaged in domestic tasks of food preparation, making coffee, washing clothes and cleaning houses. Most of the women in this *Kebele* are poor people who are engaged in making and selling *tella* and *areke* to support the meagre income of their husbands.

Fuel and lighting

The source of light for most of the household is electricity. Some of the households in the *Kebele*, specifically at Kuyesa *sefer*, use *Kuraz* (lanterns from diesel put in a can) as a source of light. More than 72 percent of the community members use firewood for cooking. Other means of fuel for cooking are local charcoal, electricity, *segatura* (by-products of woodwork) and kerosene (see table 3).

Table 3. Source of fuel for cooking in Arada

No	Source	Number of Households	%
1	Electricity	23	6.4
2	Kerosene	13	3.6
3	Firewood	261	72.5
4	Charcoal (local)	29	8.1
5	Industrial waste	19	5.2
6	Others	15	4.2
	Total	360	100

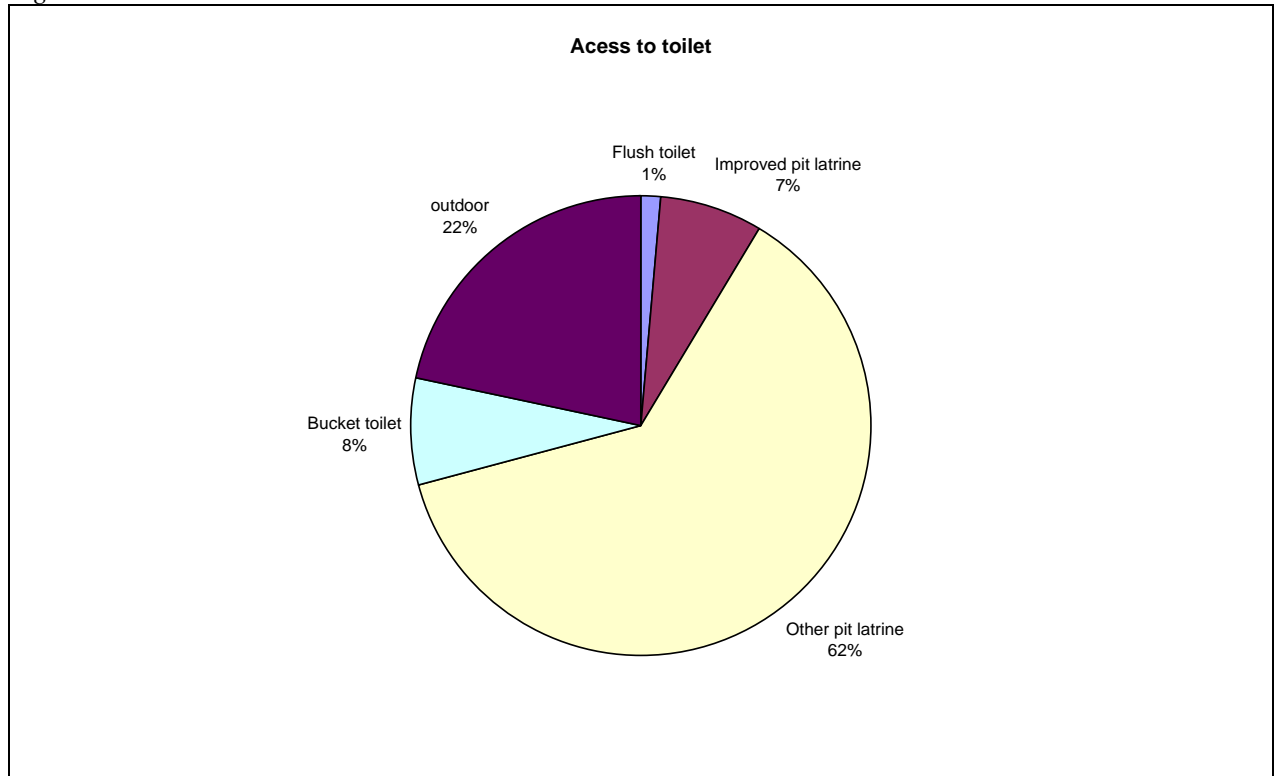
Source: RANS, 2005

Wood is the most important source of fuel for cooking used by almost three-quarters of the households, and is also used for preparing *tella* and *areke*. They get it from the surrounding rural areas and a donkey load of wood usually costs 20 *birr*. A further 8% use charcoal for fuel, so that less than one-fifth use non-wood-based products.

Sanitation

The majority (over 74 percent) of *Kebele* 08 and *Kebele* 09 inhabitants have no toilet facilities in their households (RANS, 2005). They either share with other households or have to use the adjacent river as an open toilet and general site for waste disposal.

Figure 3: Access to Toilets in Arada Kebele



Source: RANS, 2005

There are only two dump trucks available for the entire town and they cannot provide adequate facilities. As a result, the two *Kebele* often remain dirty, full of garbage and waste. Kalehiwot Church is trying to fund and collaborate with the *Kebele* in building common latrines for the community.

Environmental issues

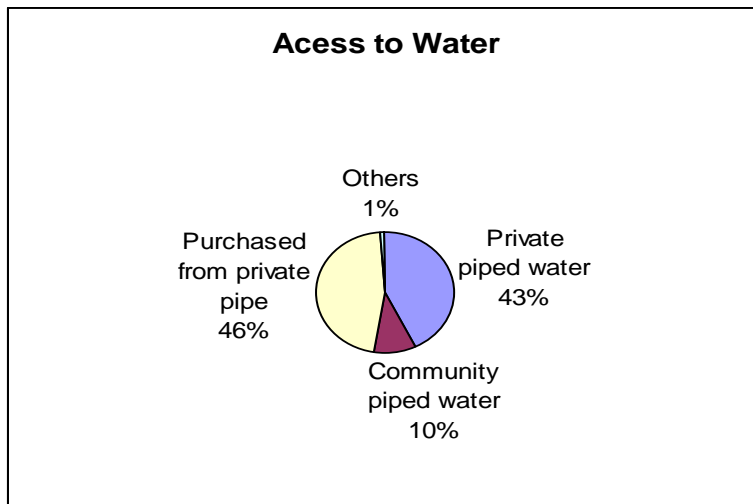
As the town is frequently busy with buses and lorries and inhabitants burn wood, charcoal or use kerosene for fuel, Shashemene is often polluted with smoke. The Issa River flows along the border of *Kebele* 09 and *Kebele* 10 and is adjacent to a small open market; it is often used as a dumping ground for the disposal of dead animals and liquid wastes.

Moreover, it is common to see men urinating on the side of the streets. Throwing solid garbage in the ditches and liquid wastes on the street is common. There are youths who have formed a garbage collection service association; however, they are too few in number to cover the whole town. Secondly most of Arada *kebele* dwellers cannot afford to pay for this service. Lack of a drainage system and absence of waste disposal tanks and shortage of latrines aggravate pollution.

Water

Approximately 57 percent (see Figure 4) of the inhabitants of Arada have no access to tap water in their houses. However there are significant variations. The majority of the households in Bole *Sefer* have got access to piped water. In contrast, Kuyesa *sefer* is the most vulnerable as no single household has access to pipe water. People without access to taps get water from the central area where the town administration water and sewerage office sells water or buy from individual households. Others buy clean water from other neighbours for 0.20 *birr* per bucket.

Fig.4 Arada Community access to water



Source: RANS, 2005

People in “*bekel tera*” and *Kuyesa sefer* use water from the River Issa for washing clothes and household utensils.

Fertility

People have access to contraceptives including condoms from pharmacies, the nearby health station and kiosks. There is no fertility treatment in Shashemene and couples often need to get referred to Addis Ababa for further medical investigations. In most cases married women are said to give birth between two to three years after the previous delivery. The average fertility rate in the *Kebele* seems to be between five and six children. There are no modern or even traditional treatments for infertility of women. Husbands divorce infertile wives or try to have children out of wedlock. Though there is a lack of continuity, there were campaigns by the government to make the people aware of family planning. This familiarisation of people with contraceptives has stopped under the present government. Of course there are women who use contraceptives with the consent of their husbands. Some stopped using the contraceptives because of different health problems. There are also devout followers of Islam and Orthodox Christianity who oppose the use of contraceptives. They prohibit their wives from using the medicines. Husbands who are not on good terms with their wives are said to oppose the use of contraceptives by their wives as they suspect that using the contraceptives would give them greater opportunities to have affairs with other men.

Childbirth and childcare

Most of the mothers in the site depend on traditional birth attendants. A few of mothers, notably from the rich households, indicated that they deliver their babies at the nearby health centre. In case of major delivery complications, the mothers are referred to Shashemene General Hospital formerly known as Kuyera Hospital.

Children of working mothers, with relatively better incomes, are often taken care of by a housemaid or a relative. Poor families with no relatives and those who cannot afford to have childcare are often forced to take up jobs for few hours or depend on begging. In many poor families, older daughters are forced to care for their younger siblings and let their mothers go to their daily work.

Health

The most frequent serious illnesses within the *Kebele* include gastritis, malaria and TB (RANS, 2005). Children tend to be mostly affected by malaria and pneumonia, and women are more affected by Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs) and gynaecological diseases.

Most of the people in *Kebele* 08/09 do not go to health centres, or private clinics because they cannot afford the cost of medication. So they rather visit traditional healers and are treated by herbal remedies and other traditional medicines. The effect could be serious because of the dosage problems. Environmental pollution in area has affected the health of children and parents alike.

HIV/AIDS

In its strategic plan of 2004, the National HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office (HAPCO) categorised a number of factors determining the spread of HIV/AIDS in the country. These include poverty, illiteracy, stigma and discrimination of those infected / affected by HIV/AIDS, high rate of unemployment, widespread commercial sex work, gender disparities, population movement including rural to urban migration and harmful cultural and traditional practices. HIV/AIDS, in turn, contributes to the poverty situation of the individual, family and community and the nation at large. Shashemene being a major urban area located along major roads and commercial routes with high prevalence of commercial sex worker sat *Kebele* 08/09, heterosexual HIV transmission is high.

A youth organisation in *Kebele* 08/09 had organised and motivated the people in the area for community participation, by going from *sefer* to *sefer* and preparing short dramas concerning HIV/AIDS. But it did not last because of lack of support from the concerned body. Infected people also do not dare to expose themselves, as they are afraid of the fact that the community might stigmatise and discriminate against them. According to certain informants, the number of orphans as a result of the spread of HIV/AIDS, is growing and worsening the social and economic situation of children in the town, which is equally true for *Kebele* 08/09.

The other serious challenge to the community is to identify and take care of people living with HIV/AIDS. One of the researchers of this profile, came across a case in June 1, 2005 where a man living with HIV/AIDS and a member of “Dawn of Hope” Association was found sleeping with a destitute woman around the church. A quarrel broke with the woman and they were brought to *Kebele* for advice. Then, in the office of the *Kebele* security chief, the man produced his card indicating he was HIV positive and asked to be released. He was soon released but nobody knows where he spent that night. This kind of interaction among the poor and destitute might be the main threat of spreading the disease very easily.

Anti-AIDS clubs are organised in schools. A local NGO called ‘*we for us*’ is trying to get involved in awareness creation and youth mobilisation. But the community blame the pertinent government body for not mobilising the community enough for targeted prevention and care (see more on NGOs activities).

5. Consumption

Food and other daily goods

Most of the rich and the middle-income households eat *tef injera* (a flat bread made of a cereal called *tef* and often served with stew as a staple food with different sauces including meat). The poor often eat maize *injera*, *kita* (a kind of bread made in the house), *kocho* (false banana) and cabbage, which are cheaply available in the daily local market.

The major event affecting food prices is seasonality. Prices increase during the hunger season prior to the harvest. In addition to this, drought and poor harvest often affect food prices. The impact on food prices can be tremendous resulting in a doubling or tripling of food prices during periods of shortage.

Housing

Most of the houses in the two *kebele* are old and constructed from wood and mud. However, rich people in *Kebele* 08 (Bole *sefer*) have modern houses made of hollow blocks, stone and cement. These houses are well constructed and have a number of rooms, large doors and windows. A typical house in Bole *sefer* costs 80,000-120,000 *birr*.

The poorest households are found in *Kuyesa sefer*, the name of which originates from the type of houses looking like a cave or a mud hill made by termites in which the inhabitants live. A *Kuyesa* is often a single room house built with the use of bamboo, plastic and soil and only cost around 100-200 *birr*. However they are not recognised by the municipality and are regarded as illegally constructed houses. The inhabitants are mainly recent migrants and displaced people from the surrounding areas.

Most of the households in the town in general and in the *Kebele* in particular live in a house rented either from the *Kebele*, the Agency for Rented Houses or from individual owners. According to the records of the town administration there are only 728 housing units owned by individual households, but about 2,861 are rented from the *Kebele* and 126 from the Agency for Renting Houses. Many individuals construct small houses illegally. Most of the houses are small sized and difficult to live in. They are also without facilities. They are like caves and constructed poorly with bamboo or sticks, plastic and soil.

Savings and credit

Most of the richer people are able to make cash deposits in a bank. They can also save cash through *Equb*. The latter is the preferred form of saving institution for medium-wealth and poor people. It is a form of rotating credit association by which members get access to contributed cash, monthly by turn. There are very few credit associations run by government and NGOs such as ACORD Shashemene. In order to access credit from ACORD, it is a pre-requisite to be a member of a legally registered *Iddir*.

In Shashemene there are four private banks and seven insurance companies which give service to those engaged in the formal business. But since most of the people in the town are engaged in the informal sector, they cannot get service from the banks. However, there are two NGOs, Kale Hiwot and ACORD (see more on NGOs Activities) and government institutions which give saving and credit services. The department for small-scale businesses, established recently gives credit services to youths organised in groups to start small-scale businesses.

Social security

The majority of the population in Shashemene is engaged in informal and small-scale businesses, and do not benefit from governmental social services. Those engaged in the civil service are few in number; even among these most are paid low salaries and will get even lower pensions. Thus for most community members the *Iddir* are considered to be major institutions to support individuals in times of crisis.

The *Iddir* give money when a member or a member's relative dies. The amount varies according to the size of the *Iddir* and the deceased's relation to the *Iddir* member. The largest *Iddir* in Shashemene pays 2,000 *birr*. In addition, women have their own separate *Iddir*, which give money (up to 200 *birr*) and supply food to the bereaved.

6. Local Institutions, Organisations and Services

Households

Respondents asserted that a household is a group of people living under one roof working and eating together. The household is governed under the authority of the head and share income. In Shashemene, *Kebele* 08/09, as in the rest of Ethiopia, the major decisions regarding the use of resources are predominantly the responsibility of the household head, who is generally male.

Among the female-headed households, the responsibility of providing food for the household, paying school fee and clothing for her children falls on the shoulders of the woman. Many informants indicated that even in the households where there is a male household head, women contribute to the household income a lot by being engaged in different works. Older children are also engaged in different income generating activities to support their parents. This indicates that every member of the household has an obligation to help the others.

Marriage

Marriage ceremonies in Shashemene vary by culture of the different ethnic groups. Previously, in most of the cultures it was common for parents to select marriage partners for their children. But in recent times, the decision of parents in selecting marriage partners began to decline. The youngsters themselves perform mate selection. The importance of bridewealth is decreasing in the community.

Short-term male migrants may get married while they stay in Shashemene. Sometimes these men may not come back to the *kebele* and the woman who had sexual affairs with the migrant and gave birth may conceal the fact and be forced to bring up the child alone. Giving birth to children out of wedlock and single motherhood are common. These mothers are forced to engage in different activities like the sale of *tella* or *areke* to get an income to bring up their children. This is partly due to the high prevalence of seasonal migration.

Divorce

Divorce is rare in Shashemene and is not very prevalent among the middle class and better off couples. But in case of divorce a husband and wife are expected to get an equal proportion of their wealth. There are many reasons for divorce in the community of Shashemene. Some of the reasons are early marriage, abduction, sterility, preference for another partner, etc.

Before, when a divorce took place, the women had little or no right to share property. Nowadays, when women are mistreated or suppressed they may go to *Kebele* women's affairs office and sue against their husbands. They further defend their rights in the *Kebele* and *Wereda* court. One of the three judges in the *Kebele* social court should be female, so as to ensure that the rights of women are respected. Husbands are forced to give a certain amount of their wealth to their wives in time of divorce. When parents separate, if their children are young, mothers are given the chance of bringing them up and husbands are obliged to provide due support.

Widowhood

Widows also have the right to control the property from their marriage. Currently, widows are not inherited as happened in traditional Oromo culture, because they can defend themselves legally and the support of women's groups in this respect is increasing.

Orphans

In Shashemene there are large numbers of orphans. Many believe that the spread of HIV/AIDS contributed to the increase in the number of orphans and street children.

Inheritance

Inheritance is governed by the code of law. All members of a family have rights to inherit, even children born out of marriage. But sometimes the will of the dead husband is highly respected and inheritance follows his words. This cannot be violated in the court.

Kinship/Lineages/Clans

Clans and lineages are important mostly among the Oromo, Gurage and Wolayita. They strengthen their ties through different organisations such as *Iddir*. The clan members cooperate among each other when one of their respective members faces life crises such as death, marriage or arranging a feast. In earlier times, members of the same clan also used to involve themselves in joint decisions related to marriage. In all cases members from the same clan do not get married to each other.

Local Organisation and Services

Market: Most of the people get the bulk of their food from the daily market known as Arada Gebeya. There is also a weekly popular market in *Kebele* 10 known as Alelu. This market is held in every Saturday. People from the surrounding communities bring their agricultural products and livestock for sale to this market and most of the town's population buy grains and livestock there. The rural communities also buy different items such as sugar, salt, soap, clothes, shoes or other household utensils from Arada Gebeya.

Health: Shashemene town has a health centre. Within Arada (*Kebele* 08/09) there are three private clinics and three pharmacies. In order to get access to medical services the *kebele* 08/09 residents should go to the health centre, which is located in *Kebele* 2 (*Abosto sefer*). For higher medical services people go to Shashemene General Hospital which is 12 km away situated at a locality called Kuyera.

Education and Training: Shashemene has one technical and vocational school, one preparatory school, two high schools and seven primary schools. There are also five private colleges in the town. *Kebele* 08/09 has got one primary school called *Melkka Issa* constructed during the *Derg* period. This government-owned elementary school enrolls children largely from the poor community members free of charge. There is also one kindergarten. Religious education is given both in St. Michael church and in the grand Mosque, which is located in *Kebele* 08. Trainees for primary school first cycle and second cycle teachers are selected and sent to different training centres in the Oromia Region. Training for health assistants is also given in Shashemene. There is no training centre of any kind in the *Kebele* under study.

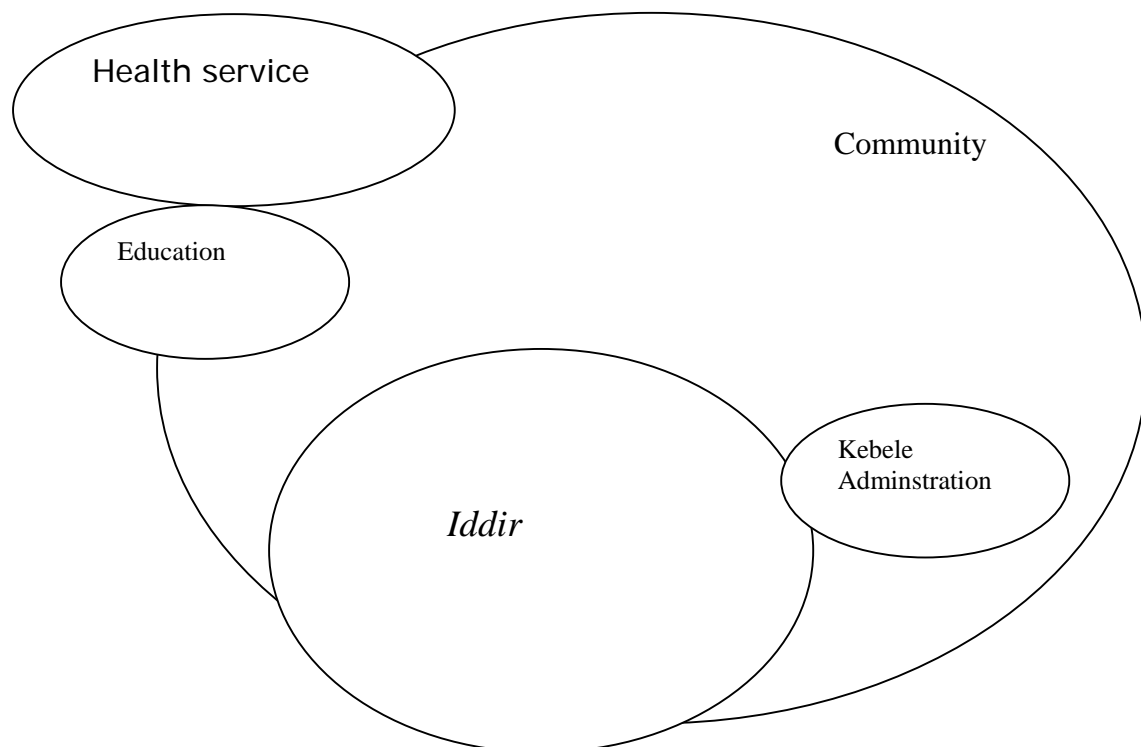
Recreation: Recreational facilities and opportunities are almost non-existent at all levels. The *Kebele* neighbourhood is very congested and there is limited space for a playground or other recreational activities. Most women are always occupied in the household tasks, and the poor in brewing and selling of *tella* and *areke* or in petty trading in the local market. Many poor men engaged in daily labour as craftsmen or any other low-income earning jobs spend much of their time in local taverns or pubs. Many of the young boys spend their time playing cards, chewing *chat*, watching videos and attending soccer games in the stadium. The introduction of satellite television such as DSTV in a few of the major hotels and bars was considered as positive indications of recreation recently emerging in the town.

Churches: The St. Michael church is the oldest church in the town and is found within the *Kebele* of 08/09. The Protestant Christians in the community go to other *kebele* for religious and ritual activities.

Mosque: There is only one Mosque for the Muslim community members, situated at *Kebele* 08. The mosque is the oldest one which started service in a thatch roofed smaller house. It was constructed and took the shape it has now in 1988 through the contributions made by the Muslim community. Though the grand mosque is called Hikem Mosque, many people refer to it as *Arssi Mesgid* (Mosque of the Arssi Oromo) because most of the Muslims that come for religious and ritual activities to the mosque are the Arssi Oromos.

Administration and justice: The *Kebele* administration, the smallest government authority, is responsible for the overall administration of the community. It exercises its power through its departments of development, security and justices and social court. The development team mobilises the community for development. The security and justice section handles the security of the community. It has security personnel and temporary police station. The social court comprising three judges deals with legal matters within its jurisdictions (see more on crime, punishment and dispute settlements)

Figure 3: Venn Diagram Shashemene (Institutional)



Note: The size corresponds to the importance
The overlaps are linkages

Iddirs: There are approximately 66 legally registered *Iddir* within the town and there are more unregistered ones. The formation of *Iddir* differs from one to the other. They may base themselves on neighbourhood, religion, place of origin of members or ethnicity: there are *Iddir* organised under the names of the Saints Michael and Gabriel; Wolayita *Iddir*, Sodo *Iddir* and Sebat bet Andenet *Iddir* are examples of ethnically established *Iddir*. The Sodo *Iddir*, for example, is exclusively ethnic-based and the criteria for membership also includes being an Orthodox Christian. Only two Muslim members are tolerated because they were among the founders. This *Iddir* has gone to court because it has expelled Protestant members. There are also many small *Iddir* that are organised by women. *Iddir* have a chairperson, treasurer and secretary. Each has got its own by-laws and people are admitted to the *Iddir* if they accept the by-laws, pay contributions and registration fees. Each member contributes money on a monthly basis and has the obligation to attend

funerals of a member or a member's family. Those members who fail to pay the monthly fee and those who fail to attend funerals will be fined.

Brokers Association: Brokers in the town have a brokers association known as “*Shashemene-Genet yedelaloch Mahiber*”. The association has 23 members, of which 18 are from *Kebele* 08/09. Each member has to pay 1,000 *birr* for membership and the association secured its license in April 2005. Licensing relieved the brokers from submitting daily reports to the *Kebele* administration about the personal situations of the job seekers. The brokers have networks, which cover the southern part of the country, and big towns from central Ethiopia. Employers contact the brokers when they need any type of skilled worker. If they agree they send the brokers money for transportation and per diem for the worker and brokerage fee through the banks. Then the brokers send workers according to the demand of their clients. Other employers from the nearby areas may come in person and look for a labourer through the brokers. In principle, if a worker serves for less than 30 days and fails to continue, the broker replaces him with another worker without charging his client brokerage fee. The brokerage fee is between 15-20 *birr* per worker. This is the total paid by both the worker and the employer for the broker. If a long-term client hires the worker the brokerage fee is reduced to 15 *birr* as a means of promoting his work. Before a broker sends a worker to the specified town, he interviews and orients him regarding his potential responsibilities and rights. The worker who is hired is expected to give information about his personal history and should submit one passport size photograph to the broker. This may serve as a tracing mechanism in case the worker commits a theft or any other crime. Workers who come for jobs stay in a group for free in a house prepared by the brokers to save them from hotel expenses. If they are financially weak, the brokers give them loans of 30-40 *birr* to be repaid from their first salary when they get a job.

NGO Activities and Services: In Shashemene town especially in *Kebele* 08/09 there are some non-governmental organisations that are actively working with the people. ACORD-Ethiopia works with *Iddir* in both *kebele*. It gives loans with the minimum possible interest to the *Iddir* members. They get loans to engage in informal trades. No one who is not a member of an *Iddir* can get a loan from ACORD. The interest paid back can be shared among the organised members of an *Iddir*.

Kale Hiwot Church gives loans to members of the church. The loan given to Kale Hiwot church members incurs interest at a rate of 5 percent. The amount of interest paid back by individuals who borrow is deposited in a bank with the savings that members contribute monthly. This money is saved in the name of the organisation and it is said that Kale Hiwot Church development project intends to establish a sort of small business for all members who make the savings and pay the interest. The size of loans ranges from 1,000 to 4,000 *birr*. The Church also contributes materials for the town development activities.

Both NGOs provide multi purpose support to destitute children. They provide the children with clothes, teaching materials, food items (*tef* and edible oil), and mattress and blankets. Forum in Street children and UNICEF are involved in provision of such support to orphans.

The Dawn of Hope and *Mekdim*, a national organisation established by people living with HIV/AIDS, local HIV/AIDS prevention and Control Secretariat and *Egna Legna* (*we for us*) are engaged in activities related to the prevention of HIV/AIDS in the town. *Egna Legna* is involved in creating awareness about HIV/AIDS among the community members. They arrange coffee ceremonies to call neighbouring households and stage discussions about HIV/AIDS. It also mobilises volunteer members who provide care and support for people living with HIV/AIDS. They give important social and physical support, including washing patients' bodies, and clothes, taking them to the hospital and giving them advice on every aspect of their lives. *Mekdim* and Dawn of Hope also give the same support to the victims of HIV/AIDS. Kalehiwot is also involved in the overall HIV/AIDS prevention and care programmes. It mobilises the youth and advocates for VCT (Voluntary Counselling and Testing).

The NGOs are also involved in the development activities of the town. Kale Hiwot has been involved in the construction of latrines in areas where there is serious sanitation problem. Last year they constructed four latrines in *Kebele* 08/09. ACORD and Kale Hiwot also contribute construction materials for the development works initiated by the *Kebele*. There are also NGOs working on avoiding harmful practices.

Redistributive mechanisms

The church and mosques in the town teach the importance of giving alms to the poor. Thus many followers of these religions give alms to the beggars. They also organise feasts for different reasons, including as a commemoration for a dead member of their family and feeding the poor and beggars. The *Senbete* in the church of St Michael organise some feasts every Sunday and give food to the poor. The Muslims provide cash for the poor every Friday before prayers.

7. Beliefs and values

Land and burial place

In urban Shashemene the burial places are given to the religious institutions, where their respective member is buried. Cemeteries are outside of the church compound for there is little space inside. Some who can manage take their deceased family members for burials to rural areas where s/he was born.

Religious rituals

The main religions found within the area are Orthodox Christianity, Islam and Protestantism. Religious beliefs influence the allocation of land for burial purposes. There are five burial sites in Shashemene town for followers of different religions. These sites are: Teklehaymanot and St. George churches for followers of Orthodox Christianity; Aklu Cemetery for Muslims; there are separate sites designated for Protestants as well.

Many of the Orthodox Christians go on pilgrimages as far as Kulubi Gabriel, Gishen Mariam and Debre Libanos monastery.

Traditional beliefs and values in relation to modernising changes

Most elderly people and religious leaders believe that their traditional beliefs and values are being gradually eroded by the new generation. The exercise of witchcraft and sorcery is still prevalent. People argue that when they lack justice or are delayed in the legal forum people resort to such practices, which they claim are effective.

Explanations of misfortune and illness

As Shashemene is a commercial town inhabited by people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds with highly competitive business environment, local people give different explanations for their failures or fortunes. Those who failed in business associate their failure with sorcery crafted by their competitors. Even if some people became wealthy or more successful in their business, they tend to attribute it to the expulsion of bad spirits. Common explanations given to people with mental disorders is the curse associated with their ancestors.

Political belief and attitudes

Many respondents claim that the local administration has exposed the people to inefficient governance, preferential treatment for members of the ethnic group in power, and nepotism. Moreover, intolerance of government officials for opposition members and supporters has increased the negative attitude to politics. Some even said there is no need to have elections if it is creating such rifts among the community members.

8. Social Structure and dynamics

Control of space

The poorest people in the community live at Kuyesa and Bishate *sefer* (more occupied by women who are engaged in liquor selling and prostitution) while the richest live at Bole *sefer*. The middle-wealth people, many of whom are blacksmiths, live at Seretegna *sefer*. Young people who are engaged in theft and robbery are found near the bus station and *chat tera*. It was very risky to go to these areas. Recently, the town administration established a police station and is trying to control the situation.

Inter-generational relations

It is reported that there is a tendency for children from rich families to grow richer and children from poor families to remain poorer. This is attributed to the presence of strong business networks, transfer of business management skills and greater access to better education. However, some children from poor families leave the cycle of their poverty situation due to their individual efforts and success in trade, success in attaining higher level of education and political power.

Gender relations

In Shashemene, as in so many places, culture values define the gender division of labour, which make the women work within the house (food processing and preparation, child care, cleaning, fetching water and other domestic works. In a family, the husband has more decision-making power. Traditionally, a husband is expected to generate income to support his family. Thus he is a breadwinner of the household and his wife remains dependent on his income.

Decision-making at household level

The husband remains the main decision-maker in the household. His wife and children may have a very limited role in the household decision-making. Traditionally, men have more power to decide on the fate of their family and are at the same time breadwinners for the household members.

Poverty, wealth and inequality

A wide range of inequality prevails in the town of Shashemene, ranging from the owners of big hotels to the destitute and homelessness. The rich in Shashemene are those who own hotels, bars, trucks, buses and big shops. The middle-income households are those who own small tearooms, civil servants with small salaries, and small hotel owners who can rent 2-5 rooms a day. On the other hand, the poor are those engaged as daily labourers or involved in the informal sector. At the bottom are the destitute who live without any income of their own. They depend on the community for a living. Most of them are living by

begging. More than 76 percent of the community members reported that their income is not adequate (RANS, 2005). The poor households faced difficulties to send their children to school. Thus many children from poor families are engaged in the informal business of selling cigarettes, tissues, chewing gum, and lottery tickets. Many people reported that the number of the poor is increasing, and more than 65 percent claimed that their economic situation has deteriorated in the last five years.

Crimes, punishment, disputes and resolutions

Major types of crimes in Shashemene are theft and violence. The rate of crime has declined in last two years. This is because the Federal Police and Regional Police forces work in cooperation. Similarly, in the Arada *Kebele* (08/09) the rate of crime is also declining following the establishment of the police station near to the *Menaharia* (bus station) established in mid-2004. Secondly, the *Kebele* administration organised the labourers working at the bus station to involve them in maintaining peace in the area. Thirdly, the town administration employed security people who help the police, and the *Kebele* benefited from this.

Cases of crimes and disputes are taken either to the *Kebele* social court or to the police. Disputes involving not more than 1,000 *birr* can be presented to the social court. Cases beyond this might be referred to the police, town administration or *Wereda* court. The *Kebele* social court can pass judgement on fines reaching not more than 300 *birr* or one month imprisonments. Since the *Kebele* has no place in which to detain prisoners, it sends them to nearby Zeway prison. The *Kebele* social court is comprised of two male and one female members. They use the criminal and civil codes to pass resolutions.

The other major means of solving disputes is through the intervention of elders (*Shimagile*). In some cases the *Shimagile* will ask the *Kebele* court to leave the cases to them. Elders are largely involved in resolving family disputes. They usually settle issues by letting the victim be compensated by the offender.

Politics

In the elections of May 2005, four different parties took part. These were the Oromo people's Democratic Organization (OPDO), which was the governing party, the Oromo National Congress (ONC), the Oromo Federalist Democratic movement (OFDM) and the All Ethiopian Union (AEU). ONC and AEU were parts of the two strong opposition parties of UEDF and CUD, respectively. The election was held peacefully and according to the result announced by the Election Board of Ethiopia, the governing party won the election in Shashemene. But many believed that the governing party used its position in the government office to manipulate the election results. While the OPDO won for the federal parliament, the ONC won the election for the regional council while.

Post-election disorder in the capital affected the town of Shashemene. The *Kebele* and town administrations called successive meetings to let the people denounce CUD and its supporters for allegedly creating disorder in Addis Ababa. Some informants also mentioned that there were many individuals from the town who were imprisoned for being supporters of CUD. On the other hand, in the post-election period there were some improvements in the policy of the government. The business community was relieved from the high taxes, which had been imposed for long time. There was also a change in education policy; students who fail in the General School Leaving Examinations, are allowed to take the exam the following year, which was not part of the policy before the elections.

The Municipality of the town, or as it is locally called, the Urban Local Government Administration (ULGA), is accountable to the Oromia National Regional State.

Decision-making and implementation

The key decision making power in Shashemene rests on the town administration, which was established as an independent authority from the rural *Wereda* in the year 2003. It is accountable to the Oromia Regional State. The new system of administration allows the town administration to collect its revenue and use it for the development of the urban community. By the year 2004/05 the town administration collected 17,859,316.73 *birr* as tax.

The different departments of the town administration have their own duties. The justice and public security coordination department works on ensuring peace and security in the town. Its social court deals with conflicts and disputes that are within its jurisdiction. About 100 security personnel work with the police to ensure peace and security of the town. The Trade and Industrial Development Coordination Office, works in facilitating the development of the town and creating fertile ground for investors who come to the town to invest money. The town administration had reserved an industrial zone readily available for investment. When the town administration implemented a new master plan in 2005, the dwellers signed petitions not to request compensation for their demolished houses and committed themselves to actively participate in the process.

In creating job opportunities for the youth, the department for small-scale businesses has played a great role. It encourages the youth to organise in groups and start businesses of their own. It also helps them get credits. Many youth groups have organised themselves at the *Kebele* level and started wood and metal work shops, as well as hairdressing.

The *Kebele* administration is the other major area of decision-making. According to the new administration there are five *kebele* in the town. The *kebele* are answerable to the town administration. Each *Kebele* has a chairperson, vice-chairperson and secretary. They are paid by the town administration. The major departments of the *kebele* are the *kebele* administration, the *Kebele* social court, and *Yelimat Budin* (development team). The administrative division has the responsibility for implementing government regulations. It also issues ID cards for the dwellers of the *kebele*.

The social court comprises a chairperson, secretary and one member. It can pass decisions of fines of not more than 2,300 *birr* and imprisonment of not more than a month. *Yelimat Budin* mobilises the people to involve themselves in the development works in the *Kebele*. Mostly it is involved in community based environmental sanitation. In 2005, the *kebele Yelimat Budin* had organised the community to build latrines and communal taps, and contribute money for the construction of 22 houses for the homeless community members.

9. Relationships with other communities and the wider society

Migration and relation with rural areas

There is more in-migration than out-migration in Shashemene. Several thousand people from different parts of the country are reported to have migrated to Shashemene on an annual basis. More than 83 percent of people in the community claimed that they were born out of the area (RANS, 2005).

The focus group discussions in the four neighbourhood areas of the Shashemene site indicated that the urban communities have been hosting both seasonal/short-term and permanent/long-term migrants mainly from different ethnic groups to the south that include Wolayita, Kembata, Hadiya, Dawro, Gamo, Gofa, Sidama, as well as Gurage and Oromo ethnic groups. Unlike other parts of Shashemene, the four research *Sefer* hosted only few seasonal and permanent migrants from Amhara and Tigray regions.

Although the official *Kebele* 08/09 boundaries are not ethnically segregated, it is interesting to observe that the migration of people from these ethnic groups reflects the previous migration history and the ethnic

composition of the inhabitants of the four neighbourhoods. Individuals from the same ethnic groups tend to settle in the neighbourhood where most people from their areas of origin were already settled. In terms of the four neighbourhoods studied, the majority of the migrants to Bishate *Sefer* are from Wolayita and Hadiya ethnic groups, while most of the migrants in Kuyisa *Sefer* are from Kembata, Wolayita and some from Oromo. Similarly, the majority of the migrants in Bole *Sefer* tend to be from the Gurage ethnic group, while migrants from Wolayita and Gurage predominate in Serategna *Sefer*.

When asked why they migrate to Shashemene, the most common reasons mentioned by seasonal, male and adult migrants are shortage of land, landlessness, rural destitution, land tax and debts from agricultural inputs. Since 1991, the post-socialist era of the EPRDF regime, subsidies for agricultural inputs such as fertiliser were gradually reduced and, hence, some adult peasants had begun to move in search of employment to obtain cash incomes and pay back their debts. The prevalence of distress situations such as ethnic clashes around Faji, Kembata area, during the change of government in 1991 was reported to have pushed other migrants to Shashemene.

The migrants mentioned that they decided to move to Shashemene due to its proximity and the perception of relatively better employment opportunities. They mentioned that they were attracted by the information they obtained from their informal sources about employment opportunities in construction work, loading and unloading and other informal sector employment. In particular, seasonal rural migrants often come to Bole *Sefer*, a relatively rich neighbourhood within the town, during agricultural harvesting periods to work for grain traders as porters and store attendants. However, the seasonal rural-urban migration is not only limited to the poor rural community members. Some better-off farmers also moved as short-term migrants from Bale Zone (Oromia Region) to engage in grain trading.

The long-term migrants, who came to the Shashemene research site, began to settle in the *Sefer* from the early 1970s onwards, during the Haile Selassie Regime, and include mostly people from Wolayita, Kembata, Hadiya and Gofa in the SNNPR. The longer-term migrants often moved to the town because of extreme shortage of rural land in their areas of origin where densities can reach as high as 500 people per square kilometre and where population increase is rapid, as well as due to relatively better life-styles in this business town, and the perceived success of former migrants.

Many of the female, adult and permanent migrants moved from the adjacent rural districts of Kembata, Hadiya, Wolayita, Sidama, Gamo and eastern Oromia due to factors related to marriage and their move to join their spouses. There are also female young migrants who come from these districts as well as from other business towns such as Agaro, Awassa, Debre Zeit, Dilla, Nazret, Hagera Selam, Jimma, Yirgalem and Addis Ababa for short seasons. Most of these categories of female, young and seasonal migrants tend to be divorced or single, and are engaged in domestic labour, small businesses, production of local drinks and commercial sex work. As the informants elucidate, the migration of commercial sex workers to Bishate *Sefer* increased since the Socialist *Derg* regime period due to the establishment of a military base.

Different categories of migrants from the different ethnic groups have experienced migration out of their respective *Sefer*. Most of the female migrants engaged in commercial sex work in Bishate *Sefer* often migrate out of the neighbourhood to look for better opportunities in other urban destinations.

Most of the long-term male migrants engaged in daily labour in Kuyisa *Sefer* and the seasonal migrants who briefly stay in the neighbourhood tend to go to the south-western provinces such as Jimma, Agaro and Illu Aba Bor during the coffee picking season. They also travel to Awash areas for sowing, around Arba Minch for cotton harvesting, Shekiso for gold mining, and Woito for mango harvesting. In addition to such long-distance destinations, most of the seasonal migrants travel to the surrounding rural areas of Shashemene to be hired in potato planting and collection as well as in *tef* harvesting.

Most of the long-term migrants, who are engaged in small business activities, also go out of Serategna *Sefer* to adjacent towns such as Awassa, Negele, and Kofele for short periods to carry out trading activities. For instance, the small traders buy second hand clothes from Awassa, food grains and *Areke* from Negele, butter and cheese from Kofele and maize, charcoal and wood from Aje to sell in Shashemene market. In

return, trade migrants buy *shiro*, pepper, and *Biqil*, (sprouted grain for making beer) from Shashemene to sell in these destinations. Some long-term male migrants who left their spouses behind often return to their homelands twice a year to cultivate their farms and harvest their produce.

Short visits and seasonal migration out of the area happen during the celebration of *Meskel* and wedding occasions. Crisis times such as the death of people from the same areas of origin, family disputes or ethnic clashes are also reasons for temporary emigration.

Shashemene is located in a strategic position that makes it a major link to different towns and rural areas. The major areas to which Shashemene has links are Awassa, Kore, Kofele, and other neighbouring rural areas. These rural areas are the major sources of grain, potatoes, vegetables, and firewood for Shashemene. Cattle are mainly brought from Negele and *chat* is imported from the Wondo Genet area.

The people from the rural areas buy clothes, shoes electronic goods, kerosene, dry cell, salt, sugar, etc. They buy fertilisers and other agricultural inputs from Shashemene. People from the rural areas surrounding Shashemene, which are part of the Shashemene *Wereda*, come to Shashemene for administrative and justice related purposes because the office of the *Wereda* Administration is located at Shashemene.

The most common pull is the presence of employment, relative peace and stability in the town and the hospitality of the urban residents. Emigration from Shashemene is also present and can be attributed to better employment opportunities outside the business sector and better educational facilities elsewhere. Rural communities and small towns such as Sideman, Hadiya and Wolayita were reported to have strong relations with Shashemene. These areas are the main suppliers of food and cash crops (*tef*, maize, sweet potatoes and coffee) to Shashemene dwellers. There are also some urban residents who share land with rural households to grow crops.

Relationships with other urban areas in Ethiopia

The strategic location of Shashemene itself has created many relationships with other urban areas such as Moyale, Arba Minch, Wolayita, Goba, Langano, Wondogenet and Sinkile. The bus terminal at Shashemene is reported to serve plenty of travellers on a daily basis to all these towns through the highway. The presence of several regional offices for the Regional Construction Authority, Telecommunications Authority, Electric Light and Power Corporation enhance the network of offices that exist in the southern region.

The most important informal organisation with links with all southern towns is the Shashemene Broker's Association. It is an association of 26 members with the responsibility of searching for employment for job seekers. The brokers have a list of 52 hotels, restaurants and bars found in all towns stretching from Shashemene to the border town of Moyale. They also have list of job seekers with specifics of type of training, experience and area of origin. They provide housing for those male and female job seekers who need assistance. Each of the 26 broker members are reported to have handled the cases of 300 people for recruitment purposes on an annual basis.

Relations with neighbouring communities

Shashemene is a multilingual town with diverse ethnic groups. Relationships with neighbouring communities were reported to have been strong until the fall of the *Derg* regime. The popularisation of ethnic politics since 1991 has resulted in conflicts and misunderstandings particularly between the Oromo and other ethnic groups.

Relationship with Addis Ababa beyond the Kebele

The population of the town has no particular links with specific *Kebele* in Addis Ababa. However, the attitude towards migrating to Addis Ababa seems to have been accepted as a way of life once a household reaches a better economic status. Therefore, most of the local people view Addis Ababa as a place where rich people live. As it stands now, the richest people who live in Shashemene maintain frequent and regular contacts with their colleagues, friends and relatives in Addis Ababa.

Relationships beyond Ethiopia

It is reported that Shashemene town has strong relations with countries outside of Ethiopia. A good number of Muslim families have contacts with their relatives, friends and associates in Arab countries. The creation of the Diversity Visa lottery from the USA in recent years has been attracting the youth to legally migrate to the USA.

Unlike other regions, Shashemene town has a special place and a historical linkage with the Rastafarian group from the Caribbean region. It was reported that His Majesty Haile Selassie I promised them land for their settlement in the late 1950s and the migration of the Rastafarians has become more common with the hope that Shashemene is the promised spiritual land of the Caribbean. It was on the occasion of his official visit to Jamaica that he invited them to come and settle in Ethiopia. The community received land from the then government, at a specific area now called Melka Oda. The Rastafarians considered Shashemene to be a holy place. They currently number approximately 200, according to their own estimates. Recently there has been no migration of the Rastafarians to the area, except those who come to either attend festivals or to pay short visits.

The Jamaicans do not feel integrated with the local community. Their land was taken by the locals in the time of the *Derg* and, moreover, they feel that 'Ethiopianism' is becoming weakened. Thus some say they will work to inculcate new positive spirit among the local people by using their school education. On the other hand, many local community members believe that the Rastafarians have not been involved in any development of Shashemene town. Some also claim that the Rastafarians spoiled the behaviour of the youth in Shashemene, by introducing different hair styles, unacceptable ways of dressing and most importantly exposing them to drug addictions. Though they do not pay living fees, unlike in the time of the *Derg* when they were charged 85 *birr* per year, they are still conceived as foreigners by the local community. Despite their number, they still continue to influence the young population. Some marry Ethiopian women but not vice versa.

In recent years, the Rastafarians began to involve themselves in the development of the area. By the year 2000, they opened a school at Melka Oda, which serves not only the Rastafarian community, but also the local people. They also had discussions with the town administration and showed interest to support the development works in the town.

Future provision to the community

People in Shashemene, especially those who are located at *Kuyisa sefer* are destitute. These people have no food to eat, no clothing to wear and no shelter in which to dwell. People in this *sefer*, as well as people in other *sefer* need interventions in credit and saving activities, urban food for cash programmes, urban housing construction activities, training for professional skills and handicrafts such as smithing and carpentry.

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Acronyms

AEU	All Ethiopians Union
CSA	Central Statistical Authority
CUD	Coalition of Unity and Democracy
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia
HAPCO	HIV/AIDS Prevention and Control Office
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Virus
OFDM	Oromo Federalist Democratic Movement
ONC	Oromo National Congress
ONRS	Oromia National Regional State
OPDO	Oromo People's Democratic Organization
RANS	Resources and Needs Survey
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
SNNPR	South Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region
UEDF	Union of Ethiopian Democratic Forces
ULGA	Urban Local Government Administration
VCT	Voluntary Counselling and Testing
WeD	Wellbeing in Developing Countries - Research Group

Glossary

<i>Areke:</i>	distilled spirit
<i>Belg:</i>	The short rainy season in March/April
<i>Berber:</i>	capsicum (red pepper)
<i>Beteseb:</i>	the household; lit "house of people"
<i>Biqil:</i>	sprouted grains used for making beer
<i>Birr:</i>	the currency of Ethiopia (16 <i>birr</i> approximately = £1)
<i>chat:</i>	a bushy plant whose leaves contain mild narcotics.
<i>derg:</i>	the name for socialist military group that ruled Ethiopia from 1974-91
<i>delala:</i>	local broker
<i>enset:</i>	("false banana") - a plant that resembles the banana; the root and inside of the trunk and branches are eaten, often after being stored in the ground to allow for fermentation
<i>equb:</i>	a rotating savings and credit association
<i>Id Al fater:</i>	Moslem holiday at the end of Ramadan
<i>Iddir:</i>	a burial society formed by individuals to help each other during the death of their members or the relative of their members.
<i>Injera:</i>	fermented flatbread
<i>Kebele:</i>	The lower urban administration unit

<i>Kiremt:</i>	the main rainy season (<i>meher</i>)
<i>Kocho:</i>	food from <i>enset</i>
<i>Kuyesa:</i>	a mud hill made by termites
<i>Mariam:</i>	St Mary's Day
<i>mehber:</i>	a religious society which meets monthly on a Saint's day: each member takes a turn to host the group providing food and drink
<i>Meredaja:</i>	A migrants' association. Also known as <i>meredaja mahiber</i> .
<i>Meskel:</i>	The celebration of the Findings of the True Cross on September 27.
<i>Ramadan:</i>	the Muslim fasting month
<i>Sefer:</i>	A small community neighbourhood
<i>Segatura:</i>	By-products of woodwork
<i>Senbete:</i>	a Sunday Association that meets in the grounds of the church; members take it in turns to provide refreshments
<i>Serategna:</i>	literally "worker", used to refer to those who are engaged in blacksmiths
<i>Shimagle:</i>	Elders
<i>Shiro:</i>	Ground horse or chickpea used to make stew
<i>tef:</i>	a millet-like staple cereal
<i>tej:</i>	alcoholic mead which has been fermented
<i>tella:</i>	home-made beer
<i>timket:</i>	Epiphany
<i>wereda:</i>	an administrative district, made up of <i>kebele</i>

Appendix A: Ethiopian Calendar

Ethiopian Month	Gregorian calendar starting date in 2005
Meskerem	11 September
Tikimt	11 October
Hidar	10 November
Tahsas	10 December
Tir	9 January
Yekatit	8 February
Megabit	10 March
Miyazia	9 April
Ginbot	9 May
Sane	8 June
Hamle	8 July
Nehase	7 August
Pagume	6 September

There are 13 months in the Ethiopian calendar, 12 of 30 days and the last one, Pagume, of 5 or 6 days depending on whether it is a leap year. The above table provides the starting date for the Ethiopian month in the Gregorian calendar for 2005.